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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JULY, 1890.

No. CCCLII.

ART. I.—*Memorials of the Earls of Haddington.* Edited by Sir WILLIAM FRASER, K.C.B. Two volumes, 4to. Privately printed. Edinburgh: 1890.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER is to be congratulated on the beauty as well as the contents of these two sumptuous volumes. They contain the story of a Scottish family, as told, for the most part, in public or private documents, and they form an important addition to many other similar compilations which have proceeded from the same learned and accomplished hand. Of such are the safest guides to history, for they teach what those who lived in the times in which they were written, thought, and said, and hoped, and feared, and are the more to be relied upon that they were not intended for any such purpose, but were the natural outcome of the daily life of the writers. Even if the writers were conversant only with the more commonplace vicissitudes of life, these documents could not fail to interest, as marking gradual changes of manners, habits, customs, of language, of speech, and of orthography. In these two volumes we have, in short, the history of a distinguished Scottish family, extending over three hundred continuous years. It would not add to the interest of such a record whether it exhibited sunshine or shade, peace or conflict; but in point of fact one central figure in the present narrative stands prominently out during forty of the most perilous years this country, in either end of the island, ever saw.

From the year 1590 to 1637 the founder of the Earldom of Haddington was the most influential man in Scotland.

Thomas, the first Earl of Haddington, 'Tam o' the Cowgate' as his royal and gracious master King James VI. was pleased to call him, was a vigorous, able, and self-reliant man. His remarkable rise and progress occupy the largest and by far the most important and interesting portion of these volumes. He well deserves to be commemorated, not perhaps that the power he wielded, or the wealth which he acquired, was conspicuously used by him for the public benefit; but the times in which he ruled, and the undisputed though unavowed dominion which he exercised over the Scottish councils of that day, mark him out as a man born to command. Mr. Burton speaks of him in his history as 'that crafty old statesman, called "Tam o' the Coogate;"' but one characteristic of his career was that he was not an 'old' statesman when his power was greatest. He was barely thirty years of age in 1592, when his political life commenced, and from that time forward till the king's death in 1625 his influence increased year by year.

Before following the career of this notable personage, we may say a word on the pedigree illustrated by these volumes. Our author traces, with laudable fulness and accuracy, the pedigree of the father of Thomas, the first Earl. He was a cadet of the great ducal stock of the Hamiltons, and was immediately descended from Hamilton of Innerwick. The fourth son of Hamilton of Innerwick became Hamilton of Priestfield or Prestonfield, a property in Midlothian, and the third in descent from the first Hamilton of Priestfield was the father of the subject of this memoir. There are some curious facts related by Sir William Fraser in regard to this property of Priestfield. An Edinburgh burgess of the name of Chapman seems to have had some proprietary right over it, and he was the first printer who obtained a royal license for printing in Edinburgh. Through him this property of Priestfield descended to the forefathers of the first Earl of Haddington. It would divert us too widely from the direct subject of our notice if we were to follow our author into the links of this genealogy. One myth or tradition we cannot quite forgive him for dispelling, or trying to dispel. The motto of the Hamiltons is THOROUGH, or THROUGH, and the family shield bore, or used to bear, a woodman's frame-saw. The tradition prevalent—not among heraldic sages, but in the uninformed ranks of the commonalty—was, that the head of the Hamiltons flying from the pursuit of the relatives of one of the De Spencers, whom he had slain in a duel, being closely pressed, assumed

the dress of a woodman, and, as his pursuers passed him, said to his comrade, pointing to a half-cut trunk of a tree, 'It is thorough.' We have reason to think that the legend is cherished by those who practise woodcraft, and even this gorgeous volume may not eradicate it after it has grown and flourished for five hundred years.

Thomas Hamilton, the founder of the earldom, was born in 1563. He was educated first at the High School of Edinburgh, which even then was a seminary of some repute, and then proceeded to the University of Paris, at which he spent six years. This university was, at that time, the resort of students from all parts of Europe. According to Scaliger, it embraced in the sixteenth century 30,000 students within its walls. Apart from actual scholarship, associations so varied and numerous could not fail to enlarge the intelligence as well as the acquirements of those in contact with them; and this probably accounts for the ease and mastery with which, from the very first, Thomas Hamilton encountered, and to a large extent overcame, many difficult problems of public life in his native land.

The University of Paris was, at that time, a frequent resort of the Scotch law student, as a part of his preparation for joining the Scotch bar. The civil law was then the common law of Scotland, as it was of France and of Europe. We observe that our author repeats a remark which has been made by previous annalists, that the Pope had prohibited the foundation of a chair of civil law in the University of Paris. McCrie gives his high authority to this assertion, and Sir William Fraser seems to think that Thomas Hamilton must have found a professor of the Roman Law in some of the other French universities. We think this doubtful. That there was such a Papal rescript in the fifteenth century we do not doubt, but we believe it to have been constantly and persistently evaded, and it appears from Mr. Fraser Tytler's 'Life of Sir Thomas Craig,' as well as McCrie's 'Life of Melville,' that special lectures were, from time to time, delivered in Paris on the civil law, although not formally sanctioned by the Academic authorities. While the canon law was tottering, as it was, at the end of the sixteenth century, we may assume that the exclusion of the civil law was not likely to have been more rigorous than it had been previously.

Thomas Hamilton remained at the University of Paris for six years, and then returned in the twenty-fourth year of his age to present himself as a candidate for admission

to the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. At that time this distinction was much sought after in Scotland, and was only attained by a serious test examination of qualifications. The number of advocates was limited to ten, at the institution of the Court of Session in 1532, although the rule may have been relaxed subsequently.

The arrangements connected with the Supreme Court of Scotland, both as regarded bench and bar, were chiefly reproductions from the model of the Parliament of Paris. The *Procureur du Roi* was the original of the Lord Advocate or public prosecutor; the French *avocats* had their *Bâtonnier* and still have; the Scotch advocates called their chief the Dean of Faculty, an official who still flourishes in great honour.

Thomas Hamilton, having passed his trials with distinction, assumed the robes of an advocate in November 1587. We should have mentioned that he was accompanied in his residence at Paris by a relative—an uncle, John Hamilton—who was a Roman Catholic and in priest's orders. He became afterwards a man of some notoriety; and his religious tenets did not tend to increase the confidence of the Presbyterian party in the views or policy of his nephew, or of the master whom that nephew represented.

As far as records reach, the ancient laws of the realm of Scotland seem to have had four distinct sources. Land rights were held and regulated by the feudal customs introduced by the Normans. Commercial contracts were regulated by a code called the 'Leges Burgorum,' derived from the free towns or *Municipia* on the Continent, and afterwards to a large extent methodised by the Scottish Convention of Royal Burghs. The Roman or civil law in the end became the rule in ordinary civil rights, although there can be no question that at one period of the history, prior to the accession of James I. of Scotland, the laws and customs which prevailed in England were, to some extent, recognised in Scotland also. We find officials under corresponding designations, such as the sheriff and the coroner, or crowner; and two ancient compilations of laws, entitled 'Regiam 'Majestatem' and 'Quoniam Attachiamenta,' which were held of authority in Scotland, are unquestionably of English origin.

This was at one time a matter of great and indignant controversy among the later school of Scottish jurists, who insisted that these works were fabrications, palmed off on the Scottish community as genuine records of the laws of

Scotland. But whatever the origin of these works, their authenticity and recognition is beyond all doubt; for in 1425, very shortly after James I. had returned from his long captivity, we find that the Scottish Parliament appointed a commission 'of six wise and discreet men of the three 'estates, which know the laws passed, who without fraud 'or guile shall examine the *books of the laws of this realm*, '*that is to say, the Regiam Majestatem, and the Quoniam* '*Attachiamenta*, and mend the laws which need amendment.' The lawyers of that day were more likely to be right than we can be.

The most national and most tenacious of Scottish lawyers, however, need not impugn this testimony; for in truth Scottish jurisprudence in its scientific form may be said to have commenced with the return of the first of the Jameses and the accomplished men by whom he was accompanied and surrounded in the year preceding the date of this statute. James I. of Scotland was an able and cultivated man, and had employed the years of his captivity in studying the science of government, and specially of jurisprudence. Much of his time was spent at the Court of Henry V. in France, where he found ample opportunity for acquiring the familiarity which he afterwards displayed with the language, literature, and institutions of that country. The result has been to infuse a continental aspect into Scottish jurisprudence, which makes it of kin with all the systems of civilised Europe. In this way the law of Scotland was practically the adaptation of the great Roman law to the habits and position of the people: a code which had been methodised and perfected by the greatest intellects and the most enlightened rulers of many centuries, and applied to the manifold shades of society and politics which the shattered remains of the Roman Empire embraced. Thus, rude as the country was, and turbulent and lawless as were the habits and manners of the people, there was nothing provincial about Scottish jurisprudence, or their statutes, or nomenclature, or terminology. They sounded strange in English ears, but the familiar freemasonry was, and is, recognised all over Europe, from Prague to Paris, in Vienna as in Bologna, at the Hague as in Madrid.

This one consideration solves by itself the problem whence came, in a country so poor and so distracted, so compact and philosophic a legal system. Lord Bacon himself, writing in the next century, pays a tribute to the excellence of the Scottish statutes. He says:—

'Although I have read, and with delight, the Scottish statutes and some other collections of their laws, with delight I say, partly to see their brevity and propriety of speech, and partly to see them come so near to our laws, yet I am unwilling to put my sickle in their harvest, but do leave it to the lawyers of the Scottish nation.'

The praise thus bestowed on the old Scottish statutes is not ill deserved.

But to turn to our newly fledged Scottish advocate. His career reads like a romance. He had no official position to recommend him; his family was respectable and well connected, but of no special weight in the community. He had but two recommendations—a clear, determined intellect, and the fruits, which were luxuriant, of the six years' training at the University of Paris. His continental experience was specially valuable at a time when intrigue hostile to this island was rife in Europe. A catalogue of the offices which he was called on to fill, almost from the commencement of his professional career, shows that his progress was nearly unparalleled. Starting in 1587, he was first appointed one of seven commissioners for printing the Acts of Parliament in 1590. He was then, when not yet of five years' standing at the Bar, promoted to the bench of the Court of Session in 1592, taking the courtesy title of Lord Drumcairn. Next year he was sworn of the Scottish Privy Council. In 1596 he was appointed one of the Octavians, as they were called, and was made Lord Advocate for life. In 1613 he was created Lord Binning. In 1616 he was appointed President of the Court of Session, and at the same time held the office of Secretary of State. He was created Earl of Melrose in 1619, and Earl of Haddington in 1628. All the prizes of fortune seemed to fall at his feet.

There can be no question that, apart from the judgement to be passed upon his political life, on which we have no intention of entering at large—it is no part of our function to do so—these great results could only have been the fruit of great capacity. They indicate thorough confidence in his ability and integrity on the part of his sapient and royal master, and show solid excellence as well as brilliant intelligence—not the mere arts of a courtier, but the intellectual gifts of a statesman.

The position of public affairs at the commencement of this singular career was one of unusual difficulty. The times were critical and disturbed, and threatened complications still more alarming. Thirty years had not elapsed since the Reformation in Scotland when Haddington returned to his

native country, and the dislocation of old opinions and convictions in religion, in politics, and in society, so caused, was in its most acute stage. Queen Mary had just been put to death by the orders of Elizabeth. We do not enter on this well-worn field. The whole controversy turns, or ought to turn, on one question which has been but little investigated or examined—not on the 'Casket' letters, or the murder of Darnley, or any of the numberless imputations which were made against that unhappy queen—but on the question whether she was at the time of her residence in England—indeed, whether she had been during all the time of her residence in Scotland, from the day she left France—engaged in a conspiracy with the Roman Catholics abroad for the overturn of the Protestant religion in both countries, and the dethronement of Queen Elizabeth and her own accession to the throne of England. Prince Labanoff published a collection of Mary's letters for the purpose of showing how true an adherent of the Catholic Church she had been throughout, and how far she was prepared to go in support of it, notwithstanding her public professions. He certainly succeeded in showing the amount of intellectual power which she could wield, and although it is difficult to resist the conclusions these letters suggest, even these could not have justified Queen Elizabeth in her treatment of one of equal rank, who was only within her power because she had trusted to her assurances. It is late in the day to discuss these questions, but the knights errant who have placed lances in rest for Mary's fair fame have been careful to avoid considering how far her correspondence with the continental Catholics was consistent with good faith to her own Protestant subjects. Indeed, some of them think the imputation, even if true, an element in her favour.

It was to a community stunned and convulsed by such events as these that Thomas Hamilton returned in 1587. His reputation had preceded him, probably through his uncle, John Hamilton; but that his cultivation and acquirements had marked him out for distinction appears clearly from the fact of his selection as one of the Commissioners on the printing of the statutes. His early appointment to a seat on the Bench in 1592 proves that the experience of his services on the Commission had justified the expectations which had been formed of his abilities.

The statute of James I., which we have quoted above, proves that the appointment of Thomas Hamilton on the printing commission was not a mere form, but a service

which required judgement and learning. It has been said that Hamilton had no antiquarian tastes, but that is not so. One of his principal characteristics was his indomitable industry in ransacking the driest and dustiest corners of the profession. He collected and copied old charters, reported interesting cases, and has left behind him in the archives of the Court many results of these investigations. On the bench there is no doubt that he entirely fulfilled the early promise of efficiency, and before the end of his life he presided for ten years over the Supreme Court with thorough and universal acceptation. He was a man who never failed.

The most difficult part of his task lay in the character of the master he served. Thomas Hamilton has been accused of constant and invariable subserviency to the king. After considering his career as disclosed in these volumes, we do not accept this estimate as just. It would not surprise us if the truth were that he very seldom permitted the king to take his own way—that is to say, all his own way. We believe that during the thirty years in which he substantially ruled Scotland his time was mainly spent in moderating the counsels of the king. It is not necessary to deny that during his career he sympathised in some degree with the king's sentiments, or that he ever lost sight of his own private interests. But his main object was directed to preventing any public outbreak arising out of the conflicting elements and to tide over immediate peril; and this he succeeded in doing during the king's life. We are the more inclined to take this view of his administration that, when his successor Charles freed himself from this restraining influence, the prevalent sources of discontent broke their bounds and carried all before them.

It may be assumed, though it does not very clearly appear from this record, that Hamilton did not belong to the Presbyterian or Covenanting party in Scotland, as the overwhelming majority of all ranks of the community at that time certainly did. Nowhere was the acceptance of the principles of the Reformation more popular or more universal than in Scotland, and no man was better aware of this than Thomas Hamilton. His own opinions he seldom expressed: he was not a Papist, as he was generally suspected of being, although such religious sympathies as he had were probably in that direction; but he knew the strength of the national feeling, and his task was to restrain the personal opinions and actions of the king within the bounds of prudence.

What these were we are not left in doubt. James comes out of this inquiry an abler, but not a better, man than we thought him. There is no feebleness or childishness or indecision about him; he knew what he wanted, and never ceased to keep his object in view. He was by turns stern or crafty, as the occasion might require. His objects were simple. He wished to destroy the Presbyterian Church polity, and to reign on the footing of divine right, which that polity denied. He wished to govern without parliaments, like the arbitrary powers of the Continent, and also without being hampered in matters ecclesiastical by Church courts or general assemblies. He had no mind to restore Popery, because the Pope claimed obedience from crowned heads, but the government by bishops of a Church of which the king was the acknowledged head was that which he wished to prevail; and, lastly and chiefly, he had to keep his eye on the much larger community south of the Tweed, the wider stage on which he hoped before long to display his knowledge of 'kingcraft' and the learning which Buchanan had done his best to impart. But he was cynical, selfish, pitiless, and ungenerous, not a man to love or trust.

Such was the programme which Thomas Hamilton had committed to him; he knew that in the temper of the community it could be but very partially accomplished; and when deprived of his sagacious counsels, his master's successor plunged blindly over the precipice.

We need not on the present occasion enter at any length, or indeed at all, into the great principles which were involved in the struggle which thus commenced. The country has decided these questions for itself. Both ways have been tried in Scotland, and one has prevailed and conquered. Two hundred years have passed over the Revolution settlement, and it stands at this day as strong and as popular as it did when it was made—probably more so.

The commencement of Hamilton's judicial labours was marked by an episode very significant of the state of the country. The case was this: a question had arisen between a man of the name of Alexander Forrester, of Garden, on one side, and the tenant of Forwood on the other. After some litigation, Lord Drumcairn, Lord Whittinghame, and Lord Holyroodhouse were ordained to visit the disputed ground and there examine witnesses. The three lords, meeting at the place and time appointed, were met by the laird of Garden, accompanied by the large number of 1,000 men on horse and foot prepared to resist them. The lords

invited the laird to dismiss his men and to go to the lands in question with ten men himself in sober manner, that the examination of witnesses might be proceeded with; but this the laird refused to do. They then retired for two days to give the laird an opportunity of coming to terms, but, finding this impossible, they were obliged to return without having executed their mission. It was an unpleasant and, fortunately, an unusual episode in the duties of the bench.

The first important duty, which was superadded to Hamilton's judicial labours, was that of acting as one of the commissioners, who were denominated the Octavians. This to Hamilton was an important charge. The object of the commission was patriotic—it was to overhaul the royal establishment, to abolish useless offices, to reduce exorbitant salaries, and to introduce a more economical system of management of the royal revenue for the future. This they did to the satisfaction of the community, and to the great wrath of those who were dispossessed or curtailed; but, as Sir William Fraser rather innocently remarks:—

'Had Hamilton and the other Octavians limited themselves to these reforms, all might have been well; but their further procedure in appropriating to themselves the chief offices of State, after depriving others of them for that purpose, was not defensible, and did not fail to bring opprobrium upon them. The Octavians professed that it was necessary for their managing the king's rents and carrying out the reforms they proposed, that they should have in their own hands these high offices.' (Vol. i. p. 44.)

One of the offices so dealt with was that of Lord Advocate, which at that time was held by an old gentleman of the name of MacGill. Pressure was put on him to resign, which he did not see it to be his duty to do. Up to that time the office had generally been held by two occupants jointly; however in the end MacGill died, and Hamilton was appointed Lord Advocate for life.

It would appear from the action of the Octavians that the tone of public men and public spirit at this time was not high. If Sir Walter Scott's representation of the Scottish bench as it was a century later is to be trusted, the tone was not much loftier then. In the novel of the 'Bride of 'Lammermoor,' he represents one of the judges of the Court of Session as saying to a brother judge, whom he calls Lord Turntippet:—

'Agree, agree—remit to the lord keeper, with any other person for fashion's sake, Lord Hirplehooly, who is bedridden—one to be a quorum. Make your entry in the minutes, Mr. Clerk—and now, my

lords, there is that young scattergood, the Laird of Bucklaw's fine to be disponed upon. I suppose it goes to my lord treasurer?' 'Shame be in my mealpoke then,' exclaimed Lord Turntippet; 'and your hand aye in the nook of it! I had set that down for a by bit between meals for mysel'.' Lord Turntippet goes on to say: 'Surely there is nae noble lord that will presume to say that I, who hae complied wi' a' compliances, ta'en all manner of tests, abjured all that was to be abjured, and sworn a' that was to be sworn, for these thirty years by past, shouldna hae something now and then.'

In addition to his other offices, Hamilton was also made Secretary of State in 1612, and continued to hold the three offices until he was appointed President of the Session. That the same man should be party, prosecutor, and judge, did not seem to offend against the unities of justice in the eyes of her votaries at this time in Edinburgh; nor was the function of jurymen held in greater sanctity. Our author gives us a facsimile of a characteristic letter written by King James to his new Lord Advocate, directing him how to charge an assize. It is thought to relate to the trial of Campbell of Ardkinglas for murder, and breathes a questionable spirit of reverence for the palladium of British liberty. It is a letter dated 1596, and it is a very interesting and characteristic specimen of his handwriting, clear and bold and distinct. He begins by saying:—

'To Mr. Thomas Hamilton, His Majesty's Advocate. Remember [Remind] the assize before their inclosition, of the odiousness of the act, the slain man's employment in my service at the time of his murder, *besides that he was my ordinary servant.*'

And then it ends with this:—

'Remember the words of the law, "art and part," and "retihabition," mickle mair "advising" eiked thereto, and by many old practiques; remember the execution of Luss' brother, *and terrify them with the penalty of error which ye may assure them will be used against them with all rigour before they get leave to pass the town.*'

Apparently the new Lord Advocate did act upon the advice so given, and we find him in more than one case reported in 'Pitcairn's Trials' protesting against the assize in the Court of Acquittal, for what he calls 'wilful error;' although what that imported we are not in a position to say.

Sir William Fraser gives us some interesting particulars as to the customs of the Court of Session. They deliberated with closed doors, and when the pleadings were over even the advocates were removed. Probably such was the French custom. The sederunt book of the court was kept by the clerk, who entered the names of such as attended each day,

and the excuses of those who were absent. We have also a memorandum as to the dress of the bench in those days. There is a letter from James VI. to the Earl of Dunfermline and the President and other Lords of the College of Justice, in which King James says that he has observed 'that some 'members of the College of Justice, lawyers, and Writers to 'the Signet, do not wear their dresses, but walk commonly 'in clokes, the continuance in which we will not have over-'seen without controllment.'

'Therefore it is our pleasure that at your next convening ye cause intimate that ordinance concerning the habits of the members of our College of Justice to all who have the honour to be of that body, ordaining every one of them in their several degrees to wear their said habits at all times and in all places therein contained, enjoining also to such of your number as are Extraordinaries or Lords of our Parliament to wear always black gowns of velvet, satin, or some such rich stuff agreeably to their places, certifying all the members of that our College that such as shall hereafter contravene shall be censured according to the tenor of our first ordinance made in that behalf.' (Vol. ii. p. 73.)

The principal public events which occurred during the Earl of Haddington's lease of power were, first, the Gowrie conspiracy in 1600; second, the accession of the King of Scots to the throne of England in 1603; third, what was called the Aberdeen assembly in 1605, and the Hampton Court conference in 1606; fifth, his visit to Scotland in 1617, and the Perth Assembly. All these events, and the action of the king in regard to them, had very material effects upon the subsequent history of the country.

The first, the Gowrie conspiracy, has been an unsolved problem from the commencement. It is not wonderful that it should be so, because the tragedy began by the slaughter of the two persons to whom alone the whole circumstances were known. The Gowries never had a chance of giving their own version of the matter, while on the other hand the king has voluminously, if somewhat incoherently, told his own story in his own way. We have renewed our acquaintance with the facts of this antiquated mystery, into which no additional light has been admitted by chinks made by time. Historians have made the occurrence a battlefield, each condemning the Gowries or the king as his religious or political prepossessions prompted. The Jacobites are all for the king. The freethinkers are determined to find the Presbyterian ministers in the wrong. The Presbyterian authors dwell on the inconsistencies of the royal story, and attribute the treachery not to the Gowries but to the king. The

impression produced on our minds in reviewing the old familiar facts is that there is no sufficient evidence of plot on either side, that there was no Gowrie conspiracy, and no plot on the part of the king, and that the combatants are mutually maintaining ground which the facts do not warrant. It is very difficult to believe that there was any concert between the two Gowries to kill the king on that occasion, there not having been the slightest preparation for such an event. It is as difficult, almost more difficult, to believe that the king meant to put his life on the hazard of a casual scuffle like that which he encountered, merely for the purpose of having the Gowries assassinated. It seems to us that neither hypothesis supplies or suggests motives on which reasonable men would act. In that view we are driven to the conclusion that the real origin of the catastrophe was much simpler; that while there was no plot on either side, the event was the result of an accident. We simply hazard a conjecture which is consistent with the few facts known, and is adequate to the result. If the king had desired, for some unavowed reason, to have a private interview with young Ruthven, and had been suddenly seized, in a remote part of the building, with a panic that foul play was intended, and, acting on it, had called out from the window, and then, on his retainers rushing up, had directed them to slay Alexander Ruthven; this once done, the king had a homicide to answer for, as the fruit of a moment of causeless terror. Hence the anxiety with which, in his statement, he reiterates the suspicions he had previously entertained, it being sufficiently certain that he had none, or he would never have gone there.

Of course, in making this surmise or conjecture, we throw out of view the possibly suborned confession of Henderson, which is beset by manifest falsities, and the clumsy device of the Restalrig letters; or rather these elements only increase our incredulity, as they did that of the public at the time. In these demurs we only follow Archbishop Spottiswoode, a contemporary, who did not believe a word of the Restalrig story, and Dr. Robertson, the historian, who also believed that there was no Gowrie conspiracy.

How public opinion went is not doubtful, and on this we have the testimony of a bystander—a neutral witness—furnished by the correspondence, edited by M. Teulet, of the French ambassador at the Court of Queen Elizabeth. The event occurred in the earlier days of the month of August, 1600. Apparently the English queen sent a special mes-

senger to Scotland to inquire into and report on the occurrence. The Scots ambassador in Paris put out a manifesto giving an account of it. But M. Teulet adds a note to the effect that the Gowries were well thought of in Paris, and that, for that reason, the public in Paris did not give credit to the account. The ambassador in England continues to write to the King of France till the end of the year on the subject, describing the state of public feeling on it to be more and more adverse to the King of Scots. He writes on October 31, 1600:—

'Le gentilhomme qui estoit allé à l'Escosse de la part de la Royne est retourné. Il parle en public du faict des Govries ainsi que le Roy du dict pays l'a faict publier, *mais en privé dit que l'on leur a mis à sus ceste conspiration pour s'en deffaire.*' (Teulet, iii. 623.)

In his last letter, dated November 28, 1600, he says:—

'Il ne se parle pas ici de la mort des comtes de Govrye, à l'advantage du Roi d'Escosse. La Royne mesme semble doubter de ce que l'on a faict publier et de ce qu'il luy en a mandé.' (Teulet, iii. 624.)

And so we imagine posterity will judge. It does not improve the impression to be formed of the king's case that, both in the instance of the Gowries and in that of Logan of Restalrig—attainted of high treason two years after his death—the convictions were followed by forfeiture of their estates to the Crown, and what is termed corruption of the blood of their descendants.

On the other events to which we have referred we need not enlarge at length, for the historical facts on which they turn are well known. But the influence of the first Earl of Haddington was, perhaps, the most powerful of all in retarding, on one hand, and ultimately producing, on the other, the coil of disturbance from which the country suffered for the rest of the century, until the Revolution Settlement terminated the controversy. We have already explained what we conceived to be the characteristics of Thomas Hamilton's own disposition and proclivities. He was, probably, an Anglican Protestant; perhaps something more; but we feel persuaded that, if he could have prevailed on his restless master to accept the manifest teaching of events, he would have done so. It was not the Presbyterian party who evoked the troubled elements, nor had they any interest to do so, as Sir William Fraser, in a few well-expressed and judicious sentences, points out. Under the friendly rule of Lord Chancellor Maitland the Act of Parliament of 1592 was passed, which gave the Presbyterian party much of

what they wished and desired; and had the king been content to accept the constitution Parliament had sanctioned, and to which he was bound to adhere, he might have reigned in tranquillity. But the disturbing element was elsewhere, and James was resolved, if he could, to overturn the Presbyterian polity altogether. In the gradual, quiet, and stealthy steps by which the king worked his way to this end, we think we trace the action of Hamilton's restraining hand. He was too sagacious not to perceive that the king's policy was hopeless and ruinous. It was no question of majority or minority; the nation was substantially unanimous; but an encouragement more or less, a step in favour of prerogative here or restriction of clerical jurisdiction there, might pass without evoking violent resistance. One or two bishops, if they did not clash with the platform of the Church, might be submitted to, and if serious opposition were threatened it would not be too late to recede. We think that this was the significance of the temporising experiments which James tried, and that it was supposed that familiarity might soften the national distaste. The policy might have succeeded in the hands of a judicious successor; but one part of the programme was unwise. The intense vindictiveness of the king in all cases in which the clergy thwarted him found vent in personal oppression towards the best and most venerated of the reformed clergy, and this the country never forgot.

The history of the Aberdeen Assembly is not gratifying. A mere difference of opinion between the king and the clergy on a technical question was tortured into an act of treason. So far as we can follow the facts, the king had discharged the order for one General Assembly, but had not specified the date to which the next meeting was prorogued. The Church, after in vain applying to the king to fix or concur in fixing a day, called a meeting of Assembly on their own instance. The king directed his commissioner to require the meeting so called to dissolve, because the Church had no power to call it without his authority. The clergy present agreed to do this as soon as they had constituted the meeting and elected a Moderator, because until then they had no collective authority. 'But,' said the king, 'you had 'no power to elect a Moderator;' and, on that, the Church authorities referred to the Act of 1592, which authorises the Church to proceed to adjourn, if the king or his commissioner be not present, in the place where the last assembly was held. The question so raised was by no means a new

one, and, indeed, it is one which has survived, in one shape or other, during the centuries that have since intervened. For holding the view that the Act of 1592 authorised them to do what they did, and expressing it, and acting on it, certain of the clergy were summoned before the Privy Council. They declined the jurisdiction of the Council to judge on that matter; and, on this, these men, against whose loyalty nothing else was alleged, were tried for treason, and punished by imprisonment or exile.

No doubt this question has always been a thorny topic; but it was hard measure to entangle men of influence, position, and learning in a snare of this kind, and to break up their homes, and send them into exile. It was for this purpose that the king was advised not to fix a day for the meeting of the Assembly. Thirty years afterwards a similar question arose between the Church and Charles I. Dr. Balcanquhall, a well-known royalist, who was Dean of Durham, advised the king in the following words: '*First*, 'on the very first refusal of a General Assembly to them 'they will immediately indite one themselves, *for that they* '*may do it, after they have petitioned his majesty for one, and* '*have not obtained it, the lawyers have assured them.*'* Yet this was all the offence which was so severely visited.

The Hampton Court Conference was an event of much the same colour. It took place in 1606, and the most distinguished men of the two Churches were summoned to attend it. It seems to have been a kind of ecclesiastical duel, or bear fight, got up for the benefit of the king, and mainly for his own glorification. The flower of the prelates and pastors of the Church of England were there, and it is said that they were greatly and agreeably impressed with the ability and learning of the representatives from the north; but the amusements of the king were sometimes dangerous diversions, and often covered occult designs. In the present instance he drew away from Scotland in very troubled times the ablest leaders, and they were led to use expressions, in the heat of discussion, which, especially in the ears of the English clergy present, sounded disrespectful to the sovereign. With Andrew Melville, the most distinguished scholar of his day, the king knew that this would not be difficult, and the result was that Melville never saw his native land again. He was sent to the Tower, and there remained for four years; thence on the application of the French Government

* Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 450.

he was released in 1610, in order to assume a professorial chair in the university of Sedan. He was never allowed to return, and he died there twelve years afterwards—a fate for the most learned and the ablest man in Scotland which no one can justify.

Thomas Hamilton, however, was very much in his element at Hampton Court. His Parisian training gave him an advantage in dealing with the divines, both English and Scottish, and it is said that he took a spirited and somewhat acrimonious part in the questions raised by the ministers from Scotland. Probably he did: it seems to have been a theatre for display all round, and the king, of course, looked to Hamilton to defend him; and apparently by common consent he did so, with great ability.

However, this storm passed over; Parliament and General Assemblies continued to meet, and honours continued to descend upon Thomas Hamilton. When the king came down to revisit his ancient kingdom in 1617, he found Hamilton with the title of Lord Binning of the Byres, President of the Court of Session, and Secretary of State. Hamilton's patent for the title of Lord Binning, which is dated in 1613 bears that it was granted for signal services in negotiations with foreign States. Great was the exuberance of joy in Scotland, and overflowing the festivities which greeted the king's visit in 1617. Ben Jonson broke into song on the occasion; but, as usual, in the cup of welcome there was a bitter drop. The king's desire to reconstitute the Church on an episcopal footing was as determined as ever. A General Assembly accordingly was summoned to meet in Perth in 1618, and Hamilton Lord Binning was nominated as the king's Commissioner.

In the king's letter to the Assembly, he mentions five articles which he requires them to adopt and approve. They were (1) kneeling at the communion; (2) observance of holy days—Christmas, Good Friday, &c.; (3) private baptism; (4) episcopal confirmation; and (5) private communion. These were all outside the recognised ritual. The first was strongly opposed, as implying adoration of the elements and the 'real presence.' But all were disliked as savouring of episcopacy, which the nation was determined not to accept. In his letter the king intimated in plain words that the Assembly must pass the articles as they stood; that he held himself entitled as their sovereign to prescribe the forms which they were to observe, and that he sent this communication to them simply to show his

goodwill. Hamilton the Commissioner, and Spottiswoode the archbishop, contrived to obtain a majority of eighty-five to forty-five in the General Assembly approving of the articles, not certainly without considerable pressure, and for a long time it was disputed on the part of the Presbyterian party that there had been a majority at all. Calderwood, the historian, wrote a treatise to prove that the vote did not represent the opinions of the majority, and this treatise he did not venture to print or publish in Scotland, but had it issued from a Dutch printing press.

To a large extent the people declined to go to the communion on the king's terms; and a certain Bailie Rigg, an Edinburgh magistrate, embittered the last years of James VI.'s life by his obstinacy on this subject. In vain was he 'warded' first in one place and then in another; he remained in his ward longer than the unfortunate king remained on earth, and almost the last communication which James had with Hamilton was in reference to a remonstrance from the Privy Council, in which Hamilton had joined, representing that the treatment of Rigg was unnecessarily severe. The king did not receive the remonstrance graciously, but he died in February 1625, and Charles I. reigned in his stead.

In parting from the King of Scots we have a sentence or two to say about the King of England. Whether his Caledonian henchman gave him any aid in his foreign affairs we do not see. The reign of James I. in England presents other problems. The larger field was one in which it was impossible to indulge in the morbid self-consciousness which absorbed him in Scotland, and it is only just to his memory to say that his better qualities and undeniable intellectual vigour deserve to be recalled with respect. He reigned for twenty-two years, and in those days of tumult it is to his credit that he preserved peace for the kingdom both at home and abroad. It was not cowardice, as some complacent critics are ready to suggest, for it is the coward who always runs himself and his friends into danger. With all his coarseness and love of horse-play, and superficial levity and inconstancy, he had a vigorous and receptive intellect, and the pursuit of a sleuth-hound in following out his object.

A new era was inaugurated. Charles had little respect for his father's dilatory ways. One of his subjects, no doubt, was a gainer, for after a few months the worthy Bailie Rigg was liberated from his 'ward.' But the weather was

immediately altered in the Haddington direction. The Earl had to accept the office of the Privy Seal and to resign his place as President of the Court of Session. He was practically superseded as Secretary of State, though he was not disgraced or dismissed, but Charles, with courteous words, though cold, explained that it was necessary to have a secretary resident in London, and that Sir William Alexander, Lord Stirling, would be conjoined with him in the office.

Lord Haddington writes to his friend John Murray (Lord Annandale) as follows, in regard to his retirement from public affairs. He says:—

'Your lordship's question with Johnston, and that for the lairdners martis, are session actions in which I am altogether useless, because the half of the lords with whom I have scarce familiar acquaintance, much less any credit, are placed there since I was thought fit to be displaced, which some has contrived to be a disgrace to me, but I take it to be a singular favour to me from God and my gracious Master, whereby I am relieved of that toil which my age and decayed body could not have sustained without discovery of the effects incident to decaying men.'

Hamilton lived for ten years longer, but his political sway was at an end, and we may pause here and turn back to see how his personal and domestic interests had prospered.

As to his family, he was three times married and had many children. Of his wives, the only one of whose individuality we have a glimpse is the third, Lady Juliana Kerr, daughter of Sir Robert Kerr, of Ferniehurst. Two or three letters of hers are contained in the collection, and they are such as to make us wish there had been more of them. They are lively, affectionate, and self-contained. Whether they show that the consort of the ablest man in the country had nothing to wish for may be doubted; but perhaps even the greatest man's wife cannot say so. She had her grievance, not an uncommon one. She complains that she has not as much of her dignified lord's society as she wishes for. She cannot annihilate time and space which are combined to separate them, and through two or three letters she wails, it must be confessed very sweetly and very winningly, over his absence and her solitude. There may be a suspicion of misunderstanding under this, not grave, however, but enough to lend a little fire to her remonstrance. But they are ladylike, feminine and cultured, and the spelling is archaic, as it ought to be, and to our thinking delightful. It is not always considered that correct spelling,

which is frequently the degradation of orthography, may grow more vulgar as centuries go by.

The memoirs of the first Earl conclude with facsimiles of four of his autographs, as respectively Thomas Hamilton, Binning, Melrose, and Haddington, and one very emphatic and well-written signature of Juliana Kerr, Lady Binning. There is also prefixed to the volume a portrait of the Earl, which gives a good impression of the intellectual force of the man.

It may be assumed that thirty years of lucrative employment in the service of the Crown left Thomas Hamilton a rich man. The following is an abridged summary of his possessions at this date.

Sir William Fraser goes at considerable length into a description of the different acquisitions which Lord Haddington made. The first of these seems to have been Humbie, in the parish of Kirkliston, which he bought in 1598; and then followed the purchase of Binnie or Binning, in East Lothian, from which he took his first title. It was in 1607 that the lands of Binnie and those of Dalmeny, which had been bought from Alexander Moubray, were erected into a barony of Binnie. In 1603 Hamilton purchased lands of Monkland, Auchen Gray, and Gartsherrie, and had a charter of them, under a barony title, as the barony of Monkland. He also received a grant of all minerals in a variety of parishes in the Sheriffdom of Linlithgow, and in regard to these arose a question between him and the king relating to a silver mine which Hamilton had discovered. Two years later, Hamilton received a Crown charter, confirming to him the possession of the barony of the Byres and a variety of other subjects in East Lothian, including Drem and Muirton. They were part of the lands of the old family of Lindsay of the Byres. He acquired a number of different church rights belonging to the Abbey of Melrose, prior to his elevation to the Earldom of Melrose, and these were the subjects of confirmation grants from the Crown at the time of the decease of James I. A list of the charters granted by the Earl of Melrose as superior of Temple lands at Drem and elsewhere between 1615 and 1627 was found among the papers of his descendant, John Hamilton, of Drem, and shows that he granted a large number of charters in those years. The last and most important of the purchases of Hamilton was that of the estate of Tyninghame, which he bought in 1628. This property was an ancient possession of the Bishops of St. Andrews. About 1516 the lands were granted by the

Archbishop of St. Andrews, in lease to Robert Lander, of the Bass, who held the lands until 1621, when they were sold or mortgaged to John Murray, of Lochmaben, afterwards Earl Annandale. He in turn sold them to the Earl of Haddington in 1627, and the latter completed his title in 1628. The lands are well known for their great beauty and picturesque appearance on the shore of the Firth of Forth. The result of it all is that in 1625, when James I. died, the Earl of Melrose was in possession of a very large amount of property, amounting in yearly rental to 68,282 pounds Scots—as Sir William Fraser says, a very large sum at that time, forming an income which fully justified the estimate by the king and other contemporaries of the vast wealth of the Earl of Haddington.

But the reign of Charles was destined to shake somewhat the column thus erected by Lord Haddington, for in addition to the alteration which we have already described in regard to the offices which he had previously held, the first step which Charles took was a revocation of all the Crown grants of royal revenue which had been made in the reign of his predecessor. This, of course, was a severe blow to Lord Haddington, whose fortune was greatly derived from grants of that kind. It created a great ferment, and united most of the landed proprietors who had sided with the king in resisting it. Among the rest, not unnaturally, Thomas Hamilton took part in representing his own case. He was one of the commissioners appointed to carry out this revocation. The churchmen—the bishops, that is to say—of course, were anxious to promote the king's intentions, and the Bishop of Ross (Patrick Lindsay) is said to have been the principal mouthpiece of the opposition party, and entered a protest against the particular clause in the summons warning heritors and others to appear for their interest. Lord Melrose desired the clerk to record that the bishop's protest was without warrant from those in whose name he made it. The other bishops were silent, 'but,' writes the Earl, 'when their 'expressions to their confidants is duly considered and 'compared, it is believed by many that their chief aim is to 'destroy the erections granted by the blessed King James 'and ratified by the whole estates of Parliament, and to 'encroach to themselves all the teinds, which will be found 'too great a morsel for their greedy mouths.' In the end, Charles saw the necessity and the prudence of restricting very much the operation of this intended revocation. Apparently Hamilton was satisfied, and agreed to act upon this

Commission to carry out the restricted views which Charles had agreed to. And accordingly, this Commission on teinds or tithes remained at work, the object being to provide for the ministry a sufficient sustentation, leaving the teinds in the hands of the heritors who had rights to them.

But although Hamilton's ability was utilised by the king in regard to a matter with which he probably was more conversant than any other man in the kingdom, and the legal knowledge and learning which were universally respected, he does not appear to have had any of the king's confidence. The system which had been followed out with great success during his predecessor's reign, of being content with slender progress from time to time, was entirely abandoned; and in the end it became quite clear that the king intended to put an end to the Presbyterian rule altogether. Accordingly proceedings were taken for the purpose of formally restoring Episcopacy, and at that period Hamilton's busy life came to a termination. He died in 1637 at the age of 74. His third wife died a few months before him.

This ends substantially our task of giving our readers an account of these interesting volumes, and some idea of the career of the first Earl of Haddington, who is the hero of the work. That he was a very able man there can be no question; that he had to moderate between an excitable commonalty and a not less excitable monarch is quite certain. We have already indicated the grounds on which we are inclined to think that he would have moderated the king's actions still more, had his advice been followed, but as it was he had the mortification of surviving to a time when all these counsels of prudence and wisdom were thrown to the winds, and in 1637, when he died, the nation was plainly on the eve of an outbreak which followed within a year.

We ought to have made mention before this not only of the very interesting collection of letters and papers of the first Lord Haddington and of King James, but of a very remarkable and singular collection of letters from European sovereigns and others of historical celebrity. To these we must refer our readers, for they do not admit of classification or description. But they are of great individual interest. Among the autographs are those of Cardinal Beatoun, Andrew Melville, Samuel Rutherford, Maitland of Lethington, Bothwell, one of James V. (a signature and postscript), and a notarial instrument, in the handwriting of John Knox the Reformer, dated in 1642, before his renunciation of

Popery. This is given in facsimile in full, and is an autograph signed by Knox as a notary public.

The caprices of romance were not exhausted on the career of the first Earl of Haddington. His son, who succeeded to him in 1637, seems to have been a man of gentler fibre, but of ability and consideration. He had in his earlier years obtained a license from the Crown to travel on the continent, and we see no further traces of him until he takes up his father's title and estates in 1637. He had fallen on stormy days; the new service book which the king enjoined to be used universally had raised a tempest which grew to a height that was irresistible. It was clear that the comparative tranquillity which had followed the Five Articles of Perth had been owing to Thomas Hamilton's skilful guidance, and not to any indifference or acquiescence on the part of the Church or the people. In the end the service book could not be used without inducing a tumult, and the king had recourse at last to military force. The Presbyterian nobles and laity made preparations on their side, and after some not unnatural hesitation the young earl threw in his lot with the Presbyterians. The Marquis of Hamilton, writing to the king on this subject, said: 'Haddington has 'too much of the temper of these times, but he has oft sworn 'to me that he will never ask what your quarrel is, yet few 'of his friends I fear would go along with him in defence of 'Episcopacy.'

All contemporary accounts speak well of him. In 1640 he was appointed second in command to General Leslie, who had at last taken the field with the Scots force. To Lord Haddington was assigned the charge of the eastern district of Scotland. Some success had attended the Scots arms at Newcastle and Newburn to which Haddington had contributed; and elated with their good fortune, he and his brother officers, including two of his own brothers, were at dinner in the Castle of Dunglass, a structure on the coast of East Lothian, near Innerwick. It turned out that a quantity of gunpowder had been stored in the castle, and a sudden explosion laid the building in ruins and killed many of the party and wounded others. Haddington and his two brothers were among those killed. It seems that a young English page of Haddington's, suborned, as it was thought, by the English, had caused the occurrence, although he himself lost his own life. The event created a universal lamentation, for the young earl was popular among all

ranks. Baillie in his letters gives an account of the occurrence. He says :—

'On Sunday, the 30th, ane English villain having, as we are informed, been suborned by the garrison of Berwick, put fire in the powder which lay at Dunglass, and tumbled over the house on that brave and noble gentleman the Earl of Haddington, whose page he was, to whom the charge of all the east country was committed.' (Vol. i. p. 258.)

The second earl was twice married. The first wife was Lady Catherine Erskine, daughter of the Earl of Mar, whom he married in 1622. She died in 1635, and Lord Haddington's second wife was Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. Our author says that this lady was erroneously supposed to have been the heroine of the ballad of 'Johnnie Faa.' When the news of this appalling catastrophe reached her she was distracted with grief, and showed it by violent demonstrations.

The son and heir of the second earl, Thomas Hamilton, was a minor when his father was killed. A similar evil destiny pursued him, and that at a time when fortune seemed to be promising a brilliant future. He went abroad to France soon after his succession, and fell in love with and married the grand-daughter of the celebrated Admiral Coligny, and brought her home to Scotland. His career was promising, but he died of consumption within two years of his marriage. The young widow had only too chequered and romantic a destiny, but we need not follow her fortunes. This is what Burton, the historian of Scotland, says of her :—

'The young Earl of Haddington, the son [he was grandson] of that crafty old statesman called Tam o' the Coogate, who scraped together a fortune in public office under James VI., was studying in France when he met and fell in love with the beautiful Mdlle. de Choisin, granddaughter of the Admiral Coligny. When only 19 years old, he went back to France, married her, and brought her home. He died within a year, however, and the Countess, a rich, beautiful widow, returned to her friends. She was, of course, beset by admirers, and in reference to these M. Michel has turned up a curious passage in "Les Historiettes de Tallemand des Réaux," which, if true, shows the persevering zeal with which our Queen Henrietta Maria seized every opportunity to promote the cause of her religion.'

He goes on to say that her affections were bestowed upon the Chevalier Hepburn, one of the most renowned soldiers in the French service, that her mother gave her daughter a maternal box on the ear, carried her off, and to keep her out

of harm's way forthwith married her to the Count de la Suze, '*tout borgne, tout ivrogne et tout indetté qu'il étoit.*' *

To Thomas, the third earl, succeeded his brother, John Hamilton, in 1645, and he held the title till 1669. He seems to have taken some part in public affairs and in Parliament, but did nothing that calls for any special remark. Sir William Fraser in his account of him engrosses a petition by John, Earl of Hamilton, complaining strongly of being infested by a party of witches, whose names he gives, and petitions that they may be put to trial and execution according to lawful probation to be used against them; and apparently the petition, which was in the first instance presented to the Lords of the Articles, was at once assented to and a commission appointed. The result of the commission does not appear.

This fourth earl sold the barony of Dalmeny, which had been acquired by the first earl, to Sir Archibald Primrose in 1662. As a member of the Privy Council in 1666 he subscribed a letter to the king narrating the result of the conflict of the royal troops with the army of the Covenanters at Rullion Green.

His successor, Charles, the fifth earl, married Lady Christian Lindsay, the second daughter of John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay. He did not take much part in public affairs. His lot fell on the days of Monmouth and Lauderdale, and he died three years before the Revolution. Apparently, the principal event affecting the fifth earl was what was called the Bond and the sending down of the Highland host, in the close of the year 1677, to enforce the taking of the Bond on the Presbyterians of the West. The Bond appears to have been an obligation imposed, or assumed by those who signed it, not to hold any dealings with the Covenanters or the Presbyterian party in any way, not to attend their meetings, and not to attend the ministrations of their clergy. The fifth Earl of Haddington altogether refused to have any part in this matter; but the state of the country may be judged of by the fact that Hume says, in 1682: 'So inse-
'cure had life and liberty and property become in Scotland,
'that any condition seemed preferable to living in their
'native country, which, by the prevalence of persecutions
'and violence, was become as insecure as a den of robbers.'
Lord Haddington and others came to the resolution that the best course to follow was to expatriate themselves. The

* Burton, 'Scot Abroad,' vol. i. p. 232.

prime promoters of this scheme were Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir George Campbell of Lessnock, who entered into a contract with the lords proprietors of Carolina for a territory composed of 32 square plots of ground, each containing 12,000 acres, at a rent of a penny per acre, and among those who adhibited their names to the contract were the Earls of Haddington and Callander, Lords Yester and Cardross, Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth, with George Lockhart and Alexander Gilmour, Archibald Cockburn and Archibald Douglas, advocates. Each of the undertakers pledged themselves to pay 10*l.* to Sir Robert Baird, cashkeeper, before October 1, 1682. It is a remarkable occurrence, and indicates only too plainly how completely the objects of good government, personal and constitutional liberty, and impartial administration of the law, had failed to be secured by the government as it stood. It turned out, apparently, that some promoters of this scheme were suspected of having been engaged in an illegal conspiracy against the government, and against the life of the king and his brother, the Duke of York. How far that is true does not appear from the narrative before us, but the result was that the enterprise was not prosecuted any further.

The fifth earl died in 1685, and was succeeded by Thomas, the sixth earl, a man of considerably more mark than his immediate predecessors. Succeeding in 1685, he was proprietor of the Haddington estates when the Revolution Settlement took place, and from that time forward things assumed a very different aspect, as far as the social condition of Scotland was concerned. The Revolution Settlement embraced a recognition of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and it also re-enacted the statute of 1592, which established the Presbyterian polity in Scotland. Shortly after his succession the new earl engaged, with great keenness and great success, in the operation of planting at his estate of Tyninghame, and he ultimately published a book upon it. Sir William Fraser quotes at length some letters of his. He only came to Tyninghame in 1700, the estate having been, since the last earl's life, let to tenants; and his description of the state in which the land was left shows how much the hand of a proprietor was required. 'They 'pulled up the hedges, they ploughed down the banks, and 'let the drains fill up, so that,' says the earl, 'when I came 'to reside here everything of that kind was in ruins, except 'the thickets to the east and west of the house, prior to '1700.' The sixth earl had lived at Leslie House, his wife

being heiress presumptive to the title of Rothes, to which she ultimately succeeded. He only took up his residence at Tyninghame in that year.

The whole of this account is full of interest. At that time the planting of ornamental trees in Scotland was an art almost in its infancy. From the disturbed condition in which the country was, forest trees had not been spared in most of the more populous counties, although at an earlier period the wood may have been more luxuriant; but in East Lothian, where Tyninghame was situate, apparently it had been greatly neglected. Indeed, it was doubted whether trees would grow upon the sandy soil which was prevalent in that estate. By an accident, which is referred to in the volume before us, Lord Haddington learnt that on similar soil trees had been found to grow very favourably, and, at the instance of his countess, he resolved to make the experiment at Tyninghame. He did so with great success, and testimony is borne to the skill with which his operations were conducted by the magnificent timber which remains there. There is a wood at Tyninghame called the Binning Wood, and on that plot of ground his first experiment was tried. A tempest, which occurred some twelve years ago, on the east coast of Scotland, proved very fatal to the still remaining beauties of that stretch of woodland. But we are glad to think that, although much damage was done, much still remains of the exertions of Lord Haddington in that feature of the landscape.

Although Lord Haddington found occupation and found reputation in his plantations, he was involved, before many years had passed, in the very turmoil of political agitation. This was on the matter of the Union of the two countries, which, like such questions elsewhere, produced heated differences of opinion. Lord Haddington apparently was a man of sharp intelligence and considerable wit. He was also something of a poet. Some letters are contained in Sir William Fraser's memoir on the question of the Union with England in 1707. Lord Mar seems to have been a great friend and correspondent, and the letters are lively and effective. Writing to Lord Mar, in June 1707, he says:—

'Well, Mar, here I am, but if I should tell you that I think myself much happier nor when I was with you at London, I am sure you would not believe me. Hyde Park, St. James's, the Opera, and Holborn are never out of my head; for news I know none as yet. Belhaven was here the other day just as the Duke was going to his coach, and the first question he asked me was if I liked the Union as well as I used. I told him "Yes." "Then the devil take me," says

he, "if I ever believe a word you say, or ever ask any more "questions." '

A second letter on July 18, written to the same peer, says:—

'I had your letter some days ago. I return you a great many thanks for the inscription. I assure you, Belhaven is far short of it, for it is only a part of the Salton speeches put in Latin. "1707 "traditionis Sco. anno primo." But he thought so little of himself that it is only upon the door of a coal house.'

He goes on to say:—

'As to the humour of this country, your lordship guessed very right that nothing will please, and you must forgive me to say that there are some upon the Commission of Equivalent that are by much the greatest fools in the United Kingdom, and are so far from knowing what they are doing that they take notice to everything that is told them by people who are heart enemies to the Union, and for aught I know they have sent to stop the Equivalents coming down; for since it is not all in specie they will have none of it. This, I am sure, they were speaking of yesterday when I left Edinburgh, and anybody that pretended to convince them were looked on as great rascals by them, as I am sure *they* are fools.'

Lord Haddington seems here to have anticipated a certain great philosopher who flourished two hundred years later in his opinion of the majority of the community. Apparently in the matter of Union, neither in Scotland, nor elsewhere, do those who promote it escape such censures.

He died in 1735. An obelisk was erected to his memory in 1856, by Thomas, the ninth Earl of Haddington, in Tyninghame Park, bearing the following inscription:—

'To the memory of Thomas, sixth Earl of Haddington; born 1680, died 1735, who, in a period of the greatest national depression, had foresight and energy to set the example of planting on an extensive scale, and to be an active and successful promoter of gardening improvement; also to the memory of his wife Helen, sister of the first Earl of Hopetoun, born 1677, died 1768, of whose valuable suggestions and assistance her husband has left an ample record.'

Thomas the seventh Earl was the eldest son of the marriage of Charles Lord Binning and Rachel Baillie of Jerviswoode. Our author says of him:—

'Succeeding to the honours and estates of Haddington whilst in his minority, and living to an advanced age, he enjoyed these for 59 years. This is a longer period of possession than any of his predecessors or successors, and yet, although he attained the age of three score and fourteen years, there is not much of his personal history to record.'

In that he was more fortunate than his predecessors, but perhaps our task may admit of our accepting the statement of the historian and passing on. Nor shall we linger over the career, honourable as it was, of George, the eighth earl, except to quote Sir Walter Scott's saying of him when he was over seventy. 'Lord Haddington complains of his 'memory, when his conversation is as witty as a comedy and 'his recollection as exact as a parish register.' Even as playwrights and novelists take what liberties they please with time and place, we propose, in this panorama of shadowy Hamiltons, to drop the curtain in 1735 and raise it just a century afterwards, in 1835. We drop it ten years before the '45: we raise it when the ninth Earl of Haddington, another Thomas Hamilton, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under Sir Robert Peel's administration in 1835. We take this course, *first*, because we fear to become tedious, and *secondly*, because so much has happened in the interval. The old phantoms have vanished; no one is 'warded' now at the caprice of a monarch. Parliaments and General Assemblies meet like clockwork; prerogative and divine right have left us free to dispute about other things. The '45 has come and gone, and the world goes on as before. The French Revolution has come and gone, and has relegated the goblins of 1635 still further into the limbo of forgetfulness. The first Reform Bill of 1831 has come and has struck its roots deep into British soil; and another Thomas Hamilton is the viceroy of Ireland.

Sir William Fraser's bright little sketch of the last statesman among the Earls of Haddington brings us out of the regions of history into those of the present generation. This Thomas Hamilton was born in 1780, was two years younger than Brougham and Horner, and was familiar and conversant with all the celebrities of this century. His life ran in the ordinary groove allotted to a young man of rank who wishes to serve his country. He went to Oxford and passed through his curriculum there with distinction, and entered Parliament in his 22nd year in 1802.

He seems to have had a great and enthusiastic admiration of Pitt, and on the death of that statesman three years afterwards transferred his attachment to Canning, whose disciple he considered himself. But as we have now left ancient history, and scrambled into the age of party politics, we shall act more wisely by not joining issue with Sir William Fraser on the weight to be attached to Sir Walter Scott's opinion of the probable effect of the Roman Catholic

Relief Bill; nor can we agree with Lord President Hope that the House of Lords acted 'gloriously' in throwing out the first Reform Bill, or with his son John Hope the Dean of Faculty, on the same event, that 'no surrender' should be the war cry of the Tory opposition. We remember too much and too well. The war cry was shouted in October 1831; but it was hardly worth while to have hoisted the flag, as it was hauled down in June 1832. Lord Haddington knew better. We are more inclined to commend the Dean of Faculty as an authority on another department of political life. Lord Haddington was his cousin, and when he was appointed in 1835 by Sir Robert Peel to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Mr. Hope interposed some wholesome advice on matters on which we should not have expected him to speak with authority. But his code of procedure is so genial and so reasonable that it is worth while to quote from it. After congratulating Lord Haddington on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant, he says:—

'It so happens, from the cause I will mention, I know a good deal of viceregal faults, and will lecture you now, before you are actually majesty itself.

'*First.*—Get the best cook in Europe. Aberdeen has Lord Anglesey's last cook; very good for Haddo, or even Argyll House; not fit for the Phœnix.

'*Second.*—Find out for your chamberlain, or whatever the man is called, an affable, easy-tempered man of the world to take charge, i.e. to spend freely; turn it over to the said gentleman, such as Col. Gore, in the Duke of Richmond's time, was; ask him no questions, give yourself no trouble, only insist on splendour. You have never had to do things on this scale; it will never do with you if you attempt the slightest charge—never.

'*Third.*—Avoid, in the people about you, English dandies—London men unable to adapt themselves to the people they find there. You know not what universal offence this has long given in Ireland; it is one of the sorest subjects possible in Dublin. Get, if you can, good Irishmen. People in London will tell you the reverse; I can tell you, from knowledge of the fact, that this, and this alone, will go down. All Lord Lieutenants split on their London and English men.

'*Fourth.*—Get my lady to have the Irishwomen constantly at parties; that has been another rock since the Union. Not one lady has done it with consideration for the Union, I believe not one.

'*Fifth.*—Give plenty of Sneyd's claret. Taste it not; it is poison; but they like it much.

'*Sixth.*—Provoke all fun in every way you can.'

And so the advice goes on to

'*Nine.*—Something still more practical: Be so good as to have a

couple of rooms ready for me in the Phœnix Park on the 6th of August, on which day I mean to be with you.'

Probably the advice thus given proved to be as good as it sounds, and it probably was adopted by the person to whom it was addressed. But his viceregal honours did not last long, for Sir Robert Peel's Government came to a speedy termination, and with it Lord Haddington's office. He was however, again in office in 1841 as first Lord of the Admiralty and afterwards as Lord Privy Seal, and in all these capacities he distinguished himself, as he was certain to do, by courtesy, good breeding, intelligence, and large experience. Sir William Fraser's memoir contains two or three ineresting letters from other correspondents. Lord Lyttelton writes on February 5, 1835, 'I have just got a few lines from 'the Bishop of Oxford—I would he were Bishop of Durham—'in which he quotes two beautiful couplets: "Those in will 'grin, those out will pout," adding that, however, he does not 'grin, to which I beg to add that neither do I pout.' There is an interesting description by a relative, Sir George Baillie Hamilton, of the Court of Louis Philippe at the Tuileries dated in 1831. He was an attaché to the British Embassy at Brussels, and he writes thus:—

'My dear Lord,—I wish you and my Lady a happy Christmas, and many of them. I had returned here from Paris on the 15th, in order to be present at the king's fête on the 16th, to wish him—King Leopold of Belgium—joy at Court, on the evening of the 15th, and to attend mass in St. Gudule, being the second time I have attended his Majesty at Popish worship. The first time was for the souls of the blessed 1st of September, or, rather, the defunct of September. I made a most rapid journey from Paris. I dined at the Tuileries on Tuesday, when I took the orders of the King of France, Queen, and our future Queen for Leopold, and several letters. I was the only guest at dinner, and was certainly invited in order that I might say amiable things to Leopold. I enjoyed the party very much. The Queen took my arm and walked in to dinner with me before the citizen-king. She is a most agreeable and delightful person, and her conversation was very interesting. The king looked gloomy and unhappy: no wonder. They were surrounded by all their family, and were quite like a family of the *bon bourgeois*, although in the magnificent apartments of the Tuileries, and surrounded by such magnificence. I stayed the greater part of the evening much amused, and set out the next morning for Brussels. I came so quick, travelling all night, that I was at Court here the following evening at 8 o'clock, and delivered my letters to the king.'

Lord Haddington was also on intimate terms with Chevalier Bunsen, and seems to have kept up a very constant corre-

spondence with him. Indeed, entering Parliament as he did in 1802, there were very few contemporaries of distinction with whom he had not more or less acquaintance. And here we leave him. He was a worthy successor of John Hamilton of 1590, and the contrast between 1590 and 1890 is as instructive as could be made. The ninth Earl of Haddington had not the tenacious fibre of his ancestor, but he had what the progress of time and opinion naturally produced, a gentler view of public affairs, a milder temper and more easy times. A more agreeable or more interesting companion it was impossible to meet. In his own house at Tyninghame in his later days, a guest was fortunate who was able to enjoy for an hour or two the charm of his conversation.

> 'Seen him we have, but in his happier hour
> Of social converse, ill exchanged for power.'

We should not think that he had ever made an enemy; certainly all the recollections that he has left behind him are genial and bright.

Our task is now concluded; although it has been very difficult with such a mass of miscellaneous though interesting information, to reduce it to any method. The last two Earls of Haddington mentioned in the volume come so close on these times that it is not necessary that we should pursue our analysis further. The earldom went to the representative of George Lord Binning, who married the heiress of Mellerstain about 1720, and on the representative of that family, George Baillie of Mellerstain, the earldom of Haddington devolved. It could not have fallen on more genial ground, although George Baillie was not a politician but a country gentleman: a man of great ability, foremost in all country pursuits; a sportsman, a cricketer, good in the saddle as in the field. He was a charming companion, and when he was called upon, as commissioner to the General Assembly, to take his part in grave and important public matters, discharged his duty with the same dignity and the same ease that attended him in every other walk of life. He was a man of very ready wit and great natural liveliness and versatility, and no man was more missed when he died twelve years after his succession to the title. And so we part with regret from this valuable memorial of a very distinguished line. There is much to be learnt from it, in politics, in manners, and in general public sentiment. One great advantage to be derived from collections of this kind is that the study of the state of political and social life as exhibited

over a period of three hundred years enables the intelligent inquirer to apply experience to political problems. Under which king, which system, what institutions were the ends of good government best attained? In this free country what these are no one doubts—personal and constitutional freedom, and impartial administration of the laws; and these volumes enable us to a large extent to cast the balance between the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth centuries, between Popery and Protestantism, between Prerogative and the Revolution Settlement. The decision will not be always all one way; but that experience has given her verdict in no ambiguous terms on the strong diverging lines by which they are separated, in this age of the world, admits, we think, of no doubt.

Art. II.—1. *Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff.* 2 vols. Paris: 1888.

2. *Journal de Marie Bashkirtseff.* Translated by Mathilde Blind. London: 1890.

'I believe,' wrote Marie Bashkirtseff, 'that there does 'not exist at present *a photograph*, if I may call it 'such, of the whole existence of any woman; of all her 'thoughts—*of all*, in short. It would be very curious.' So curious that it is noteworthy that twice in our memory a young woman should have confided to the leaves of a journal not only the details of daily life and the portraits of her family, but also her studies and amusements, her day-dreams, her toilettes, her hopes and fears, loves, hates, and aspirations, all the hunger and thirst, and all the gratifications of her nature. It follows logically that both these writers were women of uncommon originality, and it is sad to be obliged to add that their autobiographies are about the saddest pages we ever read. Eugénie de Guérin lived in a shabby French château, among the villagers and *curés* and local interests of her Languedocian neighbourhood. Marie Bashkirtseff haunted watering places and winter cities in France, Italy, and Germany; and both kept a journal. Eugénie was poor and lonely, but had a brother for whom she lived, whose talents and merits she exaggerated, and whose death she could not long survive. Marie was brought up to live for herself, and died of over-excitement. Eugénie was hardly aware when she wrote those

records of her obscure days, all dedicated to family affection, that she was painting with her ink and with her tears a *naïve* yet complete picture of French family life, one of which the pathetic beauty will never lose its charm, so long as men care to discern the loveliness of sisterly devotion, and 'the pain of finite hearts that yearn.' Although no bitter word occurs in her journal, yet Eugénie de Guérin had early passed through the ordeal of all gifted natures whose youth has to be spent in a sterile and painful struggle between their aspirations and the vulgar realities of our common lot. But she grew calm, or, rather, she achieved calm, as she learnt to look less at life than at the large horizon of immortality; and if her little world of meagre meals and small, monotonous avocations ceased to appear too narrow for her, it was because in the chestnut woods, the flower-tangled lanes, and the sombre rooms of La Cayla she had become the unconscious poet who finds God and poetry in the humblest tasks. The Bashkyr's daughter, always in rebellion against her lot, and disappointed of her ambitious hopes, asked even of her journal 'what was the use of recording so much disgust and so much sadness,' and then fell back upon the belief that the journal might win for her after death a larger guerdon of renown than ever was dealt out to her in life. She determined, by telling 'the strict, the absolute, and the exact truth, to render her manuscript a remarkable monument both from the literary and the human point of view.' So it is; and it boldly challenges attention while Eugénie's low voice steals plaintively to the heart. The more we look at the two journals the more glaring grows the disparity. Eugénie had the devout temperament of the Celt. She was pious, self-sacrificing, compassionate, credulous—nay, superstitious, if you will; but her prayer was always for light, for nearer communion with the Unseen, and her efforts were for greater progress towards the realisation of the Christian ideal, the noblest and the purest that has ever been set before the human race. Marie's creed was but a hearsay one, and her faith was terribly shaken now by the reverses of her vainglory, and again by her studies in Goncourt and Zola. At best, her divinity was a sort of fetish, to be cajoled or threatened, —a very arbitrary Disposer of events, and never a moral power or a guide. Eugénie wished for her brother Maurice's success, but at the same time warned him that this world is 'dark, sad, and like a soil accursed,' and that, as God is the abiding place of the soul, so she had

come to be seized with nostalgia when she thought of heaven. She was proud of the friends Maurice made, while, for herself, not occupied with great matters or great people, she realised that she would never dwell in high places till she reached the Land that is very far away :—

'Why?' cries Marie Bashkirtseff, 'can I not endure the intellectual poverty in which I have to live? I do not believe, however, that I am capable of a feeling of which ambition does not form a part. *I despise people who are nothing.* Yet to have lived in one way or another, what does it matter? The end is always the same. What can a thing signify if it does not last, and if it leaves no traces?'

Thanks to the strange dualism of nature, which is so often met with in Russian minds, this ambitious girl allows herself now and again to doubt of the real value of the success for which she panted; but, probably because the public prizes it, she returns to her original estimate of it as of the only thing to be desired. 'I shall work; I 'shall have talent, and perhaps *this* (the journal) will leave 'traces after my death.'

The journal of Marie Bashkirtseff, commenced when she was twelve years old, and carried on to within ten days of her premature death, has caused a great sensation in Europe, but a far greater one in America. This was both probable and improbable. Books dealing with analysis of character are popular there; but, on the other hand, we think that the religious tone of poor Marie's confessions must be shocking to many New England ears. Piety in New England was planted on careful theological lines, and many American minds have dealt with the terrible self-introspection and the agonising inquiries of those Christians whose aims are the perfecting and purifying of their own souls. To the Russian mind, even if—unlike Mlle. Bashkirtseff—it happens to be a devout one, all this is unknown. Religion to the average orthodox believer is an affair of the *obriad* (ritual), the due ceremonial worship of the all-encompassing deity. 'God,' says their proverb, 'is in heaven'—that is to say, He is the Heaven-high, unquestionable, objective Truth, and faith in Him entails little of the moral responsibility which in Western, and certainly in Protestant, minds, has come to interpenetrate the whole of life. Looked at from this point of view, the journal must have had rather a *succès de scandale* than one of esteem. But socially the book was sure to appeal to American readers. On that side of the Atlantic it is no new thing for a young woman to come before the world, to cut out for herself a successful and

honourable career, and to sacrifice all other considerations to the developement of her individuality. In America there is no aristocracy but that of wealth; no one inherits distinction; it must be won, and a passionate wish naturally arises to make one's mark in one's own day and generation. As a rule the tendency is towards an artistic or a professional career, but of late years it has set towards fashion. So if the French soldier's knapsack carries the legendary *bâton*, the trunk of the American girl contains the possible blue ribbon of the turf, to be won by her in the race for fashionable distinction. And her ambition meets with sympathy. For when the professional beauty, after due study of the 'Almanach de Gotha' and of the 'British Peerage,' leaves her home, her conquests are applauded not only by her family, but by whole cities, townships, and states, who have watched her preliminary canters, and who invest not a little of their vanity in her triumphs. The more sober and valuable achievements of American women as sculptors, singers, artists, actresses, lecturers, and doctors are of world-wide renown; for if America has produced Charlotte Cushman, Harriet Hosmer, Mary Anderson, and Marie van Zandt, society in both hemispheres has fallen down and worshipped them. But never did professional beauty, or jealous *diva*, or lecturer from the States draw such a picture of personal ambition as has been done by this Russian girl, who lived too fast and died too young, and who has, through Miss Blind's admirable translation of her journal, won in America that celebrity for which she longed. American readers are amazed at Mlle. Bashkirtseff's versatility, and they are not shocked at the flimsiness of her education in everything but art. Her elegance and restlessness please them, and they have been conquered, not by her canvases, but by this journal, by the *naïveté*, the recklessness, and the half-insolent grace of the Bashkyr's daughter. In Paris the book has not sold so well, yet Paris is not unfaithful to the girl-artist's memory. The city which trains and also devours so many aspirants for fame still honours her genius, for two of her pictures are placed among the national treasures in the gallery of the Luxembourg. A prize, called that of 'Marie Bash-'kirtseff,' founded to stimulate and to reward the industry of female students, will further serve to keep her memory green. It is paid out of the interest of 10,000 francs, which she bequeathed to the Société des Artistes Français des Champs-Elysées, not dreaming that within six years of her

death a split would arise, and the Salon of Paris be deserted by half a dozen or more of its leading artists.

In the Russian section of the Great Exhibition of 1889, Mlle. Bashkirtseff had a real triumph with ten oil pictures of genuine merit, which did not, however, include in their number her beautiful 'Spring.' Her versatility was proved by a statuette in bronze, and by a portrait in pastel, and the impression left by her work on the minds of the best critics was that it had the enthusiasm and the convictions which indicate original talent. Her compatriots are justly proud of her, but Paris, which nursed her talent, lays garlands in the Chapelle Expiatoire in the cemetery at Passy. M. André Theuriet, anxious to do for this Russian girl what George Sand and Sainte-Beuve did for the two Guérins, has edited her papers and dedicated some touching lines 'to the 'ardent and wonderful *artiste*, who felt in her young veins 'such an obstinate wish, such a necessity to live and to 'struggle.'

Who was this pretty, gifted, and unhappy child? Marie Bashkirtseff was born in the winter of 1860, near Poltava in the Ukraine, in a district of which her father was not really a native, but where his family had been settled long enough to allow of his occupying a position of prominence, for he was *Marchalka* of the nobility of Poltava. Madame Bashkirtseff (*née* Babanine) belonged to that local nobility, but boasted of Tartar blood, and of a descent from the first, or Golden Horde.

We have here an odd strain of blood, promising little conventionality and a good deal of restlessness. The Bashkyrs of Orenbourg are of Central Asian extraction—the race, a mixed yellow and white one, best known throughout Europe by its preparation of *koumiss* from mare's milk. They are semi-nomadic only; Mongols, whose creed is in some instances Mahometan, in a few cases idolatrous, with *Chamans* or magicians for priests, but as a rule they are followers of Buddha. They make good soldiers and fair officers, and the militia regiments raised about Orenbourg are, from the courage of the men and the beauty of their mounts, a valuable arm of the service, a missing link between the regular cavalry or the organised Cossack troops and those wild tribes recruited from provinces where white and yellow races meet, and oppose so many difficulties to the work of Russian unification among the 127 tribes of their Central Asian possessions. Just such a Bashkyr must have been Marie's progenitor, the officer of a militia regiment, who

first gave up his savage habits, and settled in the Ukraine. From him sprang the paternal grandfather, of whom she says, 'Paul Gregorivitch, of the Bashkyrs, was a provincial 'noble, brave, tenacious, hard, and even fierce. I believe 'that he was elevated to the rank of a general after the 'Crimean War. He married the adopted daughter of some 'great person, a young girl. She died at thirty-eight years 'of age, leaving him five children—my father and four 'sisters.' No culture was to come from this quarter, but of her maternal grandfather Marie says, 'Grandfather 'Babanine was the contemporary of Lermontoff and of 'Poushkine. He was a poet of the Byronian school, 'a soldier and a man of letters. He had been in the 'Caucasus. He married very young, a Mlle. Julie Cornélius, 'who, at fifteen years of age, was very gentle and pretty.'

The marriage of Mademoiselle Bashkirtseff's parents turned out very badly. Family disputes and the alternatives of a harassing lawsuit, broke up their home, and after a short experience of married life, the wife (*née* Babanine) went back to live with her parents. She took with her her two children, a boy and a girl. The breach thus made was never really healed, though M. Bashkirtseff represented himself as remaining extremely attached to his wife, and though the painful effects of their separation were to be felt by Marie to the end of her life.

In 1870, the Babanine family left Holy Russia, and thus, at ten years old, began for little Marie those wanderings over Western Europe which constitute all the difference for good and for bad between the Russians abroad and the Russians at home. Money, idleness, and the sort of vagrancy which caprice engenders, have at last produced the strange hybrid type which fills the watering places of the West. Cherbuliez says aptly of them that 'men and beasts know them, and 'they know all the world.' They speak all languages, and play on all instruments. They dabble in politics, intrigue, gamble, smoke, and drink tea till their nervous systems are destroyed and they constitute incomes for the doctors. Clever, fascinating, restless, inquisitive, and lavishly hospitable, they are always in search of excitement; and a colony of such women must of necessity produce a strange effect on the young life which has to be developed in its midst. Marie Bashkirtseff describes the first effect of exchanging the morasses of the Ukraine for the streets of Vienna and the saloons of Baden-Baden as 'an intoxication.'

'We got fairly drunk on the new clothes, and the beautiful shops,

on the theatres and on a month of June when the season at Baden was at its height of full Parisian elegance. I was rather delicate and not pretty, for I had shot up too fast, which, however, did not prevent all the world considering me as a being who must inevitably and absolutely turn out some day all that was finest and most brilliant. Mamma went to a Jew who told fortunes. "You have two children," he said. "Well, your son will be like everybody else, but your daughter will be a star."'

This already precocious little girl had for her juvenile court her two grandparents, her mother, her brother, an aunt (Madame Romanof, *née* Babanine), and a cousin, the long-suffering Cinderella of her many caprices; to say nothing of her family doctor and of governesses, young, old, and polyglot, with which a Russian house never fails to swarm.

Marie learnt quickly, or rather she picked up quickly the jargon both of the schoolroom and of the *salon*, for she was *au fond* frivolous and impatient, with more cleverness than talent, yet she was so far superior to her surroundings that she worked without a guide and excited some surprise by her taste for knowledge. At twelve years of age she wrote French correctly, danced beautifully, had a genius for music, and prayed that her voice might, indeed, make her a star.

'Ever since I can remember I have had aspirations after I know not what great estate, and every day before going to sleep I recite this supplementary petition: "Grant that I may never have the small-" pox, that I may be pretty, that I may have a beautiful voice, that I " may marry happily, and that mamma may live a long time."'

The Franco-Prussian war sent this large family party from Baden to Geneva, where Marie had her first drawing lessons. Her grandmother Babanine died there, and Marie says 'the remembrance of her is a respectful, holy, and 'beloved one; but I was too little to love her as she de-'served.' By January, 1873, they were settled in Nice, in a villa on the Promenade des Anglais. Its wide-stretching garden went from the beach, with its tinkling pebbles and its thundering surf, back as far as the dirty, noisy Rue de France. That old highway between France and Italy remained then unmodernised, and had a good deal of local colour. There were booths and baskets of lemons, and jangling mule teams, and the long white walls of convents in whose gardens the camellia trees wore their pink or white blossoms all winter, and where in spring the almonds budded among the grim cypress spires. In its shabby church the old women gathered, but the male population

preferred to loiter about the doors, where bouquets and *berlingots* were sold, and where gossip was rife. These aspects fascinated Marie. She made friends with her neighbours big and little, sang to the poor, and teased the nuns, and there, with Dina her cousin, with her dog and her music lessons, she grew up. And the poor pretty child might have grown up happy, had not the fond and partial vanity of her friends lit in her heart that fierce fever for distinction, which was as a flame, serving to light her brief career, but consuming her as it burned.

At twelve years old she fell in love. Dante, Goethe, and Byron had all experienced the tender passion before that age, but still Mlle. Marie's *engouement* seems premature, and, what is odd, it was already leavened with shrewdness and ambition. She loved an English duke, and went on the terrace to see him pass. She never, however, exchanged a syllable with the man, who made an equal display there of his fortune, his good looks, his mistress, and his team. She settled in her own mind that this *liaison* was only ephemeral, that everything comes to those who know how to wait, and that the way to win this coronet was to become a singer of such marvellous power that its owner must infallibly ask for her hand. But before such a desirable combination could be got to work Mlle. Marie learnt from her governess that the duke had engaged himself to an Englishwoman who was his equal in rank. She trembled in every limb, and thus passed in tears over the bridge which separates the child from the woman.

'I wish I had the talent of all the authors rolled into one to convey a just idea of my despair, of my wounded vanity, of my foiled hopes. You laugh! but perhaps some one may yet be found to weep. O God, have pity on me! I protest that I do firmly believe in Thee; *but* a life like mine for a temper like mine!'

A terribly precocious girlhood this, which could take such counsel with itself, or rather with its diary.

'All my life is in this book, and my most lucid moments are those in which I write. They are perhaps my only calm ones. If I die soon I may burn all this, but if I should live to be old, people will read my journal. But if I should die immediately, and that, by some bad luck, these pages had not been burnt, then people will say, "Poor "child! she loved; and all her despair arose from that cause."' Let them say so! I won't prove the contrary: the more I protested the less would they credit me . . . . I walk white and silent as a shadow, gathering my souvenirs scattered all along the promenade. Every house, every tree, every telegraph pole brings a recollection good or

bad; a tender or a vulgar one. I go upstairs and make a delicious Empire *coiffure*, and put on my white dress, the one I had my picture done in. It is a big gown, fit for a statue, with sleeves that I roll up above the elbows. It is cut round in front, and a little at the back, and draped with a deep floating Valenciennes lace, which falls and shows the beginning of the neck. The gown is loose, but bound at the waist and across the chest with two white ribbons, which are tied in a simple knot. No gloves, and no ornaments! I am delighted with myself! Under this white woollen stuff my arms look so white! Oh, how white! I am pretty, I am animated. . . . The disorder of this house is a great trial to me. All these domestic details, these unfurnished rooms, this look of disorder and misery, break my heart. Heaven have pity on me, and help me to arrange all this! When all is pretty and comfortable and rich around me, I am good, and gay, and happy; but desolation and emptiness render me desolate and empty within. The swallow arranges her nest, the lion his den; why should man, who is so superior to the beasts, not do better? When I say superior, it is not that I esteem mankind. I despise human nature deeply. I expect nothing good from it, because it does not contain that which I seek and hope for—a good and perfect soul. Those who are good are stupid, and those who are clever are either cunning or too much occupied with their own wits to be good. Besides, every creature is essentially selfish. Now show me goodness in a selfish man, or in a self-interested one, or in cunning, or in intrigue, or in envy. Blessed are those who have ambition. It is a noble passion. By vanity and by ambition one is kept up and led to *appear* good before other people, or for a short time at least; and that is better than never. . . . No doubt there will come a day in which I shall believe that I have found the right man, but on that day I shall be hideously mistaken. I foresee that day clearly. I shall then have blinded myself, and if I say this now it is because my eyes are clear. But at this rate why live at all, since everything is vile? Why? Well, because I understand that it is so, and because, in spite of what you may say, life *is* a fine thing, and because, if you won't look into it too deeply, you can be happy in it. One must reckon on finding in it neither friendship nor gratitude, neither fidelity nor honesty. One must rise bravely above all these miseries, and choose between them and God. The best plan is to take fully all that you can out of life, doing no harm to one's neighbour, but not allowing a single occasion of pleasure to slip. One must arrange for oneself a life at once comfortable, fashionable, and magnificent, and raise oneself as much as possible above other people by being powerful. Yes, powerful! powerful! never mind how! Then one would be feared or respected; then one would be strong, and *that* would be the height of human felicity, because other people would then be muzzled, so that, from cowardice, or some other cause, they would not bite one. Is it not odd to hear me reasoning in this way? Yes, but this very reasoning on the part of a little young dog like me is but a fresh proof of what this world is worth. Must it not be well steeped in baseness and wickedness that it should have already saddened me so much, for I am only fifteen years of age? . . . What

a quantity of words! Oh, visions! day dreams! Mentally I am always rising and rising. My soul is great, but then what is the use of that? for I live in a dark corner, ignored by all. Now here am I regretting, or missing, my fellow-creatures! Well, I have never despised them; on the contrary, I am looking out for them, for the multitude; that is the thing! What matters a few superior beings? I want the whole world, and I want noise, I want show. . . It is beautiful here, the air is so soft, the moonlight so white, the trees stand out so dark. Nice is beautiful! I should not prefer the most beautiful prospect in the world to this view which I have from my window. It is lovely, but sad! sad! sad! I will read a little more, and then go on with *my brain's novel*.'

With her usual shrewdness Mlle. Bashkirtseff justly terms this book 'her brain's novel.' If a critic searched for a year he could not hit on so just an appellation. Few confessions or autobiographies are faithful; they are all more or less self-conscious tracings, and not what they profess to be —photographs of the inner life. We all posture to ourselves, and a vanity as excessive as that of Marie was sure to spin its own romance, as she was assuredly and exclusively her own heroine. Exaggeration was habitual to her, and she used it to render the passages of the brain novel more dramatic. In this way she found a relief to her overstrained nervous system and a diversion from the monotony of life in her family. She was aware that she often laid on the colour too thickly.

'Why cannot I speak without exaggeration? My dark reflections would be justice if they were but a little more calm, but the violence of their form takes away from their truth. You will say perhaps that I am possessed by these ideas because I have been wounded by something. But no! there is nothing more the matter with me than my habitual crosses. If I had been born a princess of Bourbon (like Madame de Longueville), if I had had earls for servants, and monarchs for my parents and friends, if ever since my first steps in life I had met nothing but the bowed heads of eager courtiers, if I had never walked but upon coats of arms, and never slept but under a royal daïs, if I had had a line of ancestors all more glorious and proud than the other, it seems to me that I should have been neither more proud nor more arrogant than I am. Oh, my God, how I bless Thee! These ideas come to me from Thee! They keep me in the right path, and they do not allow me to withdraw my eyes for a moment from the luminous star towards which I walk (I believe that at this moment I am not walking at all, but I *will* walk; and for such a trifle one would ruin such a fine sentence!) Oh! but I am tired of my obscurity! I am dried up with inaction; I am growing mouldy in the dark. Sunlight! sunlight! sunlight! But from what quarter will it come to me? when? and whence? and how? and where? . . . I am im-

patient, but my day will come. That is what I wish to believe, and yet something tells me that it will never come, and that I shall pass my whole life—a whole life—expecting, and waiting! always waiting! waiting! I dare not pray to God, for it suffices that I should ask for a thing to make it certain not to happen. Yet I dare not remain prayerless, lest afterwards I should have to say to myself, "Oh, if I had but "prayed to God." Decidedly I will pray, that I may have no reproaches to make to myself. . . . I know that it is quite unworthy of a superior mind to bite off one's fingers because of slights received in a place like Nice; but it is beyond me just to give my head a shake and to go away and think no more of the matter. I am wretched, yet I have not wept, or thrown myself on the ground—I am calm, and that is a bad sign. It would be better to be angry. I am cold, and my mouth burns. . . . My God, if you will grant me such a life as I would like, if you will take compassion on me I promise you to go from Kharkoff as far as Kiev on foot, as the pilgrims do. And if you will satisfy my ambitions I will go to Jerusalem, doing the tenth part of the way on foot. But is it not a sin to do as I am doing? The saints used to make vows to God, but I seem to be dictating my conditions to Him. No, He sees that my intentions are good.'

A change of scene was to do something for these miseries, caused by the premature developement of her nature, the painful and unsatisfactory circumstances of her mother's life, and by that strange dualism where vanity, passion, and *ennui*, on the one side, strove with the energy and the nobler aspirations of an untrained mind and of a hungry heart. 'They say that nothing is lost in the universe, but 'if so what has become of my love?' She asks this as she recalls months spent in castle-building round a man whom she had seen pass ten or twelve times, to whom she had never addressed a word, and who had not a suspicion of her existence. Rome was to be the goal of the journey now undertaken by the Babanine family. Marie was delighted with Florence, but it is characteristic of the Russian, on his or her travels, that though she had had a great deal to say about the masterpieces of the Florentine galleries, she has not a word for the provinces she passed through. The Lake of Thrasimene, the fair plain of Assisi, spreading from the heights of Spoleto to the hill of Perugia, 'intra Lupino e 'l'acqua che descende dal colle eletto del beato Tebaldo,' the basilica of S. Maria degli Angeli, and all the rugged slopes of 'the rock between Tiber and Arno,' as well as the first glimpses of the Campagna, of distant Soracte, and of the Alban Mount, all left this pilgrim from the Ukraine calm. 'Are you fond of landscapes and of the beauties of Nature?' a distinguished Russian asked one day of his neighbour at a

dinner table. The young lady, also a child of Holy Russia, replied, without any prolixious blushes, that she was indifferent to the landscape and its beauties. 'As for me, mademoiselle, I execrate them,' was the rejoinder. Without going quite so far as this, Mlle. Bashkirtseff spares herself any *impressions de voyage*. Only the first sight of the Vatican gives her a genuine emotion :—

'In seeing its immensity I wished that they might never destroy the Papacy. The Popes are great because they were the creators of such a great thing, and worthy to be honoured for having so spent their lives, their power, and their gold as to leave to posterity that colossal *abracadabant* which we call the Vatican. . . . I have never seen anything to compare to the staircases and rooms we crossed. A servant in red livery led us into a long gallery adorably painted, and with bronzed medallions let into its walls. To the left and to the right, rows of hard chairs, and at the end a bust of Pius IX., under which was placed a fine gilt chair, covered with red. The hour fixed had been half-past eleven, but only at one o'clock was the curtain lifted. And then, preceded by some guards and by officers in uniform, and surrounded by some cardinals, appeared the Pope. He was dressed in white, with a red cloak, and leant on a staff with an ivory handle. I knew him from his portraits, but in reality he is a much older man, and his under lip hangs down as it does in an old dog. Everybody knelt down. The Pope came first to us, and asked us who we were. A cardinal read our names from the letters of audience. "Russians, then, from St. Petersburg?" he said. "No, Holy Father," replied Mama, "from Little Russia." "And these young ladies are yours?" "Yes, Holy Father." "Rise!" said the Pope. . . . When he stopped in the middle we all knelt down again, and he made us a little speech in very bad French, comparing the demands for indulgences at the approach of the Jubilee to the repentance which comes at the moment of death, and saying that we must gain heaven little by little, and do every day something pleasing to God. Little by little we draw nigh to our country, but that country is neither St. Petersburg nor London nor Paris. It is a heavenly one. We must think of it every day of our lives. Then he added, in Italian, turning to one of his suite, "*Non è vero? anche il cardinale lo sa.*" The cardinal whom he addressed began to laugh, and so did the others. There must have been some meaning for them in the allusion, and the Holy Father went away smiling and very much pleased. After he had given his blessing to the persons present, he blessed the pictures, chaplets, &c., I got a rosary blessed, which I put in my soap box as soon as I got home. While the old man was blessing and talking I prayed to God that the old man's blessing might be a real benediction, and might deliver me from my griefs.'

We shall see that, so far from delivering her, the Holy Father, before the season was over, put a spoke in the

wheel of Mademoiselle Marie's plans; but her trust in his benediction is none the less distinctive of her attitude of mind. The rites of the Church were to her as so many solemn charms, prayers as so many incantations intended to ward off danger; the priest was a depositary of sacred secrets; even the Christ Himself, with the saints on the gilt iconostas, was but as the most powerful, though the gentlest of enchanters. In spite of this devotion to the *obriad* (or ritual), Mlle. Marie does not seem to have been much affected by the ceremonial of the Church in Rome. On the contrary, she danced and took singing lessons, and at the end of three months was deep in a flirtation with a nephew of Cardinal Antonelli. This attachment was not fated to end in a marriage. The young gentleman was, as the Italians phrased it, '*un po' passerello*,' and the young lady never knew her own mind. Perhaps her fortune was not such as to meet the exigencies of the case, for the cardinalino had debts, and perhaps the Holy Father had heard reports unfavourable to the family of the Russian beauty. At all events, the Pope and the Cardinal forbade the match, and the young gentleman was sent to a convent on Monte Celio to reflect on some newer way of paying old debts. Madame Bashkirtseff, on her side, declared that the alliance would not have been good enough for her daughter, and went to Naples in the spring.

'And here I come to my journal, praying it to solace my empty heart. I am sad, anxious, and unhappy, and it is the benediction of the Pope that has brought me misfortunes. They say he is a *porte-malheur*. I walk up and down my room, moaning like a wounded wolf. There is only one thing to do—to resign oneself. Orders have been given to Pietro, and he has obeyed them; but to have obeyed them he must have loved me very little. God wishes for a German sort of resignation, and I am incapable of it. Does He think that those who have it have conquered themselves? No; they are resigned because they have water in their veins instead of blood. I am tired, restless, wretched. Whatever becomes of me, I shall leave this journal to the public. All the books you read are inventions. The situations are forced and the characters are false, but this is the photograph of a whole life.'

It was long before Marie got the episode of the Cardinalino out of her head, and when they reached Paris the girl took the opportunity to consult Alexis, the somnambulist, about the state of health and fortune of herself and of her quondam admirer. He told her that she had a chronic inflammation of the larynx, and it would have been well, con-

sidering the precarious state of her voice and health, if she had attended to his warnings rather than to his prophecies, with regard to the Cardinalino, who, she was told, still thought of her, and still got on very badly with his terrible uncle the prime minister. 'Well, what do you say to that? 'if it is charlatanism it has wonderful results.' And for some days the girl is quite preoccupied with what she has seen and heard in the consulting room of the medium. She was not singular among her fellow-countrywomen. The Russians, as if tired of the twilight of faith, constantly have recourse to the marsh fires of magnetism. Owing to a craving for excitement and a love of novelty the upper classes in St. Petersburg, and even its learned classes (like the Professors Wagner and Boutléroff) have elevated it into a sort of science for the edification of believers.

A sudden determination was now arrived at: Marie was to be sent to Russia to her father, and this is how she treats the subject:—

'Till the day before yesterday I asked God every evening to keep Pietro for me and let me triumph over my enemies. I no longer speak of him to God, but He knows that I wish to revenge myself though I dare not ask for it. Vengeance may not be a Christian sentiment, but it is a noble one. Let us leave to mean persons to forget injuries.'

But if Russia is to be the goal, she asks herself, what must she leave behind her?

'Rome, Paris, the theatre, singing, painting. No! no! Russia above all. That is the foundation of everything. Russia first, and, if God helps me, all will go well.'

They go by Berlin, and there Marie's remarks on the royal gallery show a marked advance in critical appreciation of the works of art. The following sentence occurs, which is a presentiment of her own realistic taste and of her realistic studies when she had made herself a name in Paris:—

'People began with hard lines, with colours too raw and bright, and not sufficiently melted into each other. We have now reached a softness which is a kind of confusion. *Notwithstanding whatever may have been said or written about it, there has not yet been a true and faithful copy of Nature.* . . . There is another *genre* at present, which consists in painting by splatches. It's a great mistake, although by its help some effects have been obtained. In the new pictures positive objects, such as furniture, houses, and churches, are not understood. They despise precision and produce a sort of depravity of the lines; everything is stumped down too, and the result of that

is that the figures contrast too little, and seem as dead as the objects which surround them, for these objects have not enough precision, so as they do not appear solid and immovable enough.'

Berlin did not please her.

'Nothing can be more *triste* than Berlin. The town has an air of simplicity about it, but then it is an ugly, ungraceful simplicity. These innumerable monuments with which the bridges, streets, and gardens are loaded, are badly placed and look stupid. Berlin is like a picture on a clock, in which at a certain moment the soldiers come out of the barracks, the boatmen row, and ladies in bonnets walk past, dragging hideous children by the hand. On the eve of entering Russia, and of remaining there without my aunt or my mother, I feel weak and am afraid. *There is the lawsuit*, the uncertainty, and all that; and, besides, I don't know, but I fear that I may not be able to change anything. Then the idea of recommencing after my return the same life as before, and this time without any hope of change, without having Russia in the background to console me and give me strength. God have pity upon me! Behold the state of my soul, and succour me. In two hours we shall have quitted Berlin, and to-morrow I shall be in Russia. What, if I were to go in vain? But no, this is wrong; one ought not to despair beforehand. Petersburg gains when seen at night. I know nothing more superb than the Neva, lined with lamps, which contrast with the moon and with the dark grey blue of the sky. The defects of the houses, pavements, and bridges are hidden and melted by night, and by the favouring shadows. The width of the quays appears in all its majesty. The peak of the Admiralty seems lost in heaven and in an azure mist bordered with light. One sees the cupola and the graceful form of the Isaacs Church, which itself appears like a floating mist descended from heaven. . . . Moscow is our true capital, the truly Russian town. Petersburg is a German copy; but as it was copied by Russians, it is better than Germany. Here everything is Russian—the architecture, the carriages, the houses; even the peasant, who on the roadside watches the train going past the little wooden bridge thrown across the river, the mud in the road, everything is Russian, cordial, simple, religious and loyal. We got into a very narrow phaeton and then began what one might call a steeple-chase drive. The stones in the pavement, the rails of the tramways, the passers-by, the carriages—we toiled through all this like the wind, shaken at every moment, and often nearly thrown out of the carriage. My uncle groaned with anxiety, and I laughed at him, at myself, at our wild drive, at the wind which burnt my face and lifted my hair. I laughed at everything, but at each church or chapel, at every niche of images, I crossed myself like the good people in the street do.'

There were plenty of amusements provided for this young girl, whose father's vanity, if not his affection, was pleased by his little daughter's wit, beauty, and grace. There were

official dinners, breakfasts in the forest, and exciting reviews of volunteers starting for Servia.

'The crowd was pushing and vociferating while I looked on, when I suddenly heard rising a concert of those voices, of young boys who sing in the churches, whose notes are purer and more beautiful than those of women, and seem like a choir of angels. It was the Archbishop's chanters, praying for the volunteers. Everybody uncovered; but these sonorous voices and this divine harmony took away my breath, and when it was finished and everybody waved hats, handkerchiefs, and hands, with eyes shining with enthusiasm and my breast swelling with emotion, I could do nothing but cry with the others, and, like them, I laughed and wept. . . . It has been snowing ever since the morning; the earth is white; the trees, covered with rime, which produces towards evening most deliciously vague tints; one would like to go away into the forest, into this grey mist. Paul, with the rashness natural to youth, wishing to show novelties to a newcomer, had the little sledge ready, and with triumph took me out driving. This sledge is very impertinent to call itself one, for it is really only a few planks nailed together, filled with hay, and then covered with a carpet. The horse, very close to us, threw the snow into our faces and sleeves, into our eyes, and this frozen dust covering the triple veils on my head and filling their folds, froze there.'

But this was nothing to the excitement of a wolf-hunt on Christmas Eve, when at nine o'clock in the morning Mademoiselle Marie left her room, a blue velvet cap on her head, and her black riding habit lifted up on one side, so as to show her coat-of-arms embroidered on the top of her long boots.

'All the hunters were there: Kamenski, Porthos, Volkvitski, like a fury out of the "Iphigenia in Tauris;" Pavelko, a horrid advocate; Salko, an execrable architect; Scharioble, the owner of seventeen wolf-dogs; Lioubowitch; a *tchinovnik* nearly as big as Kamenski, a man whose name I don't know, my father, Michel, and Paul. They were all examining their guns and discussing their cartridges, and exchanging jokes as stupid as they were vulgar. I except, of course, my father and our two young men. I got in beside my father, and our two guns and four carriages followed behind us. A week ago this hunt was announced to the Commune and the Starosta so as to assemble a sufficient quantity of men; but, on account of the fair at Poltava, only a hundred and twenty turned out. We were two hundred beaters in all, and our nets had been stretched over a space of from six to eight kilomètres. Prince Kotschoubey sent his nets, though he could not come himself to the rendezvous. I was shivering with cold. My father arranged us all on each side of the road, counted us and divided us into two sections, the armed and the non-armed. Among the peasants there were twenty who carried guns; to the others were given pikes, that is to say, long sticks pointed

at the top, with an iron *fleur de lys*, like the old Gauls'. These pikes are intended for killing the beast after it is taken in the net, and the nets are stretched so as that the beasts, hunted by the cries of men, should run into it after having passed before the hunters. We were about to begin. The Polish agent on horseback, with a glazed cap on his head and a pike in his hand, galloped about, coming and going, and doing nothing, his pike in his hand alternately touching the ground and jumping up over his head. I loaded my gun, arranged my little game bag, which held a pocket handkerchief and a pair of gloves, coughed and stood at attention. Behold me, then, alone in the middle of the forest with a loaded gun in my hands, with wet feet, and cold everywhere. I found that my steel heels sank into the ground, wet with yesterday's rain, and had prevented my walking. So, what do you think that I did when I was left to myself? Oh, it's very simple; I looked about to see what I could see through the trees —only the sky, the cold and grey sky. Then I looked beyond me, and saw tall trees with autumnal tints. Then, perceiving my father's cloak on the ground, I stretched myself on it and began to dream. At that moment I felt something tepid close to me. I turned round. Heavens! three beasts, but as gentle as they were caressing. There was our big black dog, and the two little black dogs—Jouk the First and Jouk the Second. At last I heard two guns fire, then the cries of our peasants, at first very distant, but as they approached my reverie was dissipated, and when they were near enough for me to feel the emotion caused by the voices of a number of men crying together, I got to my feet, seized my gun, and strained my ears. The cries came nearer. I could hear them beating the branches, and it seemed at every moment that I heard something cracking among them, for the wolves like the thickets best. Louder cries than ever, and when the first beaters appeared my heart leapt in short bounds. I believe that I even trembled for a minute, but the men were chasing nothing before them and the nets were empty. There was nothing found in them except a poor hare, which that brute Kamenski killed with a kick. . . . The peasants were regaled with roast mutton, pies, and brandy. That sounds grandiose, but it is only thought natural in Russia. . . . After a rest we went into the dark woods again, but as we hunted hares, and not wolves, we had to walk, and walk! The sun came out, and I should have been gay again if fatigue had not succeeded to the damp. I was adorably pretty, but that was useless, as none of these monsters resembled a man. With the peasants I am expansive and friendly, and with my equals of education I am agreeable, I believe, but with these louts! To avoid speaking to them I have been playing, and have lost a hundred francs to the giant.'

Mademoiselle Bashkirtseff felt that she was made for something more than losing her time in the extreme idleness of Russian provincial life.

'I unluckily am a pedant. I like to hear people talk of ancient history, of art and of science; but one may save oneself the trouble of expecting that here, where cards and nothing else prevail. I might shut

myself up to read, but as my object in coming here was to make myself beloved, that would be a strange way of setting about it.'

Marie felt that her position in her father's house was not so secure as to warrant her surprising him, as she had once surprised her aunt, by buying thirty-two English books in one day.

'The more I read the more I desire to read. Here I sit, like Faust, at an antique German writing table, with books and rolls of paper; but where is Margaret? and where is the devil? The devil, alas! is always with me, in the shape of my own mad vanity. Oh! ill-justified ambition. Oh! useless flights toward an unknown goal. . . . I am a great deal alone. I think and I read without any guide. That is perhaps a good thing, but in other ways it must be bad for me. Who will guarantee that I am not paved with sophisms and full of erroneous ideas? That is what people will judge of after my death.'

We think that the reader must be hard-hearted who can read these passages without pity for the wild and solitary suffering of this truly friendless student. It is the more pathetic because her journey to Russia, and the meeting she brought about between her parents, were really bootless.

Marie had to consider her next occupation.

'I have decided to remain in Paris, where I will study painting. . . This then, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and may the Divine protection be granted to me in what is not an ephemeral decision but a definitive one.'

As regarded the choice of the Art School her selection was the very best that she could have made.

In France the *curriculum* is a very trying one, and its superiority consists at once in the severity and thoroughness of the education to which pupils are subjected, and in their admirable opportunities for study in the *ateliers* of the best masters. The standard is the very highest. We had almost said that the system of teaching was exhaustive, if we did not remember that after it comes the *prix de Rome*—the opportunity of completing in Italy the experience gained in Paris. Nor is any artist considered a true one who persists in going either to Nature for inspiration or to the great masters for guidance, if he has not first been thoroughly grounded in the rules of art, if he has not practised them in the studio of a good living painter, and if he has not, over and above the technicalities of drawing and painting, learned a good deal of the sister arts of modelling and engraving. It is for these reasons that Paris, instead of either Dresden, Munich, Florence, Brussels, or

Rome, is now the centre of education in art. Everything there is to be learned, and everything can be acquired, except the taste in which too many are deficient—that instinctive genius which is inborn, and which once made of the Tuscans a nation of architects and artists. The studios of Paris are now crowded with foreign pupils—English, Scandinavian, Russian, and American. Female students there possess the same advantages as those of the stronger sex, but with this drawback—that the system is positively too severe for them, and that for their more delicate frames the long hours of study and the vitiated air of the overheated studios are too trying and exhausting.

To Mlle. Bashkirtseff, already in delicate health, and afflicted with such a chronic laryngitis that her beautiful voice had been silenced, these drawbacks ought to have been dissuasive; but, with the dogged courage of the Russian nature, she went forth to meet them, and, as we shall see, to die of them.

Did it not also require great moral courage for a fashionable young lady, barely out of her teens, to aspire to a front place in the ranks, first of the art students, and then of the artists of Paris? To shine in the eyes of such teachers as Bouguereau and Bastien Lepage would alone require much talent and industry and, above all, truth in drawing. But when their pupil should have passed from pupilage to open competition, what success could she dare to expect? Years ago, in the galleries of Florence and of Berlin, Mlle. Marie had complained that absolute truth of rendering had not been achieved. Yet, here in Paris, a few weeks of study before the wonderful canvases of Théodore Rousseau, J. F. Millet, Corot, Dupré, Troyon, and Diaz must have taught her what prodigious strides had (since 1828) been made in that direction by the modern French school. There had arisen a Pleiad of painters who drew their inspiration direct from the woods and fields, the lanes and homesteads, of rural France. They admired the old masters, but were absolutely unclassical; they painted shepherds rather than demigods, and their shepherdesses were not the powdered beauties of Chardin and Watteau, but had the sabots and the clouted rags of the terrible peasantry of Balzac and of La Bruyère. Reproaches were levelled at them because of their departure from classicism, and of their preference for ignoble facts. But it was certain that a revulsion from classicism would arise in art. It had already come in literature, and had formed the romantic school.

But these new painters could hardly be termed romantists, if by romantic we mean work created under an impulse more or less passionate. No; they were a school of seekers, or observers, often unable or unwilling to present their subjects in any delightful manner, yet, on the other hand, often as grave as Ruysdael and as delicate as Metzu, drawing near to the Dutch masters, and yet founders of a school that was essentially French. They had found a work to do —the study of nature, and they cannot be blamed if they preferred rendering some of her beauties to warming up, by pictorial representation, doctrines and tastes which no longer swayed their own minds or those of their contemporaries. Art in the second half of the nineteenth century could not wear the rigid draperies of classicism, and what grace of piety it kept it could only find, where J. F. Millet found his '*Angelus*,' in the lives of simple folk. For the rest, art must now be either decorative or descriptive. The new masters aimed at a description of natural scenes, and mere clearness of execution or *chic* was not esteemed by them. There were men whose compositions, original almost to a fault, yet satisfied the eye by the general line of their pictures; colourists who could paint the sunshine, show the light that plays round the *contours*—nay, who seemed able to seize the limpid air itself, and the faint vapours that hang above the fields. These artists had been loudly blamed. They had, of course, their weak points, but when was there ever a new departure that did not raise a cry of reprobation, or indeed a laugh? Those, however, laugh best who laugh last, and these Frenchmen have not only compelled the admiration of their original detractors, but have imparted to their scholars many of their own blemishes and not a little of their wonderful charm. They persevered till hemispheres quarrelled over a masterpiece of Millet's, and till the world is ready to cover with gold pieces these very canvases, which had once been a mark for the arrows of hostile criticism. That has been the triumph of their cause, and the world has meanwhile gained from them a standard of taste less *banal* and less purely artificial. We have learned, through their interpretation, to appreciate unsuspected beauties, and to notice many aspects of rustic life which, through the artist's perception of them, have been, as it were, revealed to ourselves. Marie Bashkirtseff, already realistic in her taste, admired these pictures rapturously. Once started by such masters in the study of what is true, of what is relative, and of what is

accidental, she was not likely to falter or to turn back. Classical, religious, or historical instincts were all a-wanting in her, and she was not a colourist, but nearly every person and everything that she saw, tempted her to draw them, and to interpret their gestures or their meaning. To either landscape or *genre* she preferred

> 'The turbid street,
> The dun, dim pavement trod by myriad feet:
> Beauty and crime, indifferent, side by side,
> All quiet, all real, hurrying near or wide.'

Mlle. Bashkirtseff's decision to become an artist had been, as she said, a definitive one, but it must not be supposed that either work or play, either the long hot hours in the studio, or the grand tour of all the exhibitions of ancient and modern masters, or the visits of painters or the praise of good critics, or the keen jealousy she felt of one of her fellow-students, or the many quarrels of the *atelier*, or even the extraordinary success which crowned her efforts, succeeded in soothing her nerves or satisfying her ambition. She had her happy moments, *jouissances d'observation*, and hours of work during which 'everything wore another aspect, where 'little worries were no longer felt, when one rose above 'them all, and with something radiant in one's whole being, 'one was aware of indulgence towards the baser multitude 'which is ignorant of the secret, the varying and the fleet-'ing origins of your beatitude, of a bliss fragile as the most 'delicate of flowers.' But it was not always so. 'Nature 'mal équilibrée, tête à l'envers; une folle qui a conscience,' she says of herself, and then she adds that she is not an artist. 'I work at art as I should at anything else, with in-'telligence and handiness—that is all. But then why did I 'draw heads on the card table with bits of chalk when I 'was seven years old?'—and at times she reverts to the old childish braggadocio that she must and will be a celebrity. Mediums had to be consulted, and alas! doctors also, who, so far from promising a lifelong career of renown, warned the patient that her lungs were affected, and that her deafness arose from the disease of the larynx which had stolen away her voice. But Marie would not be a patient, and would not go away to the South. She must work, she must earn a medal, must get her picture into the Salon, must be interviewed by newspaper correspondents, must paint in Bastien Lepage's rooms, using his palette and brush, and must, above all things, distance a pupil of the name of Breslau,

who had come to Julien's studio long before she entered it, but in whose talent and industry she had perceived a dangerous rival to her own supremacy.

'At twenty-two years of age I shall be either celebrated or dead. At the present moment my spite, my rage, my despair have no expression in human speech. If I had only been drawing since I was fifteen years old, I should have been celebrated by this time. I have so longed, so terribly sought for this object, this means of existing without cursing myself and the rest of creation the livelong day, I can hardly believe that I have at last found it. In my black blouse I have a certain look of Marie Antoinette in the Temple. Oh, this painting, if I could only arrive at it! I am here fighting, as it were, with a nightmare, while others are a-living. Well, but glory! oh glory! I had better marry. What's the good of putting off that finale? What am I waiting for? The moment that I put painting aside the field is wide, but not in Russia, where I could easily be married, above all in the provinces, but I am not stupid enough for that. Petersburg might be thought of. Well! if my father chose he might let me pass a winter there. Very well then; let me pass next winter in Petersburg. I don't think that I care about my art. *It is only a means.* I'll give it up. Really, I am not sure.'

Then come clever appreciations of the pictures she sees by Cazin, Meissonier, and Carolus Duran (whom she overestimates), by Lefebvre, and Lepage.

'I am happy through my painting, but there is nothing to be done! For four years I have been looked after by the most celebrated doctors, and things only get worse. Well, now, I am going to prophesy—I shall die—but not immediately. To die soon would be too good. It would put an end to all this. I shall drag about my colds, my coughs, and my fevers, and all sorts of things.'

And so she did, to Biarritz and Madrid, to Nice and to the Ukraine, and back again to Paris, but the end was nearer than she thought. She struggled to the last; worked at the studio, came home to breakfast, or breakfasted with a friend at a neighbouring *crémerie*, returning at one o'clock to work again. At night, in her own rooms she studied, modelled, and wrote, sometimes hopeful, always suffering, defying the doctors, making occasional flights into society, and still weaving dreams and plans of a wonderful future. Could she but have admitted it, the present ought to have represented for her a measure of success and of *bien être* such as falls to the lot of few. Her home was luxurious, and her *dot* secure, while her fortune delivered her from the necessity of working for a public which is often slow and selfish in helping and patronising unknown talent, but which gives ignorantly and lavishly to those whose reputation catches the

eye. From all this she was delivered. Her want of real devotion to her art left her open, it is true, to the struggle to occupy a social position equal to that of the genuine nobility, and this certainly vulgarised her life; but the blame of it did not lie with her circumstances, which were all the more fitted to give her general contentment, since, after the verdict in the lawsuit and the death of M. Bashkirtseff, the skein of family politics became less tangled. She lived on terms of affectionate friendship with many of the men of letters and many of the best artists of the day. They told her, and they told her truly, that she had accomplished in three years of work the success which is hardly to be won by six years of application, and they added, with equal truth, that no young woman had as yet done so well. But she could not rest. She preferred, to use her own words, 'that everything about her and her lot should be above life-'size.' From a flight into the world of 'women rights' and from a declared Deism she had returned before her death to rather soberer thoughts, and we cannot help thinking that this girl, who used to declare that she had nothing of a woman about her but the envelope, had allowed something of a tenderer feeling to grow up between herself and Bastien Lepage after his return from Algiers to die in Paris. She was preoccupied by the illness and decline of her former teacher, now a comrade not in work but in suffering. He liked to have her near him. 'I go to him—he is dying. It 'is his shadow that is there, and I myself am already half a 'shade. . . All is over. . . I am quite ill; though not in bed. 'Oh! my God! my picture! my picture! my picture!'

Then she became so weak that it was Bastien who had to come to her, and they sat opposite each other on two sofas, wrapped in furs. One day he fainted, and had to be carried away in his brother's arms. 'I have in Dina a nurse equally 'devoted. For the last two days my bed has had to be made 'in the drawing room. Going upstairs is now too hard for 'me.' Eleven days after writing this she died; falling, like the dead leaves off the trees, on the last day of October, 1884.

Art. III.—1. *Outlines of Modern Education in Japan.* Translated and published by the Department of Education. Tokio: 1888.

2. *Descriptive Outlines of the Various Schools in Japan.* Translated and published by the Department of Education. Tokio: 1887.

3. *A Short History of the Department of Education.* Translated and published by the Department of Education. Tokio: 1887.

4. *Annual Reports of the Minister of State for Education.* Tokio: 1884–1886.

5. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster-General of Japan.* Tokio: 1875–1886.

6. *Annual Reports of the Director of Imperial Government Telegraphs, Japan.* Tokio: 1875–1886.

7. *Résumé Statistique de l'Empire du Japon.* Tokio: 1889.

8. *Gleanings from Japan.* By W. G. Dickson. Edinburgh and London: 1889.

The recent promulgation by the Mikado of Japan of a monarchical constitution, which imposes strict limitations to his own powers as sovereign, and brings into being a Parliament composed of Houses of Peers and Commons, furnishes a measure of the unparalleled changes which have been introduced into Japan in the short space of three and twenty years. Within that period this extraordinary nation has advanced without hesitation from the twilight of semi-barbarism into the full blaze of European civilisation, and has fearlessly exchanged its old-world institutions for those most recently developed in Western lands. Nor up to the threshold of this great era of change were there any symptoms that the people generally were dissatisfied with the existing order of things. The country was governed on a feudal system, which finds its nearest parallel in the State of China before the second century. The various states of which the empire was composed were ruled over by daimios, who owed political obedience to the *de facto* ruler, the Shogun, and homage to the Mikado, with whom rested in theory the supreme power. The laws which these authorities administered were in accordance with the Chinese code, as modified to suit the more impulsive and reckless nature of the Japanese; and the morality taught was that preached

by Confucius in the fifth century before Christ. With the doctrines of the Chinese sage and the religion of Buddha were associated also the whole body of Chinese literature. No Chinaman ever regarded the writings of the philosophers of the Chow, the Han, the T'ang, and the Sung dynasties with greater respect and admiration than did Japanese scholars, who accepted them as models of all that was true in thought, just in sentiment, and graceful in style. The gift of half-sight to a blind man is an infinite advantage; and so, when the Japanese, who were ignorant even of letters, first became acquainted with the Chinese system of writing and the mass of literature which even then—in the sixth century A.D.—had been collected in the Middle Kingdom, they eagerly welcomed it as a revelation, and drank greedily of the wisdom which they found in its pages. They established schools, built temples, and worshipped the god of literature with even more than Chinese devotion.

How long the country might have continued to strut in its borrowed Confucian plumes if the visits of the foreign envoys had been indefinitely postponed it is impossible to say. But just as in the sixth century the introduction of Chinese culture converted a nation of savages into a semi-civilised kingdom, so the arrival of the American Commodore Perry at Uraga, in 1853, was the beginning of a movement which has changed the face of the country as though by an enchanter's wand, and has raised the nation to a level incomparably higher than that at which its former guide and instructor has remained.

It so chanced that, at the time of which we speak, the empire was already approaching a crisis in its fate. The Tokugawa dynasty of Shoguns, which had ruled the country for three centuries, was tottering towards its fall. The race of able men who had founded it had dwindled down to puny representatives of their sires, and a strong party among the daimios was already preparing to act against the Shogun, Iyeyoshi, whenever a favourable opportunity should present itself. While the body politic was thus disturbed, news was brought to Yedo that four 'barbarian' vessels had appeared off the coast, and that 'an individual named Perry' had had the audacity to attempt to open communications with the government. The Shogun, taken by surprise, summoned a council, which, however, failed to help him to a decision. 'The assembled officials,' writes a native author, 'were 'exceedingly disturbed, and nearly broke their hearts over 'consultations which lasted all day and all night.' The city

of Yedo was greatly perplexed, and numbers of the wealthier classes moved their furniture and goods beyond the range of the 'barbarian' guns, for which, while affecting a contempt, they had a most sincere dread. We have no intention of repeating again the more than twice-told tale of the political events which led up to the abolition of the Shogunate and to the restoration of the governing power to the hands of the Mikado. It is sufficient here to say that in 1868 the young emperor, who still reigns under the name of Meiji, issued a notification to the effect that from that time forward he alone would both reign and govern.

But, sweeping as this reform was, it left the relations of foreigners with the empire in no better condition than formerly. The Mikado and his advisers were bitterly hostile, and it required the impetus begotten by a fresh danger to convert the new government to a friendly attitude towards the treaty powers. Oriental statesmen are commonly opportunists, and the narrowly contracted torrent of hatred felt by the Mikado's ministers towards Europeans was based on no better foundation than the traditions which were current in the empire. It required, therefore, nothing more than some strong political inducement to convert into friends those foes the measure of whose policy was regulated by that of their immediate wishes. This inducement the ex-Shogun supplied. Regretting apparently the haste with which he had resigned the power into the hands of the Mikado, Keiki, who had succeeded Iyeyoshi, assembled the northern clans to oppose the imperial power and the western daimios. This venture enlisted some support from the foreign powers, who contrasted favourably the friendly attitude which had been assumed towards them by Keiki when in power, with the bitterly hostile spirit which had been evinced by the new government.

The prospect which thus presented itself to the Mikado's ministers was that of a possible alliance between the ex-Shogun and the European powers. And though it was the custom of the court nobles to vaunt their countrymen's power and prowess, they had as wholesome a fear of foreign guns as had the inhabitants of Yedo who fled at sight of Commodore Perry's ships. They determined, therefore, to prevent the possibility of an alliance by accepting all and every treaty obligation, and by entering into friendly personal relations with the European envoys. This judicious change of front produced the expected result. The ex-Shogun, deprived of the support which he had looked for,

maintained for a short time a feeble resistance, and finally surrendered himself to the Mikado, who, with an enlightened generosity unusual among victorious Eastern potentates, granted an unconditional pardon to his former foe.

But though the 'star of peace' was now in the ascendant, domestic difficulties pressed hard upon the new government; and foremost among these difficulties was that of ways and means. The abolition of the Shogunate had left the feudal constitution of the empire unchanged, while the obligations of the central power had been increased a hundredfold. It was clear, therefore, that some further reform was needed to give stability to the new order of things. In this dilemma the daimios, who had been foremost in bringing about the revolution, came forward with a proposal which, if it is to be regarded as an act of patriotism, deserves to be placed on a level with the brightest deeds of political chivalry which the world has seen. With one consent the princes of Satsuma, Chôshiu, Tosa and Hizen presented a memorial to the Mikado, in which they said :—

'In our opinion the Imperial Government must not lose a single day, the Great Strength must not delegate its power for a single day. . . . The heaven and the earth is the Emperor's: there is no man who is not his retainer. . . . By the conferring of rank and property the Emperor governs his people; it is his to give and his to take away: of our own selves we cannot hold a foot of land; of our own selves we cannot take a bit of land: this constitutes the Great Strength. In ancient times the Emperor governed the seagirt land, and trusting to the Great Body and to the Great Strength, the Imperial wisdom of itself ruled over all. . . . In the Middle Ages the ropes of his net were relaxed, so that men, toying with the Great Strength, and striving for power, crowded upon the Emperor, and half the world tried to appropriate the people and to steal the land. Beating and gnawing, and theft and rapine, where the order of the day. . . . Now the Great Government has been newly restored, and the Emperor himself undertakes the direction of affairs. This is indeed a rare and mighty event! . . . Our first duty is to illustrate our faithfulness and to prove our loyalty. When the line of Tokugawa arose it divided the country amongst its kinsfolk, and there were many who founded the fortunes of their families upon it. . . . How were loyalty and faith confused and destroyed! . . . The place where we live is the Emperor's land, and the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the best of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws, down to the rules for

uniform and the construction of engines of war, proceed from the Emperor. Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him. After this, when the internal relations of the country shall be upon a true footing, the Empire will be able to take its place side by side with the other countries of the world. This is now the most urgent duty of the Emperor, as it is that of his servants and children. Hence it is that we, in spite of our own folly and vileness, daring to offer up our humble expression of loyalty, upon which we pray that the brilliance of the heavenly sun may shine, with fear and reverence bow the head and do homage, ready to lay down our lives in proof of our faith.'

It sometimes happens that statesmen, confident in the security of their positions, resign their offices out of a show of self-abnegation. But this memorial was not the outcome of any such simulated virtue. What the daimios said they meant, and this is best shown by the readiness with which they resigned their fiefs the instant that the government was prepared to act on their representation. The Japanese are not as a rule a far-seeing race. Sudden and quick in quarrel, and ever ready to act on the impulse of the moment, they are often betrayed into acts which, done in haste, are repented of at leisure; and it is not uncharitable to suppose that if Satsuma and his colleagues could have accurately foreseen the consequences of their proposal, and could have forgotten for a moment their bitter feud with the Shogun, they would have hesitated to resign all the pride and pomp to which they were accustomed in exchange for the comparatively paltry incomes which they were afterwards awarded.

But, however this may be, the action of the memorialists was followed by that of the remaining daimios, and thus in the space of a few months the feudal system ceased to exist, and a body of nobles who had been more individually and collectively powerful than any in the East sank for ever into the ranks of the people. It is impossible to regard this startling change without astonishment. The love of power is part of man's nature, and there was much in the position of the daimios which made the power they wielded of special value to them. The territories over which they ruled with sovereign sway were vast; their incomes were magnificent; they possessed numerous and great privileges of a kind which were likely to be especially gratifying to men of a martial spirit; they were surrounded by large bodies of followers who dared do all that becomes men at the bidding of their lords; and from the common people they received the most abject homage. Their castles bore no mean resemblance to the strongholds of the Percys, Talbots, and Darnleys

of England in the olden time. When they moved abroad they were attended by long retinues of armed retainers, and at home they maintained the state of monarchs.

By the stroke of a pen they resigned all these advantages. They transferred their lands to the Mikado, they abdicated their authority over their clans, they vacated their castles, and accepted, in lieu of all, incomes at the rate of one tenth of the old assessments of their territories. Great as was the direct result of this displacement of the nobles, it had other and even more important consequences. It placed at the service of the State a number of men who were highly educated according to Japanese ideas, who were anxious to give a new direction to their now disused energies, and who saw a means of adding to their diminished incomes by taking the lead in the multitude of reforms which began to take shape immediately on the acceptance of the foreign treaties by the Mikado.

With a modesty which would have been astonishing if we had not known that precisely parallel events occurred when the Japanese were first brought into contact with their Chinese neighbours, the Mikado's government practically acknowledged the inferiority of their civilisation by adopting wholesale the learning, science, and arts of Europe. Embassies were despatched to the European courts, and commissions were sent to study the systems of government, of administration, of education, and of religion in the Western world, as well as the dockyards, workshops, and arsenals of the principal manufacturing countries. In speaking of the changes which were instituted at this time, the late Marquis Ts'êng writes in his diary, 'One of the first reforms the Japanese 'made was to exchange their national costume for European 'clothes, which was very stupid.' But they did far more than this, and a collection of annual reports on the education office, the post and telegraph offices, and railways, which lies before us, tells a story of rapid progress such as has never been accomplished by the people of any other country.

It must be remembered that, up to the time of the conclusion of the foreign treaties, Japanese education consisted only of the study of Chinese literature and of the native works which were confessedly based upon that literature. The one object of Japanese scholars was to write Chinese prose as nearly in the style of the authors of the T'ang and Sung dynasties as possible, and to make verses as closely resembling the poems of Li Taipih and Tu Fu as it was in their power to do. They devoted themselves with untiring

diligence to the study of the minute questions of diction and style. They weighed every sentence and adhered with abject sycophancy to every canon of the Chinese literary art, never departing one hair's breadth from the rules which were consecrated by tradition and usage. They accepted the Chinese ideas on cosmogony, and were as credulous on the subject of dragons and other monsters as Confucius himself.

With the arrival of foreigners the faith in Chinese literature which had been delivered to their fathers began rapidly to wane, and on the accession of Meiji, 1868, the desire for wider knowledge found expression in a series of edicts on the subject of national education. There was at first, however, a natural disinclination to admit that it was intended in any way to depart from the ancient lines; and thus we find it gravely stated in the 'History of Education,' published by the government, that 'education attained its highest level in 'ancient times and declined towards the middle ages.' In this spirit the first act of the new Board of Education at Kioto was to enlarge the existing schools, and to compel the nobles and officials to attend the lectures given at the colleges on the Chinese and Japanese classics. But the demands of the people soon outstripped the capabilities of this antiquated machinery, and it quickly became necessary to establish universities, middle schools, and elementary schools throughout the empire. In 1871 an edict was issued announcing the intentions of the government.

'All knowledge,' so ran this document, 'from that necessary for daily life to that higher knowledge necessary to prepare officials, farmers, merchants, artisans, physicians, &c., for their respective vocations is acquired by learning. And although learning is essential to success in life for all classes of men, yet for farmers, artisans, and merchants, and for women, it was regarded as beyond their sphere; and, even among the upper classes, aimless discussions and vain styles of composition only were cultivated, from which no practical use could ever be deduced. . . . It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member.'

In pursuance of the policy announced in this edict the schools were still further multiplied. For educational purposes the empire was divided into districts, each of which was charged with the maintenance of schools in exact ratio to the population. For every six hundred people one elementary school was to be provided, besides the normal schools, middle schools, and female schools, which were arranged on other calculations. Having arrived in advance

of Lord Salisbury at the conviction that school pence are based on a wrong principle, the government abolished all fees in the elementary schools, and threw the whole charge on the rates.

This was a strain which even the Japanese in all their newly acquired craving for more knowledge found to be too great to be borne, and in response to urgent appeals the government sanctioned grants in aid, varying in accordance with the needs of each district. In 1875 no less a sum than 1,700,000 dollars was paid out of the imperial exchequer for this purpose. But with the calls upon the public purse for the purchase of ships for the navy, arms for the soldiers, and materials for railway making, the government found that this sum was more than its resources justified, and some of the normal and foreign-language schools were consequently closed. It was impossible, however, to maintain this economical policy. The thirst for learning, and especially such learning as was to be gained from foreigners, was too genuine to allow any consideration to stand in the way of the people acquiring it, and the government becoming, like another Frankenstein, the slave of its own creation, was compelled to contribute the provision which was required for the education of the people.

In response to further demands the numbers and kinds of schools were increased until every class and section of the community, including those who were physically disabled, had special schools provided for them. With the multiplication of schools came also a multiplication of subjects for study. A syllabus was arranged which, while bearing ample evidence to the growing thirst for wider knowledge, paid a partial tribute to the discarded Confucian system by including among its subjects the strict cultivation of outward conduct and morals. At the elementary schools and higher elementary schools an hour and a half a week was thus devoted to fostering 'the moral sensibilities by simple maxims, facts, ' &c., and to instruction in etiquette.' The prominence given to this branch of education was due to a reaction against the dangerous disregard of social etiquette, which was one of the first results of the reformation. With the introduction of the 'new learning' were loosed the bands which had bound people together in matters of outward conduct. The old morality which had been sufficiently powerful to influence the behaviour of children towards their parents, husbands towards their wives, and friends towards friends, had been thrown to the winds, and, there being nothing ready at hand to take its

place, a period of social disorder followed. The profound obeisances, the respectful manner, and the polite greetings, customary among all classes, were exchanged for brusque and impolite behaviour, and even inferiors treated with scant respect those to whom they had been accustomed to pay abject reverence.

Composition, writing, arithmetic, gymnastics, geography, history, science, drawing, singing, and sewing for girls, are the other subjects which now claim the attention of the scholars at elementary schools, where English, agriculture, handiwork, and commerce form optional subjects. In the middle schools special attention is paid to languages, two European living languages, in addition to Latin, being diligently taught.

As a consequence of the establishment of a new form of civil and military administration the foundation of a new capital naturally followed, and with the transfer of the court from Miako to Yedo, or Tokio, as it was newly christened, there were established at that now favoured spot a university, an imperial library, and a museum, in addition to specimens of all the schools established for the instruction of young Japan. At the university, to which is attached a library containing 180,000 volumes, courses of lectures are delivered in law, chemistry, mathematics, physics, astronomy, biology, engineering, geology and mining, literature, history, philosophy, political philosophy, and, last and least, Chinese and Japanese literature. All these classes are largely attended by diligent students to whom the dicta of the most celebrated European authorities on the various subjects are becoming as familiar as household words. If, however, we are to judge of the comparative favour with which these subjects are regarded by the number of translations which have appeared in Japanese of works upon them, the palm must unquestionably be given to international law, the French code, and philosophy as expounded by Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill. These form the most cherished studies of the young undergraduates, while in the 1,440 miscellaneous schools which are scattered over the empire, English is the most popular subject, next to that German, and then French and Russian.

Up to the present time there has been abundance of employment for all those who have been able to acquire a sufficient knowledge of foreign languages, arts and sciences, to meet the requirements created by the many and the great changes which are in course of being made. With

the establishment of universities, schools, libraries, museums, the active construction of railways, ships, dockyards, and telegraphs, and the sudden developement of foreign intercourse, there has been work enough and to spare for all young men who have been able to qualify in any of these branches of useful knowledge. But if scholars, engineers, and linguists continue to be produced at the present rate, there can be no doubt that a time will come when the supply will more than equal the demand, and when the vaulting ambition of the present age will entail want and poverty on succeeding generations. At present everything goes as merrily as a marriage bell. Under a liberal administration which has learned with facility that money can be borrowed on the European bourses with little trouble and at trifling interest, incomes are easily secured, and the day of reckoning seems to be so far off that there does not appear to be any necessity as yet for 'Care to keep his watch.'

Our concern now does not lie with the future, but with the present, and it cannot be denied that the very material grants in aid of education which have been advanced by the government have been of infinite benefit to the youth of the country. The class on which the new learning has produced the greatest change is that of the women. Until the Restoration the women of the country were left, as a rule, in the most complete ignorance of letters. It was not considered necessary that girls should be taught either to read or write. Their sole object in life was to learn such accomplishments as might make them attractive in the eyes of their husbands and useful in their households. To be able to perform skilfully on the guitar, to dance gracefully, and to sing melodiously were considered more essential attainments than a knowledge of Confucian literature and the art of composing essays. A large number of girls were like the Hetairæ of Ancient Greece, carefully trained in all these accomplishments for the basest of purposes; but in the households of all ranks and degrees the graces of life were considered the special heritage of the women. This system of education harmonised in a marked degree with the natural disposition of Japanese womanhood. Endowed by nature with pleasing features, vivacious dispositions, and quick sensibilities, the arts and graces of life found congenial developement in their fascinating persons. The complete contrast they offered to the male portion of the community formed an attraction in strict accordance with the laws of nature. In their sparkling society the merchant

forgot his commercial cares, the student his books, and officials found the best antidote to the worries inflicted by foreign ministers and consuls in the prettily decorated boudoirs of the ladies of their households. The stern realities of life made little impression upon them. They were rather formed of such stuff as dreams are made of, and exercised, by virtue of their 'airy tongues' and winning grace, an unbounded influence over their husbands and admirers. With the most artless art they devoted themselves to the gracious task of trying to please, and found their reward in the successful results of their endeavours.

Since, however, the schoolmaster has been abroad a change has come over the life of Japanese maidens. They are no longer allowed to wander fancy free through their early years, but at the age of six are compelled by law to attend school, where a most substantial course of instruction is provided for their youthful minds. At the same time that 'their moral sensibilities are fostered,' they are taught reading, mathematics, writing, composition, dictation, English, handiwork, singing, gymnastics, history of Japan, natural history, physics, chemistry, drawing, sewing, etiquette, household management, and music. When reading this list it is impossible not to feel compassion for the poor children who are nurtured on mental fare which is so little suited to their constitutions, and some alarm lest their new nutriment should prove destructive to that fascinating joyousness which possesses so potent a charm. How these wild plants will bear transplantation into educational hothouses may soon be seen, for the process is being vigorously carried on, and the female schools are in full play all over the country. In the Tokio district the female scholars in the private elementary schools are nearly as numerous as the boys, the numbers being, according to a recent report, 15,737 and 16,407 respectively; while in the higher schools of the same district 585 girls and 823 boys are taught. This proportion is not maintained among the students sent abroad for instruction, only one girl to nineteen young men being allowed this privilege.

That the ignorance of Japanese women was, under the old order of things, deplorable cannot be denied. Very few of them could read, only a very small proportion of them could sign their names, and the instruction they received was almost entirely derived from the discourses of Buddhist priests and the lectures of professional story-tellers. Of course there were occasionally to be met with girls who,

having an intuitive taste for learning, acquired a considerable amount of scholarship, as, for instance, the brilliant authoress of the 'Genji Monogatari;' but these were as rare as flowering aloes, and cannot be said to have affected the general ignorance of their sex. The Educational Report for 1886—some years after the opening of the reformed schools—states that in the province of Shiga, one of the most cultured districts in the empire, nearly half the female population were unable to sign their names, the exact number being 122,009 against 146,719 who had just enough skill in penmanship to be able to scrawl a signature. In the same year, throughout the empire, there were 30,367 schools of all kinds, at which 84,703 instructors taught 3,232,719 pupils, of which number 986,615 were girls. Not satisfied with these means of education, thirty-eight Kindergartens have been established in various cities, in which 2,585 infants are taught obedience, attention, and the rudiments of learning. At the other end of the educational scale universities are open to receive the more advanced students, and forty of the most eminent scholars of the empire are elected to the Tokio Academy, where they form a society in strict imitation of the 'forty immortals' of the Académie Française. Under the auspices of this august body works of national importance are compiled and published, and questions of scholarship are submitted to their combined wisdom for solution.

It must not be supposed that the system now in force was that which was in the first instance determined on. A nation which makes such a plunge as Japan did in 1868 must inevitably flounder for a time, and it reflects great credit on the authorities that, in spite of the many difficulties in their way, arising from financial pressure, administrative perplexities, and inapt instruments, they have never for an instant swerved from their original purpose. That there have been constant changes of the machinery is only what might have been naturally expected. If they had arrived at their present matured system at once, they would have been more than mortal, and the only difference between their progress and that accomplished by ourselves is that they, in a single decade, went through the experiences which it took us a century to gain. According to the present arrangements the Education Department plays much the same part in Japan that the like institution does with us, except that its decrees are more autocratically delivered and obeyed than is possible in a country where representative

government holds sway. In 1886 seven hundred and thirty-two officials were employed in connexion with the department, besides twenty-seven foreign instructors, and the entire cost amounted to 1,014,116.406 *yen*, with a contingent expenditure of 25,357.908 *yen*.

It was a remark of the late Sir Harry Parkes that, unless the Japanese established museums for the preservation of antiquities, there would soon be nothing left in the country that was nationally characteristic; and no doubt the Japanese have, in their new-born ardour, shown a want of appreciation of the comparative value of their own arts and civilisation. There are not a few who must regret the exchange of the graceful robes worn by men and women for the cloth clothes and Parisian dresses which are now *la mode* in Japan. 'Foreign dress is the best to work in, and 'Japanese is best to play in,' remarked a waiter to Mr. Dickson; and, though this may be true of male attire, no such apology can be made for the European style of ladies' dress. Petticoats and tight-fitting dresses cannot be compared, for healthfulness, convenience, or economy, with the loose and graceful robes which were wont to adorn the figures of Japanese ladies.

But, whatever may be advanced by its apologists in favour of this reform, nothing can be adduced in support of the tendency which has of late years been shown by Japanese artists to adopt European methods of painting in lieu of their exquisite native art. In all good Japanese pictures there are observable a vividness of representation, a freedom of touch, a realistic conception, and a beauty of colouring which are rarely to be found in the production of artists of any other country. But their art is essentially one which, for its fullest developement, requires to be set free from all technicalities and rules. The painter sketches off on his canvas the objects as they appear to his eye with all the wealth of colouring which he attributes to them. No observance of any recognised canons interferes with the freedom and individuality of his touch. He brings all his innate love of beauty and his oriental power of imagination to beautify his subject and to impart to others the joy which he himself feels in the loveliness of the natural objects before him. But, unfortunately, even this incomparable art has not escaped the reformer's zeal. With the study of European letters and literature came a knowledge of perspective and of the principles of Western colouring. The new-born ardour for all things bearing the stamp of

Europe, which had laid it down as an axiom that everything from the Western world was to be preferred to native products, tempted, in an evil moment, the artists of the country to exchange their incomparable methods for very imperfect imitations of European paintings.

There was also another inducement which helped to precipitate this unwelcome reform. The admiration which Japanese pictures excited when the country was first opened up to foreigners led to a rush on the market for all paintings bearing the signatures of well-known artists. It was not long before Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans became as enthusiastic over the works of Sesshiu, Kano Masanobu, and Hokusai as the Japanese themselves. At almost any prices the works of these and other masters were bought up with avidity, until a large proportion of the best pictures in the country had been carried off to adorn the walls of galleries in London, Paris, and Berlin. When these *chefs-d'œuvre* became exhausted inferior works supplied their places in the market, and when, in turn, these became scarce the production of a new supply formed the trade of any artist who could wield a brush. To these men speed was a condition of success, and the hours employed in compounding the pigments which produced the incomparable colouring common to Japanese paintings appeared to be so much time wasted when cheap European colours stood ready to hand. The temptation of an eager market overcame, for the moment, the innate love of art which belongs to the Japanese as a race, and the descent from perfect to indifferent colouring was intensified by the attempt to conform in all cases to the rules of perspective taught in the schools. The result was the production of paintings which had lost all the freshness and harmony of the works of bygone artists, and in which were exchanged the cramped effects of mechanical methods for the freedom and vigour which were characteristic of Japanese paintings. Fortunately the artistic instincts of the people are too strong to be permanently overcome by the assault of greed, and a better spirit has arisen which has condemned these products of a prostituted art, and has restored artists to a proper sense of the value of their native skill.

A somewhat similar fluctuation has been experienced in the religions of Japan. Buddhism, which had been the means of introducing Chinese civilisation into the country, and Shintoism, which may be described as an unsacerdotal worship of nature, supplied the religious wants of the

people until the time of the restoration. The contest which arose between Shintoism and Buddhism, when the latter invaded Japan in the sixth century, was much the same as that which was fought out in China between Confucianism and the faith of Sakya Muni. In each case Buddhism supplied a spiritual want which the indigenous faith was unable to gratify, and it was received by the people of both countries with enthusiasm. In Japan stately temples were rapidly erected in all parts of the empire, and the people listened eagerly to the teachings of Chinese instructors and native priests. Nor was imperial patronage wanting to the faith. Several of the early emperors and empresses bestowed royal largesse on the church, and through the religious zeal of the Empress Shiyautoku (770 A.D.) have been preserved the earliest specimens of printing known, in the shape of Buddhist prayers, which have been guarded by the custodians of the temples as sacred mementos of the fervent devotion of the munificent benefactress.

But, as has been the case in China, the faith of the people waxed faint as the centuries advanced. Carelessness and indifference succeeded to zeal and fervour; and the priests, sharing in the general decadence, too often forgot their vows until their vices became a byword among men and their greed passed into a proverb. Under the influence of these blind leaders of the blind the people lost all trust in a religion whose doctrines they had never very clearly understood, and whose precepts they had long ceased to obey. In outward appearance, however, the church still showed evidences of vitality. The temples were kept up in their old grandeur, the priests still mumbled through the services, and people, principally women, still flocked to the temples to record their vows and to ask for the protection of the Goddess of Mercy. By the sudden light, however, which was thrown on the faith at the time of the 'restoration,' its practice was discredited and the anti-religious tone of the 'new learning' condemned the system as demoralising to the people and degrading to the State. This verdict was sufficient to justify the reformers of the day in disendowing and disestablishing Buddhism. With the same ease with which it had been originally adopted as a State religion, it was now relegated to the condition of an impoverished and despised sect. The priests, deprived of their government grants, not unfrequently deserted their temples, leaving them to the decay which rapidly overtakes neglected buildings in Oriental climates; and the bronze idols which had formed the objects of worship

to generations of devotees were melted down to serve the more practical requirements of the State.

The prospect of the future as regards Buddhism was at this time dark indeed. Thrown over by the government, in many cases deserted by the priests, and opposed by the growing materialism of the age, there seemed little hope that the embers of the faith could ever be kindled again into a flame. But to a certain extent the influences which had produced the bane supplied also the antidote. With the civilisation brought from Europe came also a renewed knowledge of the sacred languages of Buddhism, Sanskrit and Pali. The interest which this discovery evoked in the minds of educated Buddhists induced several scholars amongst them to come to England to study at Oxford and Cambridge the languages of India and Ceylon. With this revival of Buddhistic zeal came a turn in the tide in favour of the neglected faith. The countenance of scholars encouraged a revival of devotional feeling among the people. The apparently dead bones of religious fervour were reanimated, and on all sides people flocked to the deserted shrines, restored the ruined buildings, and erected others as spacious and imposing as any which had formerly beautified the land. In this good work the women took a leading part. Those who were rich subscribed largely of their wealth, others converted their ornaments into money which they laid at the feet of the priests, and not a few who were destitute of worldly goods undertook manual labour in the cause which they had at heart. Mr. Dickson mentions a curious instance of the devotion of such women in connexion with the rebuilding of a temple at Kioto. 'At the entrance of the temple,' he writes, 'were lying two coils of large rope, black in 'colour, about four feet in height and six in diameter. 'These were made of women's hair, and were destined to 'the work in the future of pulling the *wani gutchi*, or the 'gong above the entrance, to call the divinity's attention 'to the worshipper. Each faithful creature had the thought 'that by the consecration of her hair she was not only 'helping on but taking a part in the devotion of every 'worshipper.'

A less promising direction has been given to the renewed religious zeal of the Japanese by an attempt which is being made to carry the faith of Buddha into Europe. A periodical entitled the 'Bijou of Asia' has been lately launched with the sole object of advocating this religious crusade. Christianity, so says this redoubtable organ, has been

weighed in the balance and found wanting. Its hold of the people professing its doctrines in Europe and America is rapidly losing its force, and the time has come when the true faith as represented by Buddhism should step in and occupy the ground from which the worn-out Christianity has receded. We may well smile at this proposed war of the pigmies against the giants, and may be content to leave these misguided enthusiasts, whose principal European ally appears to be Colonel Olcott, to the certain disillusion which will follow on their missionary effort.

Turning now from the mental and religious reforms which have agitated the country to those physical changes which have revolutionised the lives of the people, we are met by the most prominent among these, the introduction of railways. Rightly to appreciate the difference which this innovation has made, it is necessary to remember the nature of the conveyances by means of which travellers were in the habit of moving from one part of the country to another. Like all Orientals, the Japanese, up to the time of their contact with Europeans, were accustomed to travel slowly and leisurely. Twenty or thirty miles was considered a long day's journey even by those who travelled with luxurious speed. Time had no particular value to them, and the temptations to loiter on the way were numerous and seductive. In most parts of the empire the scenery is extremely lovely, and, as in all countries where travelling is slow, the inns are the perfection of comfort according to native ideas. The first of these temptations appeals with double force to men who are proud of their country and who have an instinctive love of the beautiful; and the second is one which will be readily understood by all who have taken their ease in Japanese inns. After having been carried for hours in a *norimono*, or *kago*, the luxury of gaining a timely inn, and, surrounded by every comfort, receiving the ministrations of the trim, neat-fingered waitresses, is such as quite to account for the length of time commonly consumed on a journey. These inns were almost invariably placed on coigns of vantage, from which the choicest views of the surrounding country were to be obtained. The fare they provided was excellent, and the charges were so moderate that the farmer and artisan found it as cheap to travel abroad as to remain at home.

Thus there was every inducement to people to move about, and the great roads of the country testified by their ever crowded condition to the readiness with which the natives

availed themselves of their opportunities. Every one acquainted with Japanese sketch books must be familiar with the scenes on the Tokaido, the great road leading from Yedo to Osaka. There are the daimios' processions with their double-sworded samurai and clouds of attendants, there are groups of equestrians, ladies in their sedan chairs, itinerant vendors of wares and companies of men and women laughing as they trudge along amid the sunshine and bright-coloured flowers which bloom forth on every side.

It is true that the idyllic beauty of the highways was at times disturbed by the clash of arms. The presence of large bodies of armed men owing loyal obedience to various and often hostile feudal chieftans supplied at once an element of mischief which not unfrequently bore congenial fruit. So prominent was this evil that the great roads were placed under a department of state, to which every daimio or noble had to report an intended journey, and which was charged with the duty of so arranging times and seasons as to prevent the possibility of hostile meetings. On one occasion, shortly before the abolition of the daimios, a chief was coming with his retinue to Yedo, when the Prince of Satsuma was going down to Miako. 'In two days they were 'to meet on the Tokaido, when the whole country expected 'to see a fight, for which both parties were prepared.' But the officer, hearing of it, sent peremptory orders to the chief to go round by another road, and so the encounter was avoided. For the preservation of peace the minutest regulations were found to be necessary, and any infringement of these commonly met with condign punishment at the hands of the samurai, whose swords were by no means glued to their scabbards. Various degrees of reverences and obeisances were carefully laid down for all ranks and classes, and a broad rule provided that the common people should at all times kneel down and take off their hats to passing nobles and daimios. It was for an infringement of this law that in 1862 Shimadzu Saburo ordered his followers to cut down Mr. Richardson, who, on meeting the daimio's procession on the Tokaido, failed to make him the required obeisance. But such incidents were fortunately rare, and the common aspect of the high roads was one of gaiety and bustle as 'if 'all the year were playing holidays.'

A great change has now come over these busy and amusing thoroughfares. With the reformation disappeared the daimios and their followings, with all their pomp of power, and now railways have so revolutionised the travelling habits

of the people in the districts through which they pass that the great roads are comparatively deserted, even by the humbler folk, and the inns are left desolate. But throughout its reforms the Japanese government has had in view the material advancement of the country only; and, seeing in railways a means of strengthening the national defences and adding to the prosperity of the people, it has urged on their construction with untiring energy and success. The first which was opened was the line from Yedo to the port of Yokohama, a distance of eighteen miles. The gauge was 3 feet 6 inches, a gauge which has since been generally adopted; but, unlike all the other iron roads, this one has double ways. First experiments are always expensive, and this was no exception to the rule. The whole cost of the line was 616,734*l.*, or at the rate of 34,263*l.* per mile. It was opened in 1872, and during the following year 1,223,071 passengers travelled on it. But, large as this return was, that of 1884 was nearly double, the exact number for that year being 2,172,105.

At first the government proposed a railway policy by which a trunk line was to be run through the length of the empire. But by the light of the bill for the Yedo and Yokohama railway this was shown to be too expensive an undertaking, and the authorities were obliged to content themselves with making short lines in districts chiefly requiring them. In 1874 a railroad was opened connecting Osaka, the great commercial city of Japan, with the coast at Kobe. This line was rather longer than its predecessors, being twenty-two miles, and the cost per mile was 33,970*l.* When it is recollected that these lines traversed a level country without any serious engineering difficulties, the length of the bills becomes as surprising as the patience of the government in paying them without a murmur. Shortly afterwards this line was extended to the ancient capital of Kioto, a distance of twenty-seven miles, and in 1879 a still further extension was built to Otsu (11½ miles) on the beautiful Lake Biwa. A considerable reduction was made in the cost of these sections, about 20,000*l.* per mile being the amount paid. Even with this and the still higher rate of expenditure incurred, the traffic has been sufficiently large to make the lines remunerative. Like the Indians and the Burmese, the Japanese rapidly develope a taste for railway travelling, as is sufficiently shown by the fact that, in 1884, 2,653,872 passengers, or about one-fifteenth of the population of the empire, made use of the line between Kobe

and Otsu. Other railways from Tsuruga to Ogaki, from Temiya to Horonai, and between other points, have since been constructed, and the work is still going on with all the energy belonging to the Japanese character. Not only is the government cordially co-operating in undertakings which pay so well, but a railway company with a capital of 20,000,000 *yen*, or dollars, has been formed for the purpose of securing some of the profits. The districts through which the present lines have been made are no doubt some of the richest in the empire, but there remains a stretch of country not less densely populated and prosperous, between Ogaki and Yedo, which has yet to be invaded by the iron horse. In fact, all the central provinces of Japan show a capability for almost unlimited developement. In the other portions of the empire there will probably be more difficulty in constructing lines, and the returns will be less favourable; but as part of a policy of developing the country they are inevitable, and the leaps and bounds by which the traffic returns on the existing lines have gone up afford some hope that even these may not be unremunerative.

In one respect railways in Japan must always have to face serious competition. The formation of the islands, stretching as they do in a long narrow line from north-east to south-west, and indented as they are by numerous deep bays and the celebrated inland sea, is such that at no point in the country is the sea very far distant. The adoption, therefore, of steam vessels has enabled people to get about from place to place, and goods to be transported, with remarkable ease and economy. Coasting steamers of all sizes and capabilities carry on a thriving trade under conditions which were unknown under the old *régime*. The coast has been thoroughly surveyed and mapped out; lighthouses warn the sailor of dangers; and the now well-understood regulations with regard to the lights to be carried at night are strictly enforced. Under these favourable conditions voyages along the coast have lost their terror to timid passengers, and the possibility they afford of travelling by night has shortened the journey by one half.

Simultaneously with railways telegraphs and, later again, telephones were introduced to this very receptive country. The Chinese have, for the time being, stopped short at telegraphs, but not so the Japanese. They were as eager to travel quickly as to communicate with each other quickly, and, while making railways, they put a girdle of telegraph wires round and across the empire. The first line was con-

structed in 1869, and extended for 840 yards only, between a lighthouse and Yokohama. The next, following the line of the railway, was from Kobe to Osaka; and then, when the great trunk line of railway from Tokio to Nagasaka had to be abandoned, its place was taken by telegraph wires. At first one wire was stretched across the 870 miles of land, and under the 1,118 yards of sea separating Nipon from Chōshiu. But this was soon found to be insufficient for the purpose, and two others were added. Stretching again northwards from Tokio, wires were carried to Awomori and thence to Yezo, where the 'lightning wires' must have added a new cause of amazement to the hairy Ainos.

Gradually the network of wires has spread over the whole country, until, it is not too much to say, Japan is as well supplied with these useful means of communicating thoughts as we are in England. These results could not have been attained if it had not been that the natives eagerly welcomed the innovation. They had already practised a system of telegraphic signalling. At Osaka, for example, where the different markets are scenes of great excitement, Mr. Dickson tells us that

'each godown has a little platform on the roof, on which a man stands with a glass and a flag. In walking about the streets at Kobe one may be attracted by a girl standing at a corner of a house in the open street with a flag in her hand, going through an apparently vigorous but aimless whirling of her flag, paying no attention to passers-by, and they paying none to her: on she goes, whirling the flag first one way, then stops, looks up at the hills for a second, then whirls back in the opposite direction, then again looks at the hills, and then goes through a series of waves of the flag like a mad woman. If one follows the direction of her eyes, one may detect high up on the hill a little flag apparently reflecting every movement of hers. That is the flag which is watched with telescopes from the housetops at Osaka, and the items of information as to price or rate are at once carried to the principal.'

But the telegraph wire has improved upon this system, and so much have its services grown in demand that, from July 1885 to March 1886, no fewer than 1,829,310 messages were sent out from the offices. Payment for these produced 541,499 *yen*, which, if we may judge of the expenditure incurred by the estimated outlay for the following year, 1886–87, probably realised a profit. At first Europeans were of necessity employed in all offices connected with the telegraphs requiring skill and knowledge, but these have now been replaced by natives, who are trained in schools especially

established for the purpose, and, within the last year or two, women have been enlisted in the service, and thus have exchanged their previous frivolous employments for the serious duty of transmitting market prices and general news to the furthest corners of the empire. The areas covered by telephones are naturally more restricted, only 233 miles being covered by these instruments; but their use is growing rapidly, and, before long, it is probable that they will be more generally employed than among ourselves. In the adoption of these and all other practical inventions the Japanese are keeping pace with the most advanced nations. The laboratories and workshops of well-known inventors are eagerly watched, and the results of their inventive skill find a ready home among the Japanese, with whom, a quarter of a century ago, the life of a European was not safe, and who were wont to regard the mechanical skill of Westerns as the inspired work of the author of all mischief.

Up to the time of the Restoration the mode in which correspondence was carried on between distant places was uncertain and irregular. Special couriers carried the imperial despatches and the letters of the nobles and daimios, but no provision existed in any shape for the transport of the correspondence of the people, who were entirely dependent on chance opportunities for the means of communicating by letter with friends and relations at a distance. But with the new order of things post offices were established in the principal towns, and, as the necessity arose, their number was increased, until in 1876 there were as many as 3,738 offices. Nine years later this number had become 4,136. From the first this reform was welcomed with even more than usual avidity by the Japanese. Railways and steamers had, in a certain sense, interfered with vested interests, and there were some, therefore, who could not look on their introduction without discontent. But no such fancied disability attached to the postal system. Far from throwing a single man out of employment, it provided work for many hundreds, and it was therefore hailed with universal approval. From the first the people made a ready use of it, and, in 1876, 27,825,366 letters were entrusted to it for delivery. This number at the time was considered enormous, but year by year the return increased until, in 1885, the figures of 1876 were nearly quadrupled, the exact number being 97,216,019. Nearly the same proportional increase occurred in the case of newspapers, the numbers being respectively 4,077,095 and 15,258,671. But the return of books and

parcels in 1885 was nearly seven times as much as in 1876, the 317,837 books, &c., of that year having become 2,594,156 in 1885.

To anyone who has had experience of Japanese letters, the statement that a large number are annually returned to the dead-letter office will not appear surprising. In the old days any great accuracy of address was considered unnecessary, since the letters were commonly accompanied by verbal instructions to the friendly bearer as to the dwelling and position of the recipient. The habit of indifference in this respect is one which the people have found it difficult to overcome, and the result is that a large number of letters are never delivered at all. In 1885, 22,870 letters were returned as 'dead.' During the year before a still larger number had shared the same fate—28,308; and of these 19,749 were destroyed, after every effort had been made to discover their proper destination.

As part of the postal system money orders have been introduced with success, and the authorities even preceded us in the adoption of telegraph money orders and postal notes. We have not as yet seen a return of the number of these two last kinds of orders; but we find that, in 1885, no fewer than 733,639 postal orders, representing 5,762,545 *yen*, were issued. An even larger sum (7,820,148 *yen*) was deposited in the postal savings banks during the year, thus supplying a most practical testimony to the entire confidence of the people in the government.

But while these peaceful administrative changes have been in course of introduction, the defences of the empire have by no means been neglected. Japanese illustrated works are full of representations of the native soldiers as they were dressed and armed before 1867. We see them in their coats of mail and their horned helmets, carrying spears, gingalls, and the inevitable sword or swords. Some were armed with bows and arrows, and their drill consisted of leaps, contortions of the body calculated to instil fear into the enemy, and the skilful use of their motley weapons. To anyone witnessing a modern drill on the parade ground at Yedo, the recollection of the change which has come over the accoutrements, appearance, and manœuvres of the men suggests an interval of centuries instead of one of less than thirty years. With their usual energy and diligence the authorities have converted an ill-armed, undrilled rabble into an army which, apart from the number and height of the men, would do credit to any European state of the second rank. The

soldiers are all armed with the newest weapons, they are dressed in neat uniforms after the French model, and they march and wheel with the precision of veterans. The small stature of the Japanese becomes very noticeable on the parade ground, but experience has shown that this does not interfere with the martial qualities of the men. Bravery is natural to them, and the power of endurance they showed when engaged in the civil war of 1877, and in the invasion of Formosa, proves that they are no carpet knights. Under the old *régime*, when the forces of the empire were composed of a number of territorial armies depending on the daimios, it was difficult to arrive at a just estimate of the number of men under arms, and it is impossible, therefore, to compare the numerical strength of the feudal levies with that of the modern army. But the very accurate returns which are now kept in every department furnish us with full information as to different divisions of the land forces. From them we learn that there are 46,268 men on the active list, with a reserve composed of 91,489, and a territorial army, or second line of reserve, of 33,929 men.

As the ranks are filled by conscription these numbers, and especially those of the reserve, will continually increase, and the time will come when, as in Germany, a large proportion of the male population will have served their time. Although the pay which the officers and soldiers receive sounds little more than a starvation allowance to us accustomed to European rates, it is amply sufficient for the simple wants of the Japanese, who, far from resenting the idea of being compelled to serve, take a pride in a profession which gives a new dignity and power to the calling of arms.

The model on which the defences of the empire have been formed having been taken from France and Germany, the main strength rests in the army. And possibly, considering the enormous naval forces which any one of the European powers could bring to bear in case of a war, the Japanese have been wise in developing that branch of the service in which any invading power would be weakest. With the coast well fortified, and the land forces strong in numbers, discipline, and weapons, the navy may be regarded as the second line of defence. Thirty ships, however, of 41,616 tons burden, and carrying 172 guns, guard the shores. All these are armed with the newest and most destructive guns, and are manned by men who have been drilled by English officers, and who, according to those who are best able to judge, are smart and able seamen.

Great, however, as have been the intellectual and material reforms which have been effected, these would not have raised Japan to the position which she now occupies unless a firm basis, provided by a more or less popular government and a just administration of the law, had been at the same time established. From the time of the Restoration the foundations of the government have been gradually widened, until now a complete system of representative government has been brought into existence. The system of administration and the laws of the land have been borrowed wholesale from Europe, with such modifications as have been found necessary to assimilate them to native ideas. Under the old order of things law can scarcely be said to have existed. The lives and property of the people were practically at the mercy of the daimios and the officials of the Shogunate, and the only weapons which kept in check the tyranny which these persons might exercise were those of assassination and rebellion. The history of Japan supplies abundant evidence that these weapons were not allowed to rust. Time after time prominent officials were struck down by murderers, who on completion of the deed committed *harakiri* in testimony to the fact that they had been actuated by patriotic and not mercenary motives. Even within the last few years statesmen have fallen victims to the fanaticism or the outraged sense of justice of individuals or factions. For it cannot be denied that the new order of things has pressed heavily upon the middle classes. It was a just observation of Montesquieu that, according to the invariable law of nature, the measure of the public imposition increases with freedom, and diminishes in a just proportion to servitude. So it has certainly been with the Japanese. Under the rule of the daimios the taxes were light, and were collected under the orders of chieftains, who were actuated in the collection of them by feelings of regard and consideration for their clansmen. But with the assumption of sovereignty by the State not only were the taxes increased, but they were farmed out to agents, who demanded their pounds of flesh with inexorable severity, and the result has been that, in spite of the advantages which education and material civilisation have showered on modern Japan, there are to be found some who still sigh for the time when the daimios held sway, and before the outer barbarian had invaded the sacred soil of Nipon.

The first step towards that system of representative

government which has ever been before the eyes of the reformers was the establishment in 1875 of locally elected bodies in the nature of the county councils lately brought into existence among ourselves. The duties of these councils were to assess the taxes, and to administer generally the affairs of each locality. With the wisdom which appears to have guided the Japanese in all their recent measures these councils were intended to educate the people up to the idea of parliamentary government, and at the time of their institution the Mikado gave the nation a pledge that a new constitution, which should include a house or houses of representatives, should be promulgated during the present year. This promise has been kept, and an upper and a lower house now form part of the administration of the country. Five orders of nobility, answering to dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, were created to supply members to the House of Peers, and the possession of either land to the taxable value of 600 dollars, or an annual income of 1,000 dollars, entitles householders to vote for the election of the three hundred members destined to sit in the lower house. At the present time five hundred nobles have been created peers, and have been endowed with all the privileges enjoyed by the nobility in European countries, subject to some few modifications such as were necessarily suggested by the circumstances of the case. Females are barred from succession to titles, and no peer is to be allowed to marry without the consent of the minister of the imperial household. It was not to be expected that men suddenly raised to the peerage should in all cases remember that *noblesse oblige*, and it was considered essential, therefore, that this condition should be inserted to prevent *mésalliances* which might bring the new order into discredit. To avoid a like dishonour it is further ordered that peers should provide such maintenance for their near relatives as to obviate the possible disgrace of having nobles associated by family ties with persons occupying menial positions.

Pari passu with the developement of representative institutions, the administration of the law has undergone a succession of beneficent reforms. No longer do the rulers exercise a summary jurisdiction over the people. No longer can it be said that a cruel and malignant chieftain can outrage the inalienable rights of humanity and justice or that mercy can so be bought that

> 'Qui nil habet quo torqueat leges, miser
> In pelle pauper plectitur.'

All the corruptions and impurities which in past times disgraced the administration of so-called justice have been abolished. The courts have been swept and garnished, and even-handed justice is meted out to all—to peasants as well as to nobles. The prefects and district magistrates, who exercised jurisdiction on the Chinese model, have gone the way of the daimios and double-sworded samurai, and in their place has been established an imposing staff of judges and magistrates after the manner of the French judicial administration. Two hundred and six judges and magistrates, with nine hundred and sixty-nine deputy judges, preside over two hundred and ninety-three courts, while sixty-one judges sit in seven courts of appeal to revise the decisions of these *tribunaux de première instance*. Suitors dissatisfied with the rulings of these superior courts are enabled to test the findings there delivered by the establishment of a supreme court of appeal, where as many as twenty-one judges take it in turns to pronounce final judgements.

Of course it would be quite possible to have this elaborate array of judges and magistrates without even a semblance of justice. But this is not the case in Japan. With the natives of that strange and interesting country we are dealing with a people the like of whom are beyond our experience. Judged by the standard which we have been accustomed to apply to Oriental races, it might fairly have been assumed that their enthusiasm for European civilisation was but the result of the childish delight of a semi-barbarous nation in some new thing. But the reforms that have been introduced into Japan have been undertaken from a sincere desire to place the country on an assured position in relation to the Western powers. From the time when the Mikado frankly accepted the European treaties, his government has pursued a persistently progressive course, and it is impossible not to admire and respect a people who, through good report and evil report, have determined to act in all things according to the law. It would be well for the credit of certain of the treaty powers if they had always acted in the same spirit. But no infractions of treaty obligations or blustering demands have made the Japanese swerve from their obligations, and the result has been that in nine cases out of ten the disputes which have agitated the diplomatic world at Yedo have ended in moral victories to the Japanese.

It is the deep conviction of the sincerity of its aims and the justice of its plea which makes the Japanese government so earnest to abolish the ex-territoriality clauses

from the treaties. The existence of these it regards as a slur on its honesty and as a badge of barbarism. The ministers point to the complete abolition of cruelty and torture from judicial procedure, and to the establishment of a reign of law which has put an end to tyranny and injustice; and they ask the treaty powers to place sufficient confidence in their good intentions to entrust them with the complete exercise of judicial rule. The American government has recognised the justice of this demand and has ceded the point. The European powers have shown less disposition to do so. The saying of Napoleon, that if you scratch a Russian you will find a Tartar, represents, to a certain extent, the feeling with which the Japanese are popularly regarded. People find it difficult to believe that whereas, a short time ago, they were haters of foreigners and oppressors of their own people, they are now walking in the paths of progress and liberty with all honesty and truth. It is a necessity of the case that due consideration should be given to this feeling. Some further time must be allowed to elapse before people will see and believe that the Japanese government are acting in good faith, and that the lives, liberties, and rights of foreigners may be safely entrusted to its absolute control. Meanwhile, a middle course suggests itself, which, while protecting foreign interests, might reasonably be accepted as a compromise by the Japanese. If, in all cases where Europeans were concerned, a foreign assessor sat on the bench to watch the course of justice, an effectual check would be put to any irregularities, should there ever be a disposition towards any, and, in the absence of such, the Japanese would have a free hand in the administration of the law. Such an experiment would not be altogether a new thing. In the British settlement at Shanghai there has existed for years a mixed court, in which a consular officer and a Chinese magistrate sit side by side. There, however, a more prominent part has to be played by the British assessor than would probably have to be the case in Japan; and yet, in spite of some slight occasional friction, the system has worked well, and has satisfied all the expectations which its founder, the late Sir Harry Parkes, formed of it. It cannot be supposed that it would not be equally successful in Japan, when applied in the modified form required, and the *amour-propre* of the Japanese must be sensitive indeed if so harmless a precaution can be offensive in their sight.

With this point settled the future relations of Japan with

the Western world seem to be unclouded, and it is within her own borders that the only rift in the lute is foreshadowed. With the widening of her political sphere the mercantile energies of the people have found a developement which has overstepped the bounds of prudence and threatens financial difficulties. The enormous amount of share capital issued in companies at home and undertakings abroad is out of all proportion to the real wealth of the people, and the result has of late been the creation of a dangerous pressure on the money market. The government has loyally stepped in to the relief of this 'tightness' by the issue of an increased amount of exchangeable notes, on which a tax of 5 per cent. is charged, and it is to be hoped that by these means, and by a return to a sounder commercial system, the embarrassment may be removed. If the Japanese can steer clear of like dangers in the future, we have the utmost confidence that their marvellous efforts to make all things new will be rewarded by prosperity at home and by an increasing measure of sympathy and confidence from abroad.

Art. IV.—*Lavoisier*, 1743–1794, *d'après sa Correspondance, ses Manuscrits, ses Papiers de Famille, et d'autres Documents inédits.* Par Édouard Grimaux. Paris: 1888.

2. *Le Feu, le Calorique, la Chaleur Animale d'après Lavoisier.* Par M. Marcelin Berthelot, de l'Académie des Sciences. Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 Mars, 1890.

3. *Œuvres de Lavoisier.* Paris, Imprimerie Impériale: 1864–1868.

Opinions and epigrams have had their full share in the making of history; the turn of documents has come. A positive and realistic generation, bent upon seeing things as they are, in the 'naked and open daylight' of truth, cannot tolerate in the past the 'masques, and mummeries, and 'triumphs' which, with more or less of success, it struggles to discard in the present. Hence a general revisal of traditional persuasions, a continual shifting of historical points of view, as archives are ransacked, monuments excavated, and inscriptions deciphered in every accessible corner of the world.

It must be admitted that events rarely show, under the 'dry light' thus shed upon them, 'so stately and daintily' as in the pages of irresponsible rhetoricians. Beneath the

flowing robes of magniloquence, surprisingly deformed and bespattered figures are occasionally found to lurk. Indeed, the mainsprings of collective human action in critical times are generally to be found in some especially ugly human passions impelling a multitude only partially aware of the forces acting upon it. Never was this axiom more strikingly illustrated than during the progress of the French Revolution. Frenzied by the sudden unchaining of long-repressed desires, the people formed a vast mass of blind power, ready to be hurled in whatever direction their leaders might determine. And while enthusiasm degenerated into fanaticism, and fanaticism into undiscerning brutality, malevolence saw its opportunity, and guided to its own end the 'red fool fury of the Seine.' The crimes that resulted take if possible, a more sombre hue as we gradually gain documentary familiarity with them. The air of spurious dignity imparted to them by the very depth of their atrocity vanishes; sordid motives are brought to light; the calumnies with which it was sought to blacken their victims become discredited; the real hideousness of the Terror shows authentic and perpetual in contemporary records.

Among the multitude of such crimes, one is especially memorable as having brought a radiant intellectual career to a premature close. Even the Republic 'one and indivisible' took shame to itself for the murder of Lavoisier, and would gladly have recalled the irrevocable; and its most ingenious apologists have never been able to urge one valid plea in extenuation of the guilt of that crime. Yet, for the measurement of its full depth, the publication of M. Grimaux's valuable work was needed. With the reputation of its subject as a man of supreme scientific genius, all were familiar; but the importance of his administrative functions was not generally recognised. We are now, however, presented with an indefatigable philanthropist, a political economist second to none of his time, a reformer, whose zeal, unalloyed by personal ambition, was animated only by an earnest compassion for the ills affecting his fellow-countrymen. This side of the activity of the great chemist, though not unknown or ignored, lacked till now due prominence in popular estimations of him.

Biographical notices, but no Life, of Lavoisier existed previously to the appearance of the volume before us. This conspicuous blank has at last been adequately filled. The industry and ability brought by M. Grimaux to his task have produced a work of permanent historical value—a

work supported indeed in every one of its statements by documentary proofs, yet no mere collection of protocols and *pièces justificatives*. Into the 'materia prima,' derived from the spoliation of manuscript treasures, has been infused the undefinable, but all-important essence of a substantial form. A genuine literary product is the upshot, composed, it is true, with the utmost sobriety, and enlivened by no special graces of style, yet impressive as a connected and absolutely trustworthy recital of striking facts. The author had access, through the co-operation of M. Etienne de Chazelles, the nearest surviving connexion of Madame Lavoisier, to all the family papers, and moreover spared no pains in exploring public repositories; so that a large amount of new information is embodied in the narrative of which we propose briefly to trace the outlines.

Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier was born at Paris, August 26, 1743. His father acted as legal adviser to the parliament of Paris, and became rich through his marriage with Mademoiselle Punctis. Upon her early death, he went, in 1748, to live with his mother-in-law in the Rue du Four-Saint-Eustache, when Constance Punctis, then twenty-two years of age, threw aside all care for her own future to assume the care of his two children. The younger, a girl, died, however, when barely fifteen, and Antoine-Laurent remained the sole object of affection and solicitude to father, aunt, and grandmother.

Vivacious, sensitive, and intelligent, he amply repaid the care, and gratified the fondness lavished upon him. Every step in his career was a brilliant surprise. His first dreams of distinction were in literature. At the Collège Mazarin, the courses of which he followed as an extern, a prize in rhetoric fell to his share; he sketched a drama on the subject of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, and wrote prize essays for provincial academies. On leaving college, he studied law, and was enrolled as an advocate, although by this time fully conscious of his true vocation. The only point doubtful was as to the particular branch of science to which he should devote himself, since in all he was equally apt, and by all equally attracted. He studied mathematics and astronomy with the Abbé Lacaille, who had equipped, on his return from the Cape of Good Hope, a small observatory in the Collège Mazarin; Jussieu taught him botany, Guettard geology and mineralogy; anatomy had its share of attention; and he frequented, in company with Diderot, the lectures at the Jardin du Roi, and worked in the laboratory of Rouelle, then

in the zenith of his fame as an impassioned and impressive interpreter of the received chemical doctrines.

At the outset, Lavoisier regarded himself as primarily a mathematician and meteorologist. He aimed at discovering the laws of atmospheric circulation, and set on foot barometrical observations, continued to the end of his life. But the opportunity for combining them with others furnished to him by distant correspondents, and drawing theoretical conclusions from the whole, never came; and they went into that handy limbo of unserviceable data which would already, were it less spacious, have been choked with those regarding wind and weather.

In his ardour for books the young student eschewed society, and even passed, at nineteen, for a valetudinarian. His health was indeed at all times excellent, but the desire to preserve it from the injurious effects of excessive application led him to restrict himself, during several months, to a diet exclusively of milk. He made his first appearance before the public in 1766, as the recipient of a gold medal from the Academy of Sciences for a memoir on the best means of lighting the streets of a large town. The work was undertaken in competition for a prize offered in the preceding year, and with such enthusiasm that, hoping thereby to increase the sensitiveness of his eyes, he shut himself up for six weeks in a room draped with black, from which every ray of daylight was carefully excluded.

In the meantime, Guettard, who had conceived a paternal affection for him, chose him as his coadjutor in preparing a Mineralogical Atlas of France. They travelled about together, collecting materials, and in 1767 crossed the Vosges into Alsace. The journey, which was performed entirely on horseback, was in those days a sufficiently adventurous one; and its every stage was followed with trepidation from the Rue du Four-Saint-Eustache. The very life of the anxious little household there seemed to hang upon the visits of the postman; scarcely was one letter received from the idolised traveller when the next began to be longed for. His absence, Mademoiselle Punctis assured him, was rendered endurable only by frequent intelligence. 'I begin to lose sight 'of you, and grow alarmed,' she wrote; 'do not neglect us, 'for our state would be pitiable indeed.' And again, 'The 'farther you go, the more uneasy I become, above all as 'you approach Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines. Take care of your-'self for the sake of a father and an aunt who live only for 'you.' His father's letters are couched in the same tender

strain, and Lavoisier's replies breathe the intimate confidence of domestic attachment. Difficulties not a few attended the process of expediting them. The mail from Strasbourg took a month to reach Paris; a weekly despatch sufficed for many smaller places; and the precious missives, so eagerly watched for at home, had more than once to be sent by express messengers from the remote hamlet where they were penned, to some town on the direct line of communication.

Lavoisier's Journal records every minute detail of his experience. His insatiable curiosity appears in every line; nothing escaped him. The entries—sometimes jotted down without dismounting—include notes of mines, manufactures, manual arts, weather, vegetation, the nature of the soil, the formation of the strata, the quality of the water. He might well add the remark, 'Je suis prodigieusement occupé!' He gives no sign, however, of susceptibility to natural beauty, unless his admiration for the swift flow of the Rhine at Bâle should be counted as such. The Vosges interested him profoundly, but from a purely physiographical point of view. The stupendous landscapes formed by their pinnacles and ravines called forth no emotion.

> 'The tall rock,
> The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood'

appealed to him as a mineralogist, a botanist, an economist, but waked in him no

> 'sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns.'

But those were pre-Wordsworthian days, when the two mighty voices of sea and mountains had not yet become articulate.

At Bâle, Lavoisier visited the tomb of Maupertuis; expended at Strasbourg—not ineffectively, we may presume—five hundred francs on German chemical books, and received a consignment of thermometers from his father, with whom finally he had a rapturous meeting at Bourbonne-les-Bains. The opportunity thus offered of reinforcing her nephew's wardrobe was not missed by Mademoiselle Punctis. A new coat, trimmed with gold lace and made of a magnificent green cloth—grey being, as she carefully ascertained, just out of fashion—had long been in preparation; and the elder Lavoisier undertook the delicate task of conveying all the way to Bourbonne some gold fish which

his son desired to present to a lady in acknowledgement of her hospitality. The worthy man's feelings were not indeed of unmixed satisfaction at the prospect of riding in such company. 'Voilà une vilaine commission,' he exclaimed in dismay, 'et bien embarrassante pour les voyageurs!' but his fondness made of the request a command, and he submitted to the inevitable—with what upshot history has omitted to record.

Lavoisier spent much time and care on the preparation of plans and materials for the mineralogical atlas, Guettard's original design for which was on a great scale; but funds for its publication were not forthcoming, and the fruit of his labours was eventually, with inadequate acknowledgement, gathered in a less complete work of the same kind issued by Monnet in 1780.

His election to the Academy of Sciences took place, under circumstances of peculiar distinction, when he was in his twenty-fifth year; and about the same time (in March, 1768) he entered the administration of the revenue as adjunct farmer-general. Although these new functions were onerous, they were lucrative, and he foresaw that his scientific researches would be unusually costly. His colleagues at the Academy murmured at what they regarded as a partial defection from abstract pursuits; but Fontaine, the geometer, consoled them with the cynical reflection that the dinners given to them would gain in quality as much as the investigations communicated to them would lose through the financial occupations of the new recruit.

Lavoisier's marriage, although he played in it the part of a legendary hero by rescuing an imperilled maiden, was of the usual unromantic, arranged type. M. Paulze, his immediate superior in the Revenue Department, had, appropriately, an only daughter. He had also an uncle, the Abbé Terray, Controller-General of Finances, a personage of the highest importance. No sooner had Marie-Anne-Pierrette reached the age of thirteen than this formidable relative set himself to urge, with much insistency, her marriage with the Comte d'Amerval, a man of fifty, sordidly poor, and uncivilly characterised by his contemporaries as 'a fool and an 'ogre.' The girl, who had a fine spirit, and scorned the lure of being presented at Court dangled before her eyes by the Comte's sister, scouted the match; her father, by his refusal to force her inclination, nearly forfeited his place through the displeasure of the Controller-General. Far from being intimidated, however, he looked round for a

Perseus to secure his Andromeda against a possible renewal of the 'scaly monster's' advances, and found him ready to his hand in young Lavoisier. Henceforward all went well. Felicitations poured in from all sides; a golden shower of endowments and donations descended upon the happy couple; the Abbé Terray was cordially reconciled; more than two hundred persons of distinction—ministers, intendants, financiers, noble ladies, savants, notably d'Alembert, Cassini de Thury, and Jussieu—assembled, December 4, 1771, at the Hôtel d'Aumont, to witness the signing of the contract.

The bride of fourteen was neither tall nor short, and her sparkling blue eyes, brown hair, fresh complexion, small and animated features, made her pleasant to look upon. The bridegroom was twenty-eight, tall, slight, and well-proportioned, with chestnut hair, grey eyes, a small mouth capable of winning smiles, a physiognomy beaming with intellect and noble sweetness of disposition. It was an eminently happy marriage. Madame Lavoisier's ardent admiration for her husband led her to become the partner of his pursuits; she shared his investigations, discharged the office of his amanuensis, raised herself by study to the level of his thoughts, learned Latin and English that she might interpret for his benefit the thoughts of others. She engraved with her own hand the plates in his 'Traité de Chimie,' and M. Grimaux has published two drawings by her of groups in his laboratory. She is also recorded to have painted a portrait of Franklin, and was a pupil of David. Arthur Young, for whom she prepared (October 16, 1787) a 'déjeuner anglais' of tea and coffee, describes her as a 'lively, sensible, scientific lady,' whose 'conversation on Mr. Kirwan's "Essay on Phlogiston," which she is translating from the English,* and on other subjects, which a woman of understanding, that works with her husband in the laboratory, knows how to adorn, was the best repast.'†

Lavoisier, on his side, was gratefully sensible of the charm thrown round his life by the gifted woman so completely identified with him in desires and interests. His regard for her, if less impassioned than hers for him, was strong and sincere; and their conjugal relations were in every way exemplary. They had no children.

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* Her version was published in 1788.

† Travels in France, p. 94, 2nd ed.

The last service rendered by the elder Lavoisier to a son whose love for him was perhaps the warmest of his affections, was that of securing one of the four thousand posts to which hereditary titles of nobility were then attached. He died of apoplexy, at his country house of le Bourget, September 15, 1775, aged sixty. Mademoiselle Punctis continued to the last inseparable from the nephew to whom she was in the room of a mother. She left him on her death in 1781 the whole of her considerable fortune.

On his appointment by Turgot, in 1775, as superintendent of the gunpowder works of France, Lavoisier took up his abode at the arsenal, in the 'Hôtel des Régisseurs des 'Poudres.' His life there was one of incredible activity. More urgently than for the recital of the Homeric Catalogue, 'ten tongues' would be needed to tell of the performances of this one man. Each of his numerous avocations might have absorbed the energies of an ordinary life; but he knew how at once to husband and to lavish the vast mental resources at his disposal. To each in turn of the varied subjects claiming his care, he gave undivided but careful attention; his thoughts about them were not allowed to clash; he could turn from one to the other with perfect *sang-froid*. Each had allotted to it a stated measure of time—its stated share of laborious and unflagging, yet strictly regulated effort.

'He decided,' M. Grimaux tells us, 'to give six hours a day to science, three in the morning from six to nine, and three after dinner, from seven to ten o'clock. The remainder of the day was employed in the affairs of the revenue, of the gunpowder manufacture, or at the meetings of the Academy and of academical commissions; one day in the week was entirely devoted to experiments. This was his day of happiness.' (P. 44.)

Déjeuner was then served in the laboratory, thronged from an early hour by friends and disciples; debates and demonstrations followed; and every critical experiment was rehearsed and discussed with such men as Laplace, Monge, Berthollet, and Fourcroy, before its result was considered as definitively established. So close was the community of ideas thus brought about that, as Lavoisier himself relates, separate intellectual ownership came to be in a measure abolished.

To this international rendezvous of talent all repaired who were piqued with curiosity to see a scientific revolution in actual progress. Watt came, and Tennant of chlorine-

bleaching celebrity, and Arthur Young; Priestley, reporting his discovery of a new 'air,' later known as oxygen; Blagden, of whom Hannah More said that he was

'Willing to teach, and yet not proud to know;'*

Ingenhousz, from Vienna, the Abbé Fontana, from Florence, Franklin—

'L'homme que deux mondes réclament,'

the chemists Jacquin and Guyton de Morveau; besides such habitual visitors as Lagrange, Laplace, Meusnier, Macquer, Darcy, Trudaine de Montigny, Berthollet, Monge, with a sprinkling of nobles of the sword and of the robe—the Duc d'Ayen, president of the Academy, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, assassinated in 1792, the Duc de Chaulnes, himself a physicist, and 'ce Franklin de vieille race,' M. de Malesherbes.

The apparatus on view at the Arsenal constituted not the least of its attractions. Such a collection had never been seen before.† Balances of heretofore unknown precision symbolised, it might be said, the new era in chemistry; beside them were ranged pneumatic engines on a great scale, electrical machines, calorimeters, aerometers, barometers, thermometers, all of novel design, and adapted to novel purposes under the personal supervision of Lavoisier himself. Their construction involved a large outlay of money, and an inestimable expenditure of time and pains. His operations on the synthesis of water alone are said to have cost above fifty thousand francs, and they made only an episode, though an important and striking one, in his experimental career.

His experimental career itself represented no more than a fractional part of his entire activity. Between 1770 and 1790 he communicated to the Academy of Sciences fifty-eight memoirs, laying the foundations of modern chemical science, and above two hundred reports of a miscellaneous character; composed during the same interval thirteen elaborate State papers upon subjects connected with political economy, maintained a European correspondence, introduced reforms into the collection of the revenue, regenerated the powder manufacture, set the first example of scientific model farming, shared in the ameliorative projects of Turgot and

* R. Hunt, 'Dictionary of National Biography,' vol. v.

† Still in part preserved at the Château de la Canière. See M. Truchot's description in 'Annales de Chimie,' t. xviii. 5th sér. p. 289.

Necker, co-operated in numerous works of benevolence, visited, in company with his wife, the sick and poor, and was the animating spirit of the Provincial Assembly of Orleans.

In whatever business engaged, he came to the front through the sheer vitality of his genius. As Lalande justly remarked, 'l'on trouvait Lavoisier partout.' He was equally pre-eminent and indispensable in practical affairs, as in abstract research. From all sides, accordingly, claims were made upon a stock of energy which might fairly be called inexhaustible. Especially during the last eleven years of its existence, he was one of the most active members of the company of the farmers-general, by that time exempt from all suspicion of the malpractices with which, at an earlier epoch, it had been reproached. Much of the odium attaching to them, however, still survived; it is not easy to break the entail of an inheritance of iniquity. The whole system of taxation in France was, moreover, unjust and oppressive, and in practice there is much difficulty in distinguishing the manner from the method.

The abuses to which the plan of farming the taxes, established by Colbert in 1681, almost necessarily led, were completely abolished by Necker's reform in 1780. The reorganised 'farming' association consisted of forty capitalists—the forty plebeian kings of Persepolis in Voltaire's 'Vision de Babouc'—of whom the State was the annuitant. They collected the revenue at their own risk, paying into the Treasury a fixed sum at the expiration of each term of six years, besides half of any surplus exceeding three million francs. Stigmatised in angry popular parlance as blood-suckers and extortioners, they were, in point of fact, men of business of unblemished integrity, intent upon their affairs, exact in their accounts, carrying out, without intentional harshness, and under difficult circumstances, the share of administration confided to them. The resulting profits, though large, were not excessive, considering that they were earned by the assiduous labour of men of high standing and ample resources. They amounted, for each associate, under the lease running from 1780 to 1786, to 75,000 francs yearly.

That crushing fiscal burdens were laid, in pre-revolutionary times, upon the proletariat of France, it is impossible to deny. The exemptions secured by the rich necessarily involved the oppression of the poor. But their passionate cry for relief began to excite, in the reign of Louis XVI., a

general desire to afford it, and Lavoisier's influence was uniformly exerted on the side of enlightenment and humanity. He earned the gratitude of the Jews of Metz by the abolition of a hateful toll, and of the citizens of Blois by a timely loan of money, through which the horrors of famine were averted from the town in 1788. Imposts were reduced on the strength of his prevision that they would thereby be rendered more productive; he stimulated zeal for improvement, and repressed zeal for vexation among his subordinates. The unpopular project was, indeed, due to him of enclosing Paris with a wall for the purpose of suppressing evasions—then practised on an enormous scale—of the customary dues of entry. Its execution was unluckily entrusted by Calonne to the architect Ledoux, who wasted thirty millions of francs, wrung from a starving peasantry, on sumptuous and useless constructions, mocked and censured by the *élite* of society, as well as by baulked contrabandists.

'Le mur murant Paris rend Paris murmurant,'

was repeated at every street corner; the Duc de Nivernais gave it as his opinion that the deviser of the *enceinte* deserved to be hanged; and an obscure pamphleteer designated Lavoisier by name to the ill will of his fellow-citizens.

We do not know that this episode of irritability had any effect on the final catastrophe of his life; it might well have been obliterated by the remembrance of many patriotic services. The improvement of gunpowder, for instance, occupied him for many years, and, as the result of his experiments, the English began to complain, in 1780, that not only was their accustomed margin of immunity from French artillery abolished, but their armies were now the first to come within range. He, moreover, put an end to the odious inquisition for saltpetre in private houses, while adopting measures by which the native yield was quadrupled, and a public economy effected of two million francs a year. The trial at Essonne, October 27, 1788, of Berthollet's new chlorate of potash explosive nearly proved fatal to him and his wife. But for a casual delay in returning to the scene of operations, they must inevitably have shared the destruction of the only two persons present when the mixture blew up. Less than a year later the illustrious *régisseur des poudres* escaped still more narrowly another kind of peril. The contemplated removal from Paris to Essonne of a stock of inferior gunpowder raising the irrational suspicions of

the mob, they stopped its embarkation at the port of Saint-Paul, insisted on the arrest of Lavoisier and Le Faucheux, his colleague, and with ferocious howlings and outcries escorted them to the Hôtel de Ville. Before men still capable of listening to reason, they easily exculpated themselves.

Lavoisier's connexion with the revenue led him to take a deep interest in the condition of the people. His tours of inspection through the provinces convinced him that it was miserable, and that the actual government of France discharged with lamentable imperfection its proper function (in his view) 'of augmenting the sum of enjoyment, the happi-'ness, and the well-being of all the individuals' committed to its care. A reform of agricultural methods afforded, he thought, the best promise of improvement in this respect; and he addressed himself to its promotion with the untiring, practical, and disinterested zeal brought to bear upon each of his multiplied undertakings. The acquisition, in 1778, of an estate at Fréchines near Blois, enabled him to teach by example. Importing into farm processes the system adopted in his laboratory, he used the balance to ascertain the increment of the harvest over the expenditure in seed and manure, and thus established a sure basis for experiment and comparison. The upshot, after ten years of assiduity, was to treble the vegetable produce, and quintuple the stock of the two hundred acres submitted to trial; to introduce potato culture into the district, to show that beetroot could be successfully grown, to improve the breed of sheep and cattle, and to illustrate the advantages, for wool-producing purposes, of crossing with Spanish merinos.

Lavoisier became a member of the Paris Society of Agriculture in 1783, and acted as virtual head of a sort of consultative committee on questions connected with rural economy created by Calonne in 1783. Among the topics he was in this capacity directed to inquire into, were the cultivation of maize and potatoes, the penning of sheep, the use of peat ashes for manure, Tillet's suggested remedy against the 'smut' in wheat, Berthollet's process for bleaching by chlorine. This last he was the first to employ on a large scale in a linen factory at Montparnasse, organised by him as a school of weaving, from which trained pupils were to be sent out to the provinces, with the aim of diffusing the industry through the cottage homes of France. But in all this he reckoned vainly upon the continuity of the future with the present and the past. Not a suspicion crossed his

mind that he was like a man building summer-houses in the track of a coming tornado. Intent upon the chimera of universal happiness, he failed to see the bellying black cloud advancing with frightful rapidity, still indeed as an aerial apparition, but sheathing whirlwind coils of prompt impending descent towards terrestrial ravage.

Pure benevolence seemed in those days all-powerful, and there was a great deal of it. Believers in the Arcadian virtues of the natural man could discern no hindrance to their design of making earth an Eden. They sailed over an unruffled sea as serenely as Ulysses with the winds imprisoned in the hold of his ship, like him unconscious that ignorance and malice were even then conspiring to release them. The evils of the time were indeed patent; but remedies for them were easily excogitated; and with 'the best of kings,' and ministers full of the newest 'lights' on every conceivable subject, how could their application fail?

The convocation of the provincial assemblies was a wise and hopeful measure—if only it had not come too late! That which met at Orleans, September 6, 1787, included Lavoisier as one of its fifty members. Technically noble, he nevertheless sat—far from inertly—among the Tiers État. Sieyès was there, too, but in one of his phases of passivity; Lavoisier it was who 'did everything, animated everything, 'multiplied himself in some sort.'* In the procès-verbaux of the sessions, his name recurs continually; and a remarkable series of papers emanating from the bureau 'of public 'welfare,' was wholly of his composition. Social and economical reforms were urged in them on sound principles, yet with a generous ardour for the cause of the distressed; while a report on the state of agriculture showed knowledge and insight which could scarcely, even now, be surpassed. In another comprehensive document he pleaded for the relief of the peasantry from the exclusive load of the corvée, appealing to the upper classes to bear their share, on the magnanimous ground that 'we are bound in honour to redress 'an injustice which promotes, even more energetically than 'one which prejudices our interests.' His appeal was not, however, successful. The report was suppressed, as unpalatable to the majority of the nobles. A scheme of popular insurance, projects for improving the navigation of the Loire, for draining the Sologne, for establishing a discount bank at

* Léonce de Lavergne, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' 1er Août 1861, p. 694.

Orleans, for getting rid of intermediary tax collectors, were among those which Lavoisier on this occasion originated and put into feasible shape, yet with little or no effect. Promptly arrested by the supervening cataclysm of society, they have served only to gratify modern curiosity by illustrating the order of things they were designed to modify.

What the provincial assemblies had failed to bring about, the States-General, it was not doubted by the sanguine spirits of the time, would triumphantly accomplish. The millennium, long postponed, was finally at hand. 'Public felicity,' according to Lavoisier's aspiration, could no longer fail to become 'a source universally diffusive of private felicity.' 'Happiness,' he exclaimed, 'is not a privilege, but a right! 'It should not be reserved for a few, since it belongs to all.' Obviously—unless prognostications were grievously at fault—'that which flies before' was on the point of being seized and held.

Animated by these lofty sentiments, Lavoisier drew up a programme by which the assembled nobles of the bailiwick of Blois engaged to demand for the nation ample constitutional liberties, and to renounce for themselves pecuniary exemptions of every kind; for inequalities in the matter of taxation, as this generous champion of the poor protested elsewhere, 'could only be regarded as tolerable when they 'told against the rich.' Although returned as vice-deputy to the States-General, and later to the Constituent Assembly, he took his seat in neither. Public demands upon his time nevertheless multiplied. He resumed his duties at the Arsenal in April, 1789, combining them, as before, with unceasing application to the affairs of the revenue, and the pursuit of his chemical researches. From his laboratory he was, however, in September called away by his election to the Municipal Council of Paris, where, for the moment, savants and doctrinaires had the upper hand. The choice of Bailly as mayor, of Lafayette as commandant of the National Guard, the occurrence on the list of its members of the names of Condorcet, Jussieu, Thouin, Broussonnet, Lavoisier, Cousin, Suard, sufficiently indicated what it was; what it might become was hinted at by the scarcely noticed presence at its meetings of the sinister figures of Danton and Santerre.

There is some difficulty in realising, as the functions discharged by him are enumerated, that there was actually but one Lavoisier. Enrolled, immediately on its creation, in the National Guard, he punctually fulfilled the obligations of a citizen-soldier; he frequented the 'Club of '89,' a first-fruit

of patriotic effervescence, soon in its turn to become 'suspect;' he presented to the States-General, November 21, 1789, a report on the operations of the Caisse d'Escompte, and was appointed, in 1791, commissary to the National Treasury, the accounts of which he brought from comparative confusion into transparent order; he took a laborious part, experimental and deliberative, in the Academic Commission of Weights and Measures; drew up several reports on new inventions for the Bureau of Consultation on arts and handicrafts, besides a striking scheme of public instruction, recommending the establishment of primary technical schools; while his great memoir on the 'Territorial Riches of France,' constituting the first authentic statement of the resources of the country, and entitling its author to a high place among political economists, was received with gratitude and applause by the National Assembly, March 15, 1791, and extolled in the 'Moniteur' for its *figures très patriotiques.*

Thus overwhelmed with affairs, he began in 1792, as he wrote to a Constitutional Society at Blois, 'to feel the weight of the immense burden laid upon him. Certainly it was not too soon. Yet the failure of his hopes perhaps rather than the pressure of his employments, extorted from him this first and only admission of weariness. The horizon was indeed darkening around him. The menace of disaster, public and private, could no longer be ignored. Holding-ground there was palpably none on the slippery slope leading down to the abyss. The suppression on March 20, 1791, of the Company of the Farmers-general deprived Lavoisier of the chief source of wealth spent by him without stint for worthy and benevolent purposes; his place at the Arsenal was gravely threatened; the progress of science was checked; the very existence of the Academy had become precarious.

Even while announcing to Franklin, in the beginning of 1790, the 'successful and irreversible accomplishment' of the political revolution in France, it is plain that Lavoisier was troubled, in his view of the rising sun of democracy, by some vapours of misgiving. 'Persons of moderate opinions,' he went on, 'who have kept their heads cool in the general 'effervescence, think that circumstances have carried us too 'far, deprecate the universal arming of the people, hold it 'scarcely politic to entrust the employment of force to those 'whose part it is to obey, and fear lest the new constitution 'meet obstacles from those in whose favour it has been 'devised.' In 1792, misgiving had turned to dismay. National bankruptcy, a calamitous war, seemed impending;

the vision of a regenerate nation was dissipated by the excesses of a popular government knowing no measure, notwithstanding 'the calm that might have been looked for 'under a philosophical constitution, professedly of unaggres-'sive tendencies.'

His whole ambition now was to withdraw from public life into the seclusion of uninterrupted research. Danger, he could see, was lowering over his future. He had been too intimately connected with the *ancien régime* to escape suspicion; above all, Marat was his personal enemy. For Marat, too, had been an aspirant to scientific distinction. In 1780, when still a '*génie incompris*,' he had published an inane treatise on fire, falsely asserted in the 'Journal de 'Paris' to have been commended by the Academy of Sciences. The curtness of the official denial with which Lavoisier met the boast rankled for eleven years in the breast of the 'People's Friend.' His resentment at length, in 1791, exhaled in a vile pamphlet, in which Lavoisier was styled 'the supposititious father of every sensational discovery;' followed by a denunciation in a notorious print of 'the 'coryphæus of charlatans, Lavoisier, son of a landgrabber, 'chemical apprentice, pupil of the Genevese stockjobber,' &c., the manifesto concluding with the pious wish that the 'charlatan' in question had been 'lanterned' on the 6th of August, 1789, during the gunpowder riot at the port of Saint-Paul.

By ceasing to be conspicuous, and showing himself to be disinterested, Lavoisier hoped to disarm the envious rage excited by his merits and his fortune; but it was a time when bad passions sprang rapidly into flower, and seldom flowered without producing fruit.

In February, 1792, he withdrew from the Treasury; on June 15, he wrote to the king a letter, which we cannot forbear quoting *in extenso*. It runs as follows:—

'Sire,—Neither through a pusillanimous fear wholly alien to my character, nor through indifference to public affairs, nor yet, I admit, through a sense of my own insufficiency, I am compelled to decline the mark of confidence with which your Majesty has honoured me, in the offer of the ministry of public contributions. Cognisant, during my connection with the national treasury, of your Majesty's patriotic motives, tender solicitude for the people's happiness, inflexible severity of principle, and unalterable probity, I feel more deeply than I can express all that I lose in renouncing the opportunity of becoming the mouth-piece of these sentiments to the nation. But, Sire, an honest man cannot, consistently with his duty, accept an important post unless with the hope of fully discharging its obligations.

'I am neither a Jacobin nor a Feuillant. I belong to no society, to no club.* Accustomed to form my opinions by the light of conscience and reason, I can never consent to place them at the disposal of any party. I have sincerely sworn fidelity to the constitution accepted by you, to the authorities established by the people, to you, Sire, the constitutional king of the French, whose virtues and misfortunes are too little appreciated. Persuaded, as he must be, that the legislative body has transcended the limits of the constitution, what could a constitutional minister do? Incapable of compounding with his principles and conscience, he would vainly invoke the authority of the law which all Frenchmen are bound by oath to obey. Should he counsel resistance, by means legally entrusted to your Majesty, it would be imputed to him as a crime; he would perish, the victim of duty, and the inflexibility of his character would serve but to originate fresh misfortunes.

'Permit me then, Sire, to devote my time and my existence to the welfare of the State in a position less elevated, but where I can render services perhaps more useful, and probably more durable. By promoting public instruction, I will seek to enlighten the people as to their duties. In the capacity of a soldier and a citizen I will bear arms for the defence of the country, of the law, and for the safety of the irremovable representative of the French people.'

This noble and dignified communication was the freest and the final expression of Lavoisier's frustrated hopes for France. Thenceforward he was silent on political topics, and restricted his activity within the sphere of academical employments. Public exigencies obliged him to remain at his post in the Arsenal for some months after he had formally resigned it; but at length, on August 15, 1792, he quitted the cherished residence made memorable by his discoveries, and went to live on the Boulevard de la Madeleine, No. 243. Nor did he go too soon. Three days after his departure, the Hôtel des Régisseurs was invaded by sectional commissioners, seals were set upon the papers found there, and of its remaining official inmates, one, helpless through age and infirmity, destroyed himself in an access of despair, the other was carried off to La Force, to escape, however, with five days' detention.

Lavoisier paid that autumn his last visit to Fréchines, and on his return to Paris in November, plunged, with energies now almost undivided, into academical affairs. They were intricate, and verged towards becoming hopeless. It was his fixed determination that none of the investigations in progress should be arrested for lack of funds; and as treasurer, both to the Academy of Sciences and the Com-

* The Club of '89 had become extinct in the previous year.

mission of Weights and Measures, he kept up an incessant fire of applications to, and remonstrances with, the Convention regarding grants allotted, but tardily forthcoming, occasionally supplying deficiencies from his private resources. He thus contrived that Méchain and Delambre should receive the supplies necessary for the continuance of their geodetic labours; averted the suspension of valuable publications, including the *Connaissance des Temps*; while at the same time he brought to a successful conclusion the task committed to him and Haüy, of fixing the unity of weight by rigorously determining the density of distilled water.

'During the year 1793' (M. Grimaux writes, p. 230), 'Lavoisier, rising to the height of the peril, displayed untiring devotion; he alone kept the Academy still alive; it seemed as if his prodigious efforts might save it from shipwreck. Nevertheless, everything crumbled around him; Louis XVI., who, the year before, had offered him a portfolio, had just died on the scaffold; the rich, elegant, intellectually inquisitive society which had welcomed his researches, had perished in the tempest; amid the overthrow of the past he remained the vigilant guardian of the higher interests of science; he would not tolerate its disappearance from the soil of France where it had so splendidly flourished.'

In vain. While those days of terror lasted, what was attacked was as good as doomed. Paris sat cowering while the new era received its 'baptism of blood;' the universal preoccupation, how to continue to live, excluding, in the common run of unheroic souls, the very thought of struggle for loftier ends than mere personal safety. The Academy of Sciences, with every other similar institution, was abolished by a decree of the Convention, August 8, 1793, and Lavoisier's efforts to reorganise it on a different footing proved unavailing. He, however, continued to work no less diligently than before on the Commission of Weights and Measures, and at the Bureau of Consultation, of which latter body he was named president, October 2, 1793. By this time he knew that his private fortunes were desperate. A domiciliary visit in September suggested worse to come, and he told Lalande that he expected to be stripped of everything, but that he would work for his bread, probably as an apothecary.*

The financiers of the monarchy were predestined victims of the Revolution. Traditional detestation, the intolerance of misery for affluence, personal grudges, the prospect of

* Lalande, 'Magasin Encyclopédique,' t. v. p. 187.

plunder, combined for their ruin. No sooner had the States-General met than the attack, led by malevolent subordinates, was begun; and malevolent subordinates played a conspicuous part in it throughout. They first raised the cry for confiscation—a cry which is the most damning of all indictments where cupidity sits as judge. In March 1791, accordingly, the affairs of the farmers-general were put in liquidation, amid rabid clamourings from the *Père Duchesne* for popular individual vengeance, and the compulsory 'dis-'gorgement' of what had been 'acquired by theft and 'rapine.' That these scurrilous utterances were pregnant with murder the persons they referred to, conscious of rectitude, and confident that it would be made apparent, scarcely troubled themselves to observe.

The real gravity of their situation became unmistakeable when Antoine Dupin, September 26, 1793, mounted the tribune of the Convention to denounce them. Having himself occupied a post in the offices of the revenue, he perhaps turned accuser to escape being accused. The decree obtained by him authorised five informers with whom he was in league, all *ci-devant* employés of the farmers-general, to examine their accounts, and stimulated their zeal by the promise of rewards graduated according to the amount of the malversations detected. The chief of the gang, a man named Gaudot, had been imprisoned for fraud, and sought access to the papers containing the records of his guilt with a view to abstracting and destroying them. The result of the mock inquiry thus set on foot was anticipated. On November 24 Bourdon exclaimed, in the course of a debate in the Convention: 'For the hundredth time I 'hear of the accounts of the farmers-general. I demand 'the arrest of those bloodsuckers, and their surrender to 'the sword of the law unless their accounts are rendered 'within a month.' No protest was raised; the decree passed in silence.

Lavoisier was on guard at the Arsenal when the news reached him. Not venturing to return home, he wandered about the streets until an ex-usher of the Academy of Sciences met and offered him an asylum at the Louvre in the former apartments of that body. Here he lay concealed four days; but on learning that M. Paulze, his father-in-law, to whom he was attached with filial devotion, had been taken, he gave himself up, and on November 28, 1793, entered as a prisoner the once famous convent of Port Royal, transformed in 1793 into a house of detention for

suspects, under the name of Port Libre. It is now the Maternity Hospital.

Twenty-six of his former colleagues were already collected there, and others arrived later. Their incarceration was not a rigorous one. They dined together, received visitors, and held prolonged colloquies in Lavoisier's room, which had a fireplace and was larger than the rest. Madame Lavoisier, meanwhile, was ardently pleading for her husband's life with those who might still have averted a crime from the republic and a calamity from science. Perhaps she was not the most judicious of advocates; it is hinted that, instead of trying to cajole Dupin, she cried 'Murder!' to his face. But she had a losing game to play; for those were days of panic, and fear shortens vision and hardens the heart. Those of Lavoisier's fellow-labourers in science who were politically helpless, or even looked upon askance by the extreme party, such as Borda, Haüy, Lagrange, Hallé, drew up memorials and signed protests in his favour; those who, as members of the Convention, might hopefully have attempted his rescue, remained passive. 'J'aime à 'croire,' Lalande insinuates, 'qu'ils n'ont pas contribué à 'sa perte.' But he hastens to retract the hint at envious motives thus thrown out, by adding that the prevalent terror was a sufficient cause for their inaction. And, in fact, as Madame de Staël says, 'la peur explique tout.' There is not a fragment of evidence that they were actuated on the occasion by any more sinister passion than cowardice.

Lavoisier, at any rate, made no complaint; but he looked for no deliverance. His task was done, he wrote to his wife, in a note full of tender solicitude for her health and future, and a well-advanced career had left him no memories save of happiness. 'Yesterday,' he went on, 'it seemed to me 'that you were sad. Why should you be so since I am 'resigned to everything, and shall count as gain all I do 'not lose?'

On December 24 the imprisoned financiers were removed to the Hôtel des Fermes, and placed in possession of their papers, by working at which ten hours a day they succeeded in presenting their accounts to the committee of finances on January 27. 'With a sort of ingenuous confidence incor-'rigible in honest folk,' M. Mollien remarks, 'they busied 'themselves in opposing exact calculations to the absurd 'suppositions of their adversaries.' * Among the frivolous

* Mémoires d'un Ministre, t. i. p. 159.

and dishonest charges brought against them, that of putting too much water into the tobacco of which the farmers-general held a monopoly, was brought into special prominence, most likely because the question of the *mouillade* was better fitted to awaken popular resentment than imputed financial delinquencies. Lavoisier's answer to the accusation was complete, but unavailing. The *mouillade*-clamour heralded the scaffold. Yet it was not the accused, but the accuser, who incurred disgrace through it. After the 9th Thermidor, Dupin was execrated under the title of 'Dupin-'Mouillade.'

On May 5 he at last formulated the demand that the hapless monopolists should be led before the terrible revolutionary tribunal. Their cause did not, indeed, come within the competence of its fierce dealings, since it involved no anti-revolutionary offence; but scruples of legality were not allowed to stand in the way of Fouquier-Tinville.

Two of his expectant victims, Mollien and Tavernier de Boulogne, proposed to anticipate their fate with a euthanasian draught of laudanum, which they invited Lavoisier to share. But his clear spirit discerned a higher way. 'Majore 'animo est tolerare adversa quam relinqui,' Tacitus could perceive; and Lavoisier was more than a Pagan stoic. Amid the braggart atheism of his time, he remained a Christian in principle and sentiment, if not in profession—for on this last point we have only negative evidence. He saw, too, that to 'go to meet death' would be, in a measure, to justify a sentence for the reversal of which he confidently appealed to the future, and to France once more sane. His counsel prevailed; one of his friends died with him; the other, snatched back to unlooked-for safety, survived until 1850.

An hour later they set out—their very jailers weeping to see them go—in slow procession of crowded coaches towards the Conciergerie—the antechamber of death—between a double file of mounted gendarmes, and escorted by footmen carrying torches. The transference occupied six hours, from five to eleven at night. Although the 5th of May, it was bitterly cold, and neither beds nor coverings had been provided for the gloomy receptacle of the 'perduta gente.' Crouching on the stone floors, they accordingly shivered out the ghastly hours until morning. Their dining-room, the 'Chambre de la Reine,' where Marie-Antoinette had endured the long agony of her closing months of life, witnessed, next day, a strange and pitiful scene. A deputation from the

Lycée des Arts penetrated the Conciergerie to offer to Lavoisier the last homage of a decoration. Surely never was honour bestowed more incongruously with the surroundings of the recipient; yet few, indeed, have had equal significance, or deserve to be held in more sacred memory.

A letter written by Lavoisier on the eve of his execution, to his cousin Augez de Villers, is his final recorded utterance:—

> 'A tolerably long, and an eminently happy career,' he said, 'has been granted to me, and my memory will, I think, be associated with some regret, perhaps with some glory. What more could I have desired? The events involving me will probably spare me the inconveniences of old age; and I have thus to reckon, among my other privileges, that of dying with my faculties complete. My only regret is that I have not done more for my family, and that my present state of destitution leaves me without the means of bequeathing any token of gratitude or affection to you or to any other person belonging to me. . . It is a tender consolation,' he concludes, 'to occupy these last moments with those I love.' (Grimaux, p. 297.)

On May 8, 1794, after brief separate interrogatories on the previous day, the thirty-one incriminated persons appeared together before the Tribunal over which the brutal Coffinhal presided. An illusory form of trial preluded their condemnation as guilty of a plot to 'favour the enemies of 'France' by watering the tobacco and pillaging the treasury of the French people. But before this grotesque simulacrum of a crime received the sentence for which it was invented as a pretext, Hallé, the founder of hygienic science, presented, in the name of the Bureau of Consultation, a report signed by Lagrange, setting forth the number and importance of the works entitling Lavoisier to 'a high rank 'among those who have done honour to France.' Contemptuously ignored by the tribunal, it afforded Coffinhal (as M. Grimaux plausibly conjectures) the opportunity for pronouncing his famous *mot*, 'La République n'a pas besoin 'de savants. Justice must take its course!' The story that Lavoisier demanded a respite in order to complete some initiated research, is certainly apocryphal.

Within an hour or two of the sentence upon them being pronounced, the farmers-general were on their way to the Place de la Révolution. They travelled in silence. Only Papillon d'Auteroche, watching the hideous gestures with which a blood-intoxicated rabble danced the Carmagnole round the tumbrils, let fall the remark, in allusion to the decree of forfeiture, 'What disturbs me is to leave such

'unprepossessing heirs!' Nevertheless, signs of popular sympathy were not wanting as the twenty-eight* doomed men, one after the other, without wavering or flinching, bent their necks to the guillotine. Paulze, aged seventy-five, was third on the list. Lavoisier, inseparable from him throughout their imprisonment, followed. 'In a moment,' Lagrange next day exclaimed to Delambre, 'a head fell which a hundred years may not suffice to reproduce!'

At the age of fifty, in the plenitude of his splendid faculties, his mind teeming with unfulfilled designs bright with the promise of discovery, a man no less eminent for civic virtues than for scientific genius, perished amid the wreck of the society he had striven to renovate. He woke from a dream of universal benevolence into the reality of a reign of transcendental depravity. The dark and dreadful abysses of human nature opened abruptly before him as he hurried on towards a visionary future. Taken in the toils of death, encompassed by the machinations of greed and envy, he submitted without indignation to the worst that they could accomplish, and, trusting to the verdict of posterity, mounted the scaffold in serene, if amazed, resignation.

The revulsion of public sentiment which he had anticipated was not long delayed. Robespierre fell, and it became clear to all citizens within and without the Convention that the farmers-general had been massacred, not executed. The outrageous injustice of their prosecution figured in the black list of Fouquier-Tinville's enormities; the name of 'Dupin-Mouillade' began to be ominously mentioned in connection with their fate—so ominously that he deemed it politic to throw the responsibility for it upon the Robespierre faction, and to proclaim himself heart-wrung at the thought that he had, however innocently, contributed to bring it about. As he truly said, 'They were slain un-'judged.' Yet the widows and orphans of the murdered men were not appeased by his contrition. Their Denunciation of him, published July 10, 1795, and due probably to the inspiration of Madame Lavoisier, made an immense sensation. Dupin was arrested, and owed his life to the

* Three of the thirty-one imprisoned in the Conciergerie on the 5th of May were released, nominally as having been only 'adjunct' farmers-general, really through private favour. Six additional members of the ci-devant company were, on the other hand, condemned a few days later.

amnesty of the 4th Brumaire, under favour of which he relapsed into the obscurity temporarily dispelled by the lurid glare of a great crime.

The most illustrious of its victims did not lack posthumous honours. Lagrange pronounced his panegyric at the Lycée des Arts, October 22, 1795. Eight months later a funeral pomp was celebrated in commemoration of him, with oratory, music, and poetry, if indifferent, yet the best to be got, in the presence of a vast concourse of spectators ceremonially clad, the male part of them in black, the female in white with crowns of roses. It was, moreover, discovered by a fresh liquidatory commission that the financial association to which he had unhappily belonged, far from being indebted to the State, was actually its creditor for the sum of eight million francs. Nothing was wanting to a vindication which was at the same time a flagrant exposure of patriot villainy.

Madame Lavoisier lived undaunted through the Terror, in prison and out of it; destitute for a time, and dependent for subsistence upon the labour of a faithful servant, whom she afterwards faithfully recompensed; opulent later, restitution in full having been made of all confiscated goods. She ably edited her husband's chemical memoirs in 1805, and in the same year married the celebrated American savant, Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford. He pleased her, less for himself than for what he recalled to her; she vainly hoped to renew with him her old happy life as the disciple and coadjutor of a man of genius. But their incompatibility soon declared itself. The name of Lavoisier lost none of its sacredness to her when she became the wife of another man; she regarded it as a duty, as a religion, not to abandon it; and entitled herself to continue to bear it by formal stipulation in her marriage-contract. Count Rumford, however, became irritated by the conjunction of titles; and, after four years of domestic agitation, they agreed to a separation, the lady, as Guizot said, living thenceforward for her friends and for society. Although by no means a complaisant hostess, she was a stimulating and intelligent one; her brusqueries were never maladroit; and she knew how socially to govern without constraining. In her salon, the latest genuine traditions of the eighteenth century survived with their tragic associated memories, until her sudden death, February 10, 1836.

Lagrange, as we have seen, gave time a hundred years to

run before a second Lavoisier appeared; but he was in truth unique:

'Natura il fece, e poi roppe la stampa.'

His mind, in its brilliant lucidity, was such as only that era could produce in perfection. It was of what we may call the classical type—a type in which ordering thought is supreme, from which the trouble of the unknown is, so far as possible, excluded. To intelligences so disposed, nature appears, not as a virgin-forest, haunted by the bewilderment of the infinite, but as a vast parterre, laid out more or less conformably to limited human notions, framed, perhaps, to a natural wildness, but accessible throughout, and of tolerably easy exploration with the help of a clue. The sense of the metaphysical relations of physical things is absent from them; facts show clear-cut and definite, with no vague fringes of subsensual affinities. Their vision is selective, and is all the better adapted on that account to instrumentality in promoting knowledge; since the faculty of selection is as indispensable to science as to art.

Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, pneumatic chemistry began to acquire substantive importance through the discoveries of Black, Cavendish, Scheele, and Priestley. The intuition of its vast capabilities gave to the genius of Lavoisier the directive impulse it had long wanted. But his efforts, methodically entered upon in 1770, tended, while verifying the experimental results, to undermine the theoretical conclusions of his predecessors.

The solitary conception serving at that time to regularise in some degree the tangle of particulars by which chemical knowledge was constituted, might be described as a negative impression of truth. It had so much correspondence with, as to invert nature. Bacon's dictum that 'a negative is 'more pregnant of direction than an indefinite,' applied very happily to Stahl's doctrine of phlogiston, which, although not without much darkening of counsel, lent coherence during half a century to a large body of facts. It had the merit of assimilating calcination* to combustion, while assuming both processes alike to be of a separative, not (as they really are) of a combinative nature. Phlogiston, the material element of fire, was held to be disengaged, no less in the formation of metallic 'calxes' than in burning, the

* In its old sense signifying the conversion of metals into 'calxes,' or, as we now say, oxides.

residual substance being dephlogisticated, or reduced to a simpler state than before. It had not indeed altogether escaped notice that bodies gain in weight through combustion; but the difficulty (when adverted to) was evaded by attributing to phlogiston a 'levitative' power still conceivable by a science which could not afford to define its principles too closely.

No wonder that this insecure fabric crumbled instantly and at every point when Lavoisier applied to it the touchstone of precise methods and precise ideas. By the rigid application of the balance, he showed, first what combustion *is not*, next what it *is*. Having made it clear that no escaping material substance gives rise to it, he proceeded to demonstrate that the added weight of its products is exactly equal to the loss in weight of the air by which it is sustained. He showed, moreover, that the loss falls exclusively on the vital constituent of the atmosphere—Priestley's dephlogisticated air, to which, as the acidifying principle, Lavoisier gave, in 1778, the name of 'oxygen,'—the residue being the irrespirable 'azote.' He ascertained in 1781 the composition of Black's 'fixed air,' designated by him 'carbonic acid;' completed Cavendish's synthesis of water by its analysis in 1784, and rightly interpreted the experiment to signify the union of oxygen, not with phlogiston, but with a highly combustible, gaseous element, thenceforward known as 'hydrogen.'

Thus the essential change introduced by Lavoisier consisted in substituting combination with oxygen for separation from phlogiston—a real for an imaginary effect. And this was brought about by establishing the strict principle of accountability by weight involved in the idea of a chemical equation. The same quantity of matter that went into a crucible or a retort should, he insisted, come out of it in one shape or another. There was no possibility of absolute loss or gain. This mathematical rigidity of analysis was the foundation-stone of modern chemistry.

Equally important as regards physics in general was the accompanying abolition of the conception of heat as a material 'element,' one of the immemorial four. Lavoisier, on the contrary, held it to be an imponderable, universally diffused fluid, termed by him 'caloric,' the relations of which to ponderable matter he was the first to set in an intelligible light. Generalising the observed facts, he taught that the solid, liquid, and gaseous states are common to all substances, and are severally assumed as molecular attraction surpasses,

equals, or is exceeded by the repulsive energy of the caloric with which they are imbued. Volatility was, in his view, the property of dissolving in the igneous fluid, very much as certain solids melt in water; and the gaseous state, defined as one 'of infinite extension,' was explained to depend upon large dilution with caloric. Hence he was enabled to forecast the liquefaction of many aërial bodies as the result of applying to them intense cold and pressure.* To him, as to modern chemists, the word elementary had a merely provisional signification. An element, in the sense understood by him, was a substance not yet decomposed; and while proving the simple nature of bodies like the metals heretofore supposed compound, he conjectured the compound nature of certain earths, heretofore held to be simple.

With Laplace as his coadjutor, in an elaborate series of experiments on the exact quantities of heat set free in combustion, he founded thermo-chemistry; and the establishment of definite methods in agricultural, organic, and vital chemistry was equally due to his initiative. In 1777, he announced the true nature of respiration, and the essential function of oxygen in the animal economy. M. Berthelot, in the valuable essay cited at the head of this article, characterises as fundamental his discovery that animal heat is maintained by the combustion of the carbon of the blood; and his further detection of an excess in the heat disengaged in breathing over the proportion of carbon consumed, led him to ascertain, in 1785, the simultaneous burning of hydrogen into water.

'A new physiology, or rather physiology itself,' in M. Grimaux's words, 'issued from these immortal researches,' by which the chemical basis of life was disclosed. Their prosecution, grievously impeded by the civil and administrative labours thrust upon their author, was finally arrested by the guillotine. It was in this direction that he had planned an immediate advance, under the guidance of general views equally novel and sagacious. In a masterly sketch, rescued from oblivion by M. Dumas,† he traced in 1789, with an insight rarely, if ever, surpassed, the relations of the three kingdoms of nature. The transformation of inorganic into organic matter, and its progressive elevation to subserve the purposes first of vegetable, then of animal life, followed by its restoration to the mineral world through putrefaction

* Berthelot, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' 15 Mars, 1890, p. 353.
† Leçons de Chimie, 1861. Pièce historique sur Lavoisier.

and combustion, formed, as he said, a marvellous circulation, of which the motive power remains to us, as it was to him, an impenetrable mystery. To investigate its character and mode of working was an eagerly coveted task which it was not, however, given to him to execute.

The reform in ideas effected by Lavoisier was confirmed and completed by a reform in language. The 'Method of Nomenclature' which he devised, in combination with Guyton de Morveau, Fourcroy, and Berthollet, was an indispensable adjunct to his system. Clear thought was scarcely compatible with the survival of the superannuated idiom of the alchemists. Lavoisier's terminology gave (on the whole) felicitous expression to the oxygen theory; it was universally adopted, and has only of late been slightly modified. The acceptance of the renovated science was besides enormously facilitated by the facile and logical form given to it in his 'Traité élémentaire de Chimie' published in 1789. Indeed the few remaining partisans of phlogiston were only those, like Priestley, whose invincible ignorance rendered them proof against argument.

There is scarcely another instance of so sharp a separation of two epochs as that marked by the publication in question. Previously to its appearance, alike modes of thought and expression in chemical subjects were mediæval; subsequently to its appearance, they were distinctly modern. The whole environment seems abruptly altered. Method replaces incongruity; demonstration hypothesis; measure and weight constitute a new tribunal of appeal; ideas move visibly onward, instead of circulating amid the inextricable confusion of true facts with false doctrines. That one man should, by the use of a fractional part of the energies of a truncated career, have accomplished so much, and have accomplished it irrevocably and rightly, is a phenomenon only to be explained by the combination of vigour and self-restraint with which he pursued his enquiries. Refraining, almost in thought, from what lay outside the scope of practical endeavour, armed with method, logic, and patience, and disarmed of all prepossessions, Lavoisier was the perfect model of a scientific innovator, and he carried through accordingly one of the most complete and far-reaching reforms which the history of man's acquaintance with nature has placed on record.

ART. V.—1. *Découvertes en Chaldée.* Par E. DE SARZEC. Paris: 1887.

2. *Tableau comparé des Ecritures Babylonienne et Assyrienne archaïques et modernes.* Par A. AMIAUD et L. MECHINEAU. Paris: 1887.

3. *Structure of Chinese Characters.* By J. CHALMERS, M.A. London: 1882.

4. *Die altpersischen Keilinschriften.* Von F. SPIEGEL. Leipzig: 1881.

5. *Languages of China before the Chinese.* By Professor T. DE LACOUPERIE. London: 1887.

6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.* Par E. RENAN. Paris: 1881-5.

7. *The Alphabet.* By ISAAC TAYLOR, LL.D. London: 1883.

THOSE who are obliged to read the handwriting of a number of correspondents are aware how large a proportion of educated men write more or less illegibly, and that, except in cases of imperfect sight or of an unsteady hand, this want of clearness is mainly due to hurry. The writer sketches the general effect of a word so as to give himself least trouble in conveying his meaning, and omits all strokes, dots, and stops which he thinks not to be absolutely required. Nor is this only to be observed in civilised Europe, for the handwriting of Orientals, who use the varieties of the Arabic alphabet, is equally rendered illegible by the same causes.

It is in the recognition of this desire to save labour that the underlying principle to be followed in tracing the growth of all epigraphic systems is to be found, not even excepting the most cumbrous and laborious of existing methods—the Chinese; and the knowledge of this principle has enabled scholars to place on a secure basis the study of ancient modes of writing. The crude attempts made a century ago by those who had not at their command the wealth of epigraphic evidence which has now been gathered; who regarded the square Hebrew of their own times as an original character already existing in the days of Moses; who saw no objection to attributing the early Christian 'Sinaitic Inscriptions' to the Israelites, or the coins of the Hasmoneans to the kings of Judah, have now been superseded by a sounder study of facts; and the recovery by De Sarzec of very early Babylonian texts on the statues

of Tell Lo, and that of yet more archaic inscriptions in Syria and Asia Minor and Cyprus, has rendered it possible to trace with certainty the progress of the art of writing.

From the hurried scrawl of a modern Arabic epistle to the carefully engraved letters of the Moabite Stone is a transition so complete that, if we were not possessed of the intermediate steps represented by the Nabathean and the Cufic, we should never be able to feel satisfied that the Arabic alphabet is a direct lineal descendant of the Phœnician. Yet not only is this the case, but the history of the Phœnician letter itself can be carried back from the ninth century B.C. for a length of time equal to that which divides our own days from those of Solomon; and the well-defined form of the Moabite symbols is found also to result from a continual and very gradual change, which has produced a conventional shape from what was originally the carved figure of a natural object. It has been proved, over and over again, by independent scholars working at different systems of writing—such as the Chinese, the cuneiform, or the Egyptian—that no peoples ever invented an arbitrary system of writing, or ever originated an alphabet as such by any mutual assent. All the known graphic systems originate in a picture-writing as rude as that of the American Indian or of the South African bushman. All have advanced from the picture to the conventionalised hieroglyphic representing an idea or a word; while from the hieroglyph has sprung the syllabary represented by rougher sketches of the monumental emblems, and requiring a smaller number of necessary symbols. Finally among the more civilised of ancient races the alphabet was gradually introduced as a simplification of the syllabary which reduced the necessary emblems to about a fifth of their previous number; and from the simplest and clearest of these early alphabets—that used in Syria—all modern styles of writing, whether they be the Runes of the Norse, the square letters of the Romans, the elaborate Sanskrit and other Indian alphabets, or the Arabic, which is almost as widely diffused as our modern running hand, have slowly diverged in accordance with the necessities of various classes of language, until the common origin becomes discoverable only by special study. The Chinese alone have retained an antiquated and most inconvenient system, which the Japanese have greatly simplified. In all other parts of the world the early hieroglyphic systems have been swept away, and

the Syrian alphabet has triumphed over the Egyptian, the cuneiform, and other systems of writing, which in their time were used by nations more powerful and civilised than those who first adopted the alphabet—probably as a convenience for the busy merchants of Phœnicia.

It is well worth while to study the history of Chinese writing as a guide to the understanding of other systems which are now quite obsolete, and as an instance in which a conservative love of preserving ancient custom, joined to an incapacity for boldly seizing the method of simplification which should have suggested itself as the outcome of a steadily increasing vocabulary and an ever-growing complexity of ideas to be represented (both by word and by written character), has landed a laborious and patient race of scribes in a pedantic absurdity of system, which renders the Chinese scholar of twenty less able to express himself on paper than an English child of five.

Thought, language, and writing grew side by side and influenced each other. Picture-writing was unfitted to express more than the rudest facts of action or of perception. The simplest abstract ideas it was incapable of representing ; time could only be shown by clumsy numerals ; adjectives only of size or colour were possible. The desert Arab, like the North American Indian, is still obliged, being illiterate, to show the generosity and valour of a dead chief only by carving the coffee cups and the sword on his headstone, while the name of the worthy remains unrecorded and fades from the memory of later generations.

The advance of thought and of language necessitates, therefore, in all cases an advance in graphic representation from the picture proper to some method of using the existing pictures for the purpose of recording sounds, and the hieroglyphic systems have all attacked this problem in much the same manner. Chinese characters, for instance, are of two kinds, called *keys* and *phonetics*, or, in other words, pictures and sounds. The keys, as now used, represent the class of object or of action which is set forth by the sound of the phonetics, exactly as in Egyptian the so-called *determinative* is added to the syllabic or alphabetic spelling of the word. The scholar, distrustful of his own power of reading the syllabic emblems which often had more than one sound, added the key as a check on his own meaning. The oldest form of hieroglyphic writing, called 'ideographic' as re-

presenting ideas only, was of the nature of the modern conundrum, where 'I see you' would be represented by an eye, a sea, and a yew-tree, but such conundrums being notoriously difficult of explanation, unless some part, at least, is represented by word or syllable, we may judge how hard to read with any certainty the old ideograms would have been when used only as syllables without some check or key to meaning.

There are at least five ways in which such combination of picture and syllable may be arranged, and all these methods are adopted in Chinese. First we have the double (or so-called 'clam-shell') word, represented by two pictures, which serve to define each other. This may be instanced by such a term as 'house-wife,' but in modern Chinese the verb is chiefly so expressed, 'peep-look' signifying 'to see'; these double terms being necessitated by the great number of words of similar sound which have resulted from the wear and tear of the original language, and which are now only distinguishable by the comparatively modern invention of the tones of voice. In the second case, we have the picture and the syllable, or a key with two or three syllables, attached. In the third case, we have two pictures with a single sound—which in cuneiform is known as a 'compound 'ideogram'—of which a curious instance in Chinese is the word *lau*, 'a leak,' represented by the emblem for house, with the emblem for rain under it, the rain being understood to have penetrated the roof. It is remarkable that a race so ingenious as to have invented this double emblem should have been incapable of simplifying their writing by grasping at a wider generalisation.

The fourth case is but a variation of the preceding, one emblem being placed inside the other—an arrangement also common in cuneiform, and known in Egyptian. So, for instance, the Chinese word for prisoner is *tsau*, represented by the figure of a man inside the emblem of an enclosure. The fifth case is that in which the sound alone is represented by the requisite number of syllables, and it is from this more advanced system that an alphabet, or at last a syllabary, might have arisen—as among the Japanese—were it not that the Chinese scholar, like other pedants, desires rather to surround himself with difficulties regarded as evidences of knowledge, than to contribute to the cause of the advancement of learning.

Had the Chinese language advanced beyond its original

stage of grammar, the use of a syllabary would have become imperative; but in thought and in speech, as well as in writing, the conservative character of the Chinese has opposed any advance for at least 3,000 years.

The imperial dictionary of Kanghi contains no less than 44,449 words; and Chinese scholars recognise 24,235 distinct emblems for these words. Of this enormous aggregate, which is divided into six classes, about nine-tenths are syllabic compounds, and only the remaining tenth is really a picture-writing. The compounds are readily reduced to a smaller list of 2,000 signs which, as now written, appear to be distinct and quite arbitrary emblems; but these also yield to a closer inspection made by aid of the most ancient forms of the figures, and it is found that the system is in no respect arbitrary, but the result of hasty sketching of forms which, in their earlier state, were outlines of various natural objects. In the first century of the Christian era the *Shwoh-wan* was written—or dictionary of Hü-Shan, who strove to reduce the emblems as then written to their original elements: these he supposed to have been 540 in number, but the further study of modern Sinologists has shown that this number may be greatly reduced. The emblems in 100 A.D. were already conventionalised almost beyond recognition, and many of the supposed original forms are found to have been compounds, while in other cases real original hieroglyphs were torn to pieces by the Chinese epigraphists into fanciful constituents. Of the numerous styles of writing used in China the 'seal character' is the oldest of which any complete study can be made, and it resembles closely that used on stone drums supposed to be as old as the time of Hsuan Wang (827–782 B.C.), which record certain hunting and fishing adventures. But even in the ninth century B.C. it appears that the written character had become so conventionalised that many emblems suggest no original shape. Dr. Chalmers, who has specially studied the Shwoh-wan, reduces the emblems to 300 originals, some of which, however, are double signs, and it appears, therefore, that the whole cumbrous total of 24,235 word-signs already mentioned sprang from an original system of perhaps not more than 250 hieroglyphs.

It is clear that, until the Chinese problem had thus been simplified by patient labour, any attempt at comparative study with other systems would have been vain; and, indeed, the idea of a comparison between ancient hieroglyphic systems—the Syrian, the cuneiform, and the Egyptian—

has only been very recently conceived, each specialist having, as a rule, confined his attention to one of these branches of epigraphy, treating the comparative question with the same scorn with which earlier scholars treated the first attempts of other comparative students. Fortunately, however, a flood of light has been cast on the subject by the discovery of the Tell Lo texts—hereafter to be considered—and of the Syrian hieroglyphic system; and it is now certain that the cuneiform itself originated in a system of only about 170 emblems at most.

When we compare the Chinese original symbols with those of Egypt and of Western Asia, we at once notice numerous identities. The emblems are, in some forty or fifty cases, the same, roughly speaking, both in form and also in their signification, that we find in the old historic systems of Asia. This has induced some scholars hastily to assume that the Chinese borrowed their system from the Babylonians, and attempts have been made to prove this connection by comparisons of emblems. Unfortunately, those who have taken this view have been only imperfectly acquainted with the older systems, and have forgotten two important objections. On the one hand, such comparisons must be confined to the very earliest examples of the Chinese and the cuneiform, since accidental resemblances of later forms, or an uncritical use of characters of different ages, is sure to mislead; on the other hand, the differences between the two systems are quite as important as the similarities. The Chinese notation of numbers, for instance, is quite different from the cuneiform, and the emblems used to denote pronouns and other grammatical forms have no connexion. The similarities, if they prove anything, show that the Chinese system may have sprung from the same early picture-writing from which the cuneiform was developed, but the two systems were, beyond doubt, separately developed.

There is no historic record of the original home of those who invented or systematised the old Chinese hieroglyphics; but it is usually supposed that the Bak tribes, from Central Asia, were the first to bring civilisation into the 'flowery 'land.' The Chinese Sacred Mountain and Garden of the Gods was in Eastern Turkestan, and the Mongolian element, which is the strongest and most civilising of those which together constitute Chinese nationality, came from the West.

It is remarkable, in studying this question, to observe how

entirely the Chinese claims to a very ancient civilisation have been shown, through careful study, to be unsupported by valid evidence. The shadowy emperors, enumerated as far back as 2179 B.C., have left us no records of their power. In the days of Confucius, as Professor de Lacouperie informs us, there were numerous petty kingdoms in China, which were not consolidated even in the time of Mencius, 450 B.C. The records of eclipses only go back to 776 B.C. for the sun and 436 B.C. for the moon. The Chow emperors of the eleventh century B.C. had most limited authority. The famous snuff-bottles—once thought to show that the Chinese were in communication with the Pharaohs—bear quotations from the works of Chinese poets not earlier than 702 A.D. This is a very different result from that which an uncritical acceptation of Chinese pretensions induced Voltaire to adopt when he claimed for the Chinese a civilisation older than any other.

The hieroglyphics of the stone drums, already mentioned, show us, however, that, about the time of Ahab, a people in a state of rude civilisation existed in China. The emblems used prove that they were agriculturists, who sowed corn and ploughed; that they used the shield, bow and arrow; that they had boats and nets, pottery of various kinds, and even musical instruments such as the harp; also, probably, carts drawn by horses or by oxen. The original emblems include signs for the elephant, the bear, the cobra, and the monkey, which are not found in West Asiatic systems. The elephant existed in Honan down to 600 B.C., the hardier apes are still found in North China, and these signs, with those for horse, rat, tortoise, porcupine, and lizard, were probably invented in China itself, and are unknown in cuneiform, Syrian, or Egyptian hieroglyphic systems.

This preliminary sketch of the growth of a mode of writing which, not many years since, was regarded as purely arbitrary in origin and developement, enables us—from an example still before our eyes as a living system—to understand the principles on which the now extinct hieroglyphic systems of West Asia and of Egypt are to be studied; and one of the great advantages which the late Dr. Birch possessed when, as one of the first generation of Egyptologists, he contributed his important share to the study of Egyptian hieroglyphics, was that he was also acquainted with the Chinese characters and with their mode of use.

The great discovery of Champollion was an instance of the slowness with which the average human mind attains to new ideas. Even after the Rosetta Stone, with its triple text in hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek characters, had been found, scholars still persisted in regarding the Egyptian as a picture-writing. Champollion urged the common-sense plea that a picture-writing could never have been capable of expressing the names of foreign monarchs, or such words as Ptolemy, Cleopatra, &c., which occur on this text. Champollion also (not more than seventy years ago) had made a careful study of the three Egyptian styles of writing: the monumental emblems with accurately carved hieroglyphic forms, the cursive hand of the early papyri—called hieratic, and the yet more conventional *demotic*, or running, hand of a later age, which forms what the Greek text of the Rosetta Stone calls the *enchorial* copy of that inscription. He had succeeded in showing that the hieratic was a hurried sketch of the hieroglyphic emblem in every case, and the demotic a mere degradation of the hieratic. He further went on to show that, out of the four hundred Egyptian common emblems, quite three-fourths were syllabic, and that at a very early period the Egyptians had even advanced—by selection of certain signs—to an alphabet of twenty-five letters, as stated by Plutarch. The picture-writing, which earlier scholars claimed to decipher, thus proved to have no existence, although some seventy or ninety forms, more or less common, were employed as *determinatives*, showing the class of object or action indicated by the syllables—just as the *key* defines the phonetic signs in Chinese.

This system of writing was that exactly fitted to the stage reached by the Egyptian language, which was not yet inflected but terminational, yet which was more developed than the agglutinative tongues of Asia, since it recognised gender. The Egyptians were thus found to have advanced further towards the final goal of simplicity of writing than the Chinese, since their use of alphabetic signs enabled them to reduce the number of emblems requisite, instead of continually increasing them as the Chinese have done.

The decipherment of the cuneiform was the triumph of the next generation of scholars; but the genius of Lassen and of Sir Henry Rawlinson triumphed over yet greater difficulties than that of Champollion in two respects. First, that they discovered how to read this character without the aid of a bilingual; and secondly, that the highly conventional

arrow-headed emblems were as little capable of being reduced to their original hieroglyphic forms as were the Chinese without the aid of the 'seal character,' so that no assistance could be obtained from the forms of the characters.

The decipherment of cuneiform began from the final goal reached by those who employed that cumbrous system—namely, from the Persian texts of Darius; and the work was carried back very gradually to the earliest age, about 2500 or 3000 B.C. The Persian texts were the easiest to begin with, for they were written in a rude alphabet, and the number of emblems was thus only 36 in all, of which 30 are letters, and the remainder ideograms, or signs for *king*, *land*, *son*, *name*, *Persian*, and a stroke for dividing sentences. It has been thought that the use of such an alphabet by the Persians was due to the influence of the Semitic alphabet, which had already begun to supersede the cuneiform in Chaldea. The Persian system, however, shows traces—just as the Egyptian alphabet also does—of having grown out of an older syllabary. Thus, we have in Persian cuneiform the letters *te* and *tu*, *ke* and *ku*, and *ma*, *me*, and *mu*, and another sign for *tr*; nor can the system be considered a pure alphabet while the determinatives above mentioned are still regarded as necessary. The exact derivation of the Persian cuneiform signs is still matter of doubt, though, according to Dr. Oppert, they descended from the Medic syllabary, which is used on the same trilingual texts. The Assyrian syllabary may, however, be the more probable source.

Having mastered the characters and the language of the Persian texts, Sir Henry Rawlinson had provided himself with a means of attacking the yet more troublesome question of the decipherment of the Semitic and Mongol versions of the same historic records which were inscribed in parallel columns with the Persian, and in cuneiform characters of another kind. The Assyrian texts have now given us no less than 550 different signs which grew out of the original system, just as Chinese signs increased in number. The Assyrian language being inflectional, a syllabary was inevitable, and the later texts are usually written by means of about 100 syllabic signs, with 28 determinatives answering to the Chinese *keys* already described. The Medes used a somewhat simpler system, with 109 syllables and 21 determinatives: the Assyrian cuneiform is found very early as far west as Cappadocia, with a local dialect of the Assyrian

language, and it was also employed by the early kings of the Vannic region, who appear to have been of Phrygian origin, to record events in a language believed by Dr. Mordtmann to be an early Aryan tongue akin to Armenian. The Medes were a Turko-Mongol race, whose language has been restored from the monuments by Dr. Oppert. Thus, the cuneiform was in use throughout Western Asia during the days of the kings of Judah and during the Persian dominion, being employed by all three of the great Asiatic stocks: the Turanians represented by Medes, Elamites, and Susians; the Aryans represented by Vannic and Persian tribes; and the Semitic race as represented by Assyrians and, later, Babylonians. Many causes—due to local influences, to the material employed, and to the lapse of time—created numerous changes in the arrow-headed characters, but substantially all these variations only serve to illustrate the common origin of the various developements.

The cuneiform or arrow-shaped character is as conventional and unintelligible as the later Chinese, but patient labour has quite recently enabled scholars to trace the hieroglyphic origin of the system. The arrow-form is due to the shape of the wooden style, used to impress the figures on unbaked clay. On the oldest Babylonian texts, and on the stone statues of Tell Lo, this arrow-form of the strokes is no longer to be noted, and, indeed, the casual observer would never suppose these early characters to have any connexion with the later cuneiform — a connexion which is, however, established by study of intermediate forms beyond any possibility of doubt.

The cuneiform system was not the invention of either Assyrians or Babylonians. Sir Henry Rawlinson discovered, some forty years ago, that another race, speaking quite another language, originated the civilisation of Mesopotamia. Like his other discoveries, and like all great discoveries of science, this result was fiercely called in question. Like all other truths, it has in the end prevailed. Bilingual texts, bilingual syllabaries, fresh records in the same ancient tongue not discovered when he reached his conclusions, have set the matter at rest in the minds of all but a very few of the older antagonists. The race so recovered from their monumental records was not of the Semitic group; its language was not inflected, but terminational or agglutinative, and akin to the Turko-Mongol languages of our own day. This stage of language, as already observed, is that which always accompanies early hieroglyphic writing.

The word-roots of the old Akkadian—as his language is generally called—were monosyllables easily adapted to representation by single emblems. When other races adopted these emblems, and used them either as pictures or as sound-signs, there came to be a double developement. On the one hand the old Akkadian sound survived; on the other, the Akkadian picture received a new sound by translation into another language; and as the old Akkadians themselves applied more than one name to each emblem, the final complex result in Assyrian was, sometimes, to give eight or ten sounds to one sign, while, on the other hand, more than one sign might stand for any one sound.

It was, however, only two years ago that the researches of De Sarzec, at Tell Lo, four days distant from Bassorah, brought to light statues covered with inscriptions, which show us the earliest stage of cuneiform writing at present known. The probable age of these statues is about 2500 to 3000 years B.C., and the language of the texts, which record gifts to temples, is the Akkadian, or early Mongolic, tongue of Chaldea. A very peculiar feature of these inscriptions is the arrangement whereby the syllables of any word are arranged vertically in the line, the words following each other from right to left. This has clearly proved what was before only imperfectly perceived, namely, that the Assyrian emblems are all written at right angles to the original position of the hieroglyphs. The Babylonians placed the emblems one beneath another in a single line, and then found it easier to read the text by holding the tablet so that the lines should be horizontal. Hence, all the pictures fell, as it were, on their backs, and were no longer erect, as they are at Tell Lo. For this reason their pictorial value remained long undiscovered by modern scholars, and many mistakes have been made in trying to guess what the arrow-headed signs were originally intended to represent.

The Tell Lo texts, in a large number of instances, make it quite easy to recognise the original meaning, and the careful labour of MM. Amiaud and Mechineau has now supplied scholars with a regular succession of authentic dated specimens of cuneiform emblems from the earliest times down to the later developements in Babylonia and in Assyria.

Of the 550 known cuneiform signs 220 are not represented on the Tell Lo texts. The system, as it existed about 2500 B.C., included about 170 emblems (not count-

ing the numerals), and, compounds being made from them, they amounted to some 300 in all. Of these simple signs no less than 90 are the same used with syllabic values by the Medes of the fifth century B.C., though the change of form had by that time become so complete that the connexion could not even be imagined without intermediate examples.

A good many of the 170 original cuneiform signs are recognisable as sketches of objects. The foot stands for 'go,' the hand for 'take,' the legs for 'run'—much as in Egyptian; and we find the eagle and the swallow represented at full length, while the dog, the deer, the ass, and the sheep are symbolised by their heads. The sun, the human eye, and the tree occur as in other hieroglyphic systems; and the evidence of civilisation afforded by some of the emblems is important. Thus the bow, the arrow, and the sword represent war; the vase, the copper tablet, and the brick represent manufacture; boats, sails, huts, pyramids are also sketched; the yoke and the corn-ear give evidence of agriculture. From these symbols we ascertain that as early at least as 2500 B.C., Mesopotamia was inhabited by a settled and civilised race, speaking the Akkadian, or Mongolic, language, in which these texts are written. What has already been said as to comparisons of Chinese and other systems holds good in comparing the oldest Egyptian and Akkadian systems. Many emblems are common to the two systems, with the same ideographic meaning, but the grammatical signs are as distinct as are the languages of Egypt and Chaldea. The two systems may well have sprung from an original picture-writing common to both races, and common also to the earliest ancestors of the Chinese, but the developement from picture to hieroglyph or ideogram was in every case a distinct and separate process.

Ten years ago it would not only have been impossible to trace the cuneiform to its origin, and to compare it with other systems, but it would have been regarded as certain that, until the appearance of the Phœnician alphabet, no other system besides the cuneiform of the Babylonians and the Assyrians was in use. Recent discoveries—especially those of George Smith in the ruins of Carchemish—have, however, revealed to the learned world the existence of another distinct and very primitive system of hieroglyphics which was in use about 2000 B.C. in the north of Syria and in Asia Minor. The texts are mostly carved on hard basalt

blocks, with emblems cut in relief as in the earlier Egyptian monuments. The signs, as far as is at present known, do not exceed about 130 in number, of which number some 50 recur very frequently; and, as the experience gained in studying the other systems shows, these are clearly to be regarded as phonetics. The signs which represent natural objects are distinct and masterly reproductions. The eagle, the deer, the sheep, the bear, the fox, the ram, the bull, and the ass are represented by boldly-carved heads—excepting the first, which shows the whole of the bird. Many of the emblems are the same which occur in the other systems, and especially in the cuneiform. The foot, the hand, the pair of legs, the arm, no doubt, have the same ideographic meaning as in other systems.

The hieroglyphs of Hamath, Carchemish, and Asia Minor are thus probably the oldest symbols known in Asia as used in writing, and these texts are probably as early as about 2500 B.C. at least. The absence of compounds and of included emblems, the small number of signs and their distinct pictorial character, together tend to prove the great antiquity of these imperishable basaltic records. The syllables of the words are arranged vertically in the line, just as in the case of the Tell Lo texts; but it has been observed by those who have studied this subject that the lines, instead of all running from right to left, run alternately in that direction and in the reverse—from left to right. This is shown by the fact that all emblems are reversed in the alternate lines; and this method of writing is exactly the same found in the earliest alphabetic texts of Greece and of Asia Minor, whether in Greek, in Phrygian, or in the unknown language of Lemnos. The Asia Minor hieroglyphic writing is, in short, *boustrophedon* writing, an arrangement hitherto only found in connexion with Greek alphabets.

Even while these lines are passing through the press, fresh materials for the study of the ancient script of Syria and Asia Minor have been published. The learned and adventurous German explorers, HH. Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein, in 1882 and 1883, pushed their way far east: Herr Puchstein as far as Diarbekr; Herr Humann, from Brusa through Asia Minor to the great ruined town of Pteria, and thence to the mouth of the Halys; while, together, they passed from Alexandretta, along the south slopes of the Taurus, to the Euphrates, north-west of Edessa, discovering the important ruins of Nemrud, in Commagene.

The record of these journeys has just been published in Berlin,* but the account of their still more important discoveries of later years will probably not be ready for some time. The most important remains found during the journeys described were discovered at Nemrud, and represent the civilisation of the half-Greek, half-Parthian kings of Commagene, shortly before the Christian era; but they have added two new monuments to the small number already known, in which archaic figures are accompanied by hieroglyphic texts of the native Syrian script. One of these comes from Merash, at the foot of the Taurus, north-west of Carchemish; the other from the ancient Samosata, on the Euphrates, north-west of Edessa. We thus know that this peculiar and ancient civilisation extended all along the course of the Upper Euphrates, in Commagene, and in the land of the Tuplai, as well as throughout Cappadocia, Cilicia, and far west to Ionia.

These new texts are, unfortunately, so much decayed as to be illegible, but they show us several new features in the Syrian writing. Thus the new Merash text reads entirely from the left, whereas most of the texts of this region begin on the right in the first line, only three being previously known to begin on the left. The Merash text is written in seven lines, right across the body and legs of the sculptured figure. This same curious method of arranging inscriptions is well known in Assyria. The Samosata example takes us much nearer to Nineveh than any previously found, but in Nineveh itself terra-cotta seals have been collected with the same hieroglyphics, and even at Babylon a stone bowl so inscribed, which may, however, have been carved elsewhere.

The discoveries so made show us, however, that great caution is necessary in studying the antiquities of Asia Minor, and in attributing dates to sculptured remains. There were many early races in this region—the European Phrygians, the Iranian Lycians, the older non-Aryan populations of Caria and Lydia, the Semitic traders of Cappadocia, the Aramean-speaking people of Cilicia. The character of the native art changed very slowly. The bas-reliefs at Nemrud, which represent Antiochus of Commagene clasping the hands of various divinities, belong to the last years of independence, before Rome swallowed up this petty kingdom of the Euphrates

* 'Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien.' Karl Humann und Otto Puchstein. Berlin: 1890.

valley in its empire. In these bas-reliefs a Scythian costume and the well-known Phrygian cap are represented, but the figure of Zeus-Oromazdes is crowned with the conical cap which has been said to be distinctive of the earlier so-called 'Hittite' costume. It is extremely difficult to fix the date of any sculptures in Asia Minor, unless they are accompanied by written texts, and MM. Perrot and Chipiez may have been too hasty in some of their attributions of sculptures less archaic in character than are those on which the Syrian, or 'Hittite,' characters are found. There is a very marked advance from these inscribed bas-reliefs, which represent horned gods bearing corn and wine, goddesses riding the lion or drinking nectar, and demons with bulls' horns and legs, or double-headed eagles, to the graceful Lycian figures of 400 B.C. Even later the rude and stumpy figures of Nemrud show us that the Greek canons of art never penetrated into Commagene, where the Persian influence was strong; nor did the Asia Minor Aryans arrive at that power of portraying strength and vigorous action, which is so marked in Assyria. We still expect from travellers like Professor Ramsay or HH. Humann and Puchstein further discoveries, which may enable us to restore the lost history of Asia Minor and Armenia with greater certainty of historic sequence than has as yet been attained.

That the language of this newly-recovered hieroglyphic system of Syria and Asia Minor was a terminational and not an inflectional language may be regarded as certain, because, as has already been indicated, it is to the terminational stage of speech that all hieroglyphic systems apply. It is, however, clear that we ought to expect a hieratic or syllabic character to have arisen from the Syrian, as it has from every other hieroglyphic system; and not only has this occurred, but the later syllabary has in this case also been recovered and deciphered. The syllabary in question was discovered first in Cyprus, where many monuments were found written in a new character, including about fifty-four different forms. The problem of decipherment was attacked by George Smith in 1872, with the aid of two inscriptions, one in Phœnician and Cypriote, the other in Greek and Cypriote. George Smith proved, to the general satisfaction of scholars, that these syllables were used by the Greek local monarchs of Paphos, Salamis, and Kurion between the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and even as late as the time of Alexander the Great other texts in the same character have been found in

Egypt. In every case the language is a Greek dialect, and the syllabary is thus used for an inflectional Aryan tongue, just as the later cuneiform was used in Persia.

As regards the connexion between this Cypriote syllabary and the Syrian hieroglyphs, several of the signs, such as *ka*, *ne*, *mo*, *ti*, &c., are so exactly and evidently similar as to have carried general conviction to the minds of the learned; and altogether about half of the syllabary can easily be referred to the original hieroglyphs. Thus from the syllabic sounds we gather those which belonged to the original emblems, and thus are able to recover the sounds of the commoner terminations and pronouns of that language.

The review thus attempted of the developement of the four great systems of hieroglyphic writing—Syrian, cuneiform, Egyptian, and Chinese—has carried us down to the days when a new invention appears, and soon supersedes the clumsy systems of syllabic or ideographic writing. From 3000 to 1000 B.C. mankind laboured with patience and ingenuity, yet never succeeded in producing A, B, C. It was reserved for the Phœnician traders, who—as Voltaire points out—were too busy to devote time to the learning of four or five hundred emblems for use in writing, to develope the broad generalisation of an alphabet, which was, in fact, at first a kind of shorthand as compared with the syllabary. A knowledge of the large total which is made by the combinations of twenty-five things would show the modern student that an alphabet of twenty-five letters might easily be employed illimitably in writing. Yet when first employed the alphabet was no doubt treated with scorn by orthodox writers, whose education bound them down by pedantic laws. It might be good enough for ignorant merchants, but was clearly unfit for educated persons. So it comes about that among the earliest of alphabetic texts we find the dockets on the backs of cuneiform documents, which are neither religious nor historic, but merely mercantile agreements. In the end the universities were swept away, the hieroglyphic scribes were out of employment, and mankind was taught to write its own letters in the A, B, C of the Phœnician merchant; and finally the hieroglyphic and syllabic writings were so utterly forgotten as to employ the lives of several generations of scholars for their recovery.

The inventors of the alphabet clearly worked on some previous syllabary, just as the Persians or the Egyptians

tried to develope alphabets by selection of syllabic emblems. The question as to the Phœnician alphabet is still, from what syllabary did it arise? The oldest dated monuments in alphabetical writing as yet known belong to the tenth century B.C., including the Moabite Stone and the new inscription of Panammu; for the large majority of Phœnician texts as yet discovered are even later than the Persian age. The famous coffin of Eshmunazar from Sidon has been shown, by aid of a newly-discovered text from near Acre (dating 221 B.C.), to belong to the times of the Ptolemies; and the one Hebrew text at present known (the Siloam inscription) is very clearly of the age of Hezekiah, about 700 B.C.

It would seem that the new alphabet came very quickly into use over a wide area, including Greece, Asia Minor, and Palestine. The Phrygian texts, which are written in Greek letters, are thought by Professor Ramsay to be, perhaps, as old as the ninth century B.C.; and the Lycian alphabet, which includes no less than twenty-seven letters, is known at least as early as 400 B.C. On the east the Semitic letters slowly gained on the cuneiform, which they superseded; and the latest discoveries made by German explorers in the region north of Aleppo show us that the Phœnician civilisation had spread in this direction as early as it did southwards to the trans-Jordanic deserts of Moab.

Attempts have been made to derive both the Cypriote syllabary and the Phœnician alphabet from the cuneiform, but these have found no favour with the majority of scholars. Another attempt was made by the French Egyptologist, De Rougé, to show that the Phœnician alphabet (with the exception of the guttural letter *Ain*) was derived from the Egyptian hieratic characters, especially from those used alphabetically in Egypt. At the time when this suggestion was made the Cypriote syllabary was unknown, and it is an instance of the dangers which surround the antiquary who has only fragmentary information before him, that until this script was discovered there seemed to be only two alternatives if the alphabet was to be accounted for as anything but a distinct invention—namely, a derivation either from the Egyptian or from the cuneiform system.

The great objection to De Rougé's theory is that only by great exercise of imagination can the hieratic letters be supposed to compare with the very clear and simple forms of the early Greek and Phœnician alphabets. Anyone look-

ing at such texts would at once say that the Cypriote forms are much more of the character required for comparison than are the current and slovenly shapes of the Egyptian hieratic. In addition to this objection De Rougé has only attempted to explain the short Semitic alphabet of twenty-two letters, whereas the Greek alphabet of Asia Minor and the Lycian and Carian alphabets contain altogether forty letters. Thus, although the Egyptian derivation of the alphabet will be found frequently mentioned as an accepted fact by those whose knowledge is not original, and who rely on the opinions of others, it will not be found by the student who enquires deeper that De Rougé's theory has been received with general acceptation by the learned world.

In studying this matter it is necessary to take into consideration the general character of the civilisation of Syria and Asia Minor, as compared with that of surrounding countries; and a great deal of new light has been thrown on this question through the discoveries of recent explorers. Earlier writers used to look exclusively either to Egypt or to Assyria for the originals of Greek art; but we now know that a third civilisation, peculiar to Syria and Asia Minor, intervened between the two great civilisations of Chaldea and of the Delta—a native developement with which the Greeks on the one side, and the Hebrews on the other, were in immediate contact. That the Phœnician alphabet of twenty-two letters was adopted in the Greek islands, with which the Phœnicians traded, is clear from existing early texts; but the great Ionian alphabet, with the Phrygian, Carian, and Lycian scripts, represent a larger system, and one better fitted for use in Aryan languages, which attach much value to differences of vowel-sound—long, short, or double. The Greek letters are called *alpha*, *beta*, &c., which (as has often been pointed out) indicates a derivation from the Aramean or North Semitic dialect, rather than from the *aleph*, *beth*, &c., of the Hebrew and Phœnician. It is only within the last year that the early existence of an Aramean alphabet, old enough to compare with the Ionian, has become known, through the discovery of the magnificent inscribed statue of Panammu, and this discovery is expected to modify considerably the previous opinions of the learned.

It is true that at a somewhat late period, when the Syrian coast was under the temporary rule of the Ptolemies, the influence of Egyptian civilisation is very clearly shown by the peculiarities of Phœnician art-objects; but this is not the

case in the earlier age when the alphabet first makes its appearance. The earlier characteristics of Syrian art are more nearly akin to that of Assyria, and yet more closely related to the archaic forms found in Asia Minor and Northern Syria, at Carchemish, or in Cappadocia, in connexion with the native hieroglyphic script, which, as before noticed, forms a character quite distinct from either Egyptian or cuneiform.

Many emblems—such as the lion-headed deity, the winged horse, the sphinx, the scarabeus, the winged globe—are known, it is true, in Egypt or in Babylonia at an early date; but all these emblems are also known in connexion with the native art of Asia Minor and Syria; and many of the Phœnician statues of early times are much more like the rude figures of Carchemish than they are like the slim Egyptian forms, or the elaborately finished figures of Assyria. Hence it has come to be very generally acknowledged that the prototypes both of Greek and also of Phœnician art are to be found in the native work of Asia Minor; and that it was only at a later period that the influence of the more distant regions of Chaldea and the Nile Valley came into play, for the improvement of classic style. Architecture, no less than art, tells us the same, and this view would long since have been generally received had it not been for our complete ignorance as to the early civilisation of the Levantine coasts.

It is only natural, therefore, to suppose that the alphabet, which certainly first appeared in this same region, was also of native invention, and not a foreign importation; and it is, therefore, to the syllabary of Asia Minor and of Cyprus that we must turn, in order to find the originals of the alphabetic forms. This syllabary is not yet perfectly known, but it has already been acknowledged to supply the originals of those Greek and Lycian letters which are not used in the smaller alphabet of the Semitic peoples. The latest discovery, in connexion with this important and interesting character, is the fact that the Greek letter *eta* was used with the same sound in Cypriote, and with the same form. Any student who compares the Cypriote *mi* with the Greek *m*, the Cypriote *ke* with *kappa*, and so on with the majority of the letters, will be able to convince himself of the original identity of such signs. The Cypriote syllabary, in short, is the native source of the alphabet subsequently used in the same region, and the more we know of this syllabary, and of the earlier forms of the Greek and Aramean and Phœnician letters, the more striking does this comparison become.

The only reason why this view has not been long since recognised is that the Cypriote syllabary was only discovered about twenty years ago.

Hieroglyphic writing never came into use in Europe. The northern Aryans, whose civilisation is so much later than that of the Asiatic races of the Mediterranean coast and of Mesopotamia, never appear to have possessed an original character of their own. They adopted different forms of the Greek and Italic alphabets, while their cousins in Armenia and in Persia adopted the later cuneiform. The civilisation of the Aryans, generally, was borrowed from non-Aryan races, and Herodotus has confessed that 'the 'Greeks invented nothing.'

In Italy, and along the north shores of the Mediterranean, the earliest known civilisations belong to the later period, when alphabetic writing was already in use. The Etruscan, Oscan, and Umbrian alphabets are believed to be of Greek origin, and none of these early Italic tribes—whether Aryan or non-Aryan — appear to have used any hieroglyphic character. Yet it would seem that an older syllabary preceded the Italic alphabets in Southern Europe; for it has been discovered that the so-called Celt-Iberian alphabet is nothing more or less than a form of the Cypriote syllabary. Probably this may have been introduced in the far west by traders—Greek or Phœnician—from Cyprus or Syria, for it does not seem to have taken any strong hold on the population, and, as far as is at present known, it did not make its appearance in Italy.

The largest of ancient alphabets in Western Asia was the Lycian, used about the fifth century B.C. Neither the language nor the exact value of the less familiar letters are at present fixed beyond controversy, though they have occupied the attention of the learned for nearly half a century; but there are strong reasons for supposing that the dialect of the Lycians—whose splendid inscribed monuments enrich the British Museum—was akin to the ancient Persian; and it is certain that it was remarkable for its liquid sounds and its numerous distinctions of vowels, both of which circumstances render its Iranian origin probable.*

* The Lycian genitive, singular and plural, is the same as in ancient Persian. Many names on the Lycian tombs are Persian. The alphabet includes the guttural $\tilde{m}$ and $\tilde{n}$ of the old Persian, but also the letter *l*, unknown in Persian, but known in Sanskrit. In some respects Lycian approaches Greek, which was the nearest akin, of the old European languages, to the Iranian or East Aryan family.

It has been recognised that the additional letters of the Lycian, which do not occur in the Ionian alphabet, have the same value as in the Cypriote syllabary. These additional letters, as usually explained, include one consonant and six vowels not found in any Greek or Semitic alphabet, but (except the consonant *th*) all existing in the Cypriote syllabary. The total number of Lycian letters was thus twenty-seven in all.

In addition to this very complete alphabet we have the Carian and the Phrygian, both of which include letters unknown in Greek texts, and both of which appear to have been used by Aryan tribes preceding the Greeks in Asia Minor. The celebrated graffiti scrawled on the statues at Abu Simbel by the mercenaries who accompanied Psammetichus (in the seventh century B.C.) are, in some cases, in Greek, and, in others, in unknown dialects, supposed to be Carian, since Herodotus mentions the Carian contingent in speaking of this expedition. In other parts of Egypt Greek inscriptions, written in the Cypriote syllabic character, are now known, as well as alphabetic texts in the larger alphabet of Asia Minor; and at Abu Simbel we obtain a date to such writing which is most valuable for comparative study, and which is sufficiently early to show that, even if the Phœnician or the Aramaic alphabet was at first the only one known to the Western Aryans, nevertheless, it is to the peculiar value of vowels in Aryan speech that we owe the perfecting of civilised alphabetic writing; for, taking into account other Cappadocian and Pamphylian letters, we find in the Aryan alphabets of Asia Minor no less than forty distinct letters, as contrasted with the twenty-two of the Phœnician alphabet.

In Semitic speech—whether Hebrew, Assyrian, or Arabic—the vowels proper play a somewhat subordinate part. In the vernacular or colloquial language the vowel-sounds are slurred, and the distinctions of vocabulary or of grammar depend far more on the correct pronunciation of gutturals, and of hard or soft consonantal sounds; but such carelessness as to vowel-sounds would be impossible in Greek or in Persian. Hence the Semitic alphabets, while they have distinguished carefully certain gutturals which soon dropped out of use as having no counterparts in the sounds of non-Semitic languages, have never represented the vowels proper in writing except by points placed above or below the consonants. A Phœnician inscription consists entirely of consonants. The scholar has to supply vowels in accord-

ance with the rules of grammar. Down even to the fourth century A.D. Hebrew was written without vowel-points, and much indistinctness exists in consequence in the interpretation of certain words. Though the Aryans invented no system of writing, they may justly claim to have perfected the alphabet by making the vowels integral parts of the spelling of the word. When we turn to the Etruscan inscriptions—which are not Aryan—we find the old imperfect system still in force, and the vowels frequently omitted. It was no doubt because the letters were still, to a certain extent, regarded as emblems of syllables that this change was so gradually introduced. The original inventors of the alphabet appear, for instance, to have resolved to use the sign which stood for the syllable *ke* in all cases, whether for the sound *ka* or *ke*, *ki* or *ku*, and they so used it in languages where the distinction was not, perhaps, of vital importance grammatically. It was only very gradually and in languages rich in distinctions of vowel-sound that it became the practice to insert as separate symbols the representatives of *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*.

We may now glance for a moment at the history of the diffusion of the original alphabet—a question which, though still presenting problems not solved to the satisfaction of all scholars, is, nevertheless, better understood than is that of the exact mode and place of birth of the original alphabets.

In Asia the Semitic alphabets diverged into two great groups, known as Phœnician and Aramean. In Europe the Greek alphabet and its eldest offshoot, the Italic alphabet, formed the prototypes of all the later scripts.

The Phœnician alphabet, known through a number of inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period, and through yet later texts from Carthage, was widely diffused. To this original family belongs the alphabet of the famous Moabite stone and that of the Siloam inscription, and of some of the earliest Jewish coins. The Talmudic writers, who contrast this ancient alphabet with the *Ashuri* or sacred square character, which was in use when the Jerusalem Talmud was written, call the Phœnician the *Lebonai* writing (perhaps because of its use in Lebanon), and remark that it was used with the Aramean language by the 'ignorant,' among whom the Samaritans held the first place. The *Ashuri*, on the other hand, was used by the learned—that is to say, by Jewish Rabbis and scribes, with the sacred language—that is, with the ancient Hebrew of the Old Testament, which they studied.

The Rabbinical writers believed that this *Ashuri*, which was the parent of modern square Hebrew, was introduced by Ezra, and this, though rather a bald statement of the case, is shown by the recovery of monumental inscriptions to have been probably founded on fact. During their captivity the Jews came in contact with the other branch of the Semitic alphabet; and the forms of the letters having become considerably changed by the time of Darius, an uncritical scribe might very probably not recognise the original identity of the alphabet to which he was accustomed before his return from captivity, and of that which had been used by his forefathers, and which, but slightly modified, continued to be used by the Samaritans and Phœnicians. The Aramean letters slowly won their way. They were not used very extensively in the second century B.C., but about the Christian era we have the Beni Hezir text on a tomb at Jerusalem, which shows us forms, evidently the early prototypes of the square Hebrew; and in the second and third century A.D. this alphabet seems to have been exclusively used by the Jews—the old Phœnician remaining peculiar to the Samaritans. Thus in the days of Our Lord there were no less than three various styles of writing practised in Syria—Phœnician, Samaritan, and Jewish—in addition to the use of Greek and even of Latin on coins and inscriptions.

As time went on the Asiatic alphabets grew numerous and very diverse. The gradual separation of various schools was inevitable in regions where communication was difficult, and when no printed type served as a model of form. The Phœnician alphabet of twenty-two letters not only found its way to the shores of Carthage and spread thence westwards to Numidia and the Canary Islands and to the shores of France at Marseilles, but it also appears at an early date to have been carried by the traders to Yemen, where it developed into the early Sabean or Himyarite script, of which so many examples have been lately discovered. In the first century A.D. Yemen was at the height of its prosperity as the emporium between India and Alexandria, and from the Sabean alphabet were developed, as time went on, the Ethiopic, the later Himyarite, and (with additions) the Amharic.

In the second century, when invading Arab tribes came up from Yemen as far as Damascus, they brought with them this South Semitic alphabet, which is used in the innumerable texts on rocks and stones of the Safa district east of Bashan. The Sabean alphabet had a yet more remarkable

history, due to the trade relations with India which continued with little interruption from the time of Solomon down to the middle ages; for it has been shown by Dr. Isaac Taylor that the original alphabet of Southern India—as known from the inscriptions of the Buddhist king Asoka, about 250 B.C.—was originally derived from the Arab traders. Out of this early Indian character all the various local scripts of India, Burmah, and the Southern Islands have grown. Of the four great Indian groups the Pali became a Buddhist script, and from it sprang the Javanese, Burmese, and other alphabets in countries converted by the southern Buddhists. A yet more important branch of the original character was the Deva Nagari—loosely called the Sanskrit—which became the sacred alphabet of the Brahmins. Even in Asoka's time, by modifications of the twenty-two Semitic forms, an alphabet of forty letters was made up, as required by Aryan speech; and in the modern Sanskrit, by addition of contractions and other syllabic signs, the alphabet of forty-eight letters is increased to a system of 216 symbols—thus to some extent defeating the ends of alphabetic writing by reverting to syllables.

While the southern Semitic alphabet thus pressed forward towards the south boundaries of China, the Aramean alphabet approached the northern side of the empire through Mongolia. In the first century A.D. not only does the square Hebrew begin to be a distinct type of this script, but the Palmyrene and Nabathean alphabets are other parallel developements. The kings of Petra used the northern script, and the 'Sinaitic inscriptions' have been shown by Levy (in 1860) to be Nabathean texts of the third and fourth century A.D., some being heathen, some Christian, and accompanied by the cross. These texts, once thought to have been written by the Israelites, are but records of Arab pilgrims, who have left their names on the rocks with invocations of health, peace, and blessing.

Rather farther south in Arabia itself texts in Aramaic character are now well known; and it was from this that the local alphabet of Mecca descended, and from the latter came the modern Arabic, which is the alphabet of Islam—in Turkey, Persia, Africa, and India, as well as in Syria.

The exact derivation of the Kufic characters, or old Arab alphabet of Syria, is still a matter of dispute, some supposing it to be an offshoot of the Syriac, while others hold that it came from Arabia. It is certain, however, that it was used near Damascus a century before the Moslem con-

quest; for a most interesting Christian text of the year 568 A.D. was copied by Wetstein* at Harrân, close to the great lake east of the Syrian capital, in which the Arbana loses itself. This is earlier by more than a century than the oldest Moslem text in Cufic characters. It is bi-lingual, and the Greek records the erection of a Chapel of St. John, while the Arabic reads from the right, preceded by a cross, as follows: 'I, Sharahîl, son of Talemu, built this chapel. 'Lord John delay thou . . . the day whereon I shall be 'taken away. So be it, yea.' The text, supported by others, gives evidence of the existence of an Arab Christian population in Bashan under the Byzantine emperors, and shows us that the Kufic was the national script before the inroads of Omar's generals.

In the early days of the Khalifs the archaic forms of the Kufic were used in Syria, but in Egypt the more flowing outline of the Neshki (probably the local alphabet of Mecca), which finally prevailed. The forms of modern Arabic represent perhaps the greatest amount of decay from the original emblems that can be found in any existing script. Arbitrary dots take the place of distinctions of form, and without these the writing is illegible.

Not only Jews and Moslems thus adopted the Aramean writing, but Christians and Zoroastrians also. The Syriac grew out of Palmyrene, and flourished, especially in the Byzantine age, gradually decaying in the eighth century A.D. The fashion prevailed, in writing Syriac, of placing the letters horizontally and the lines of writing vertically on the paper. In process of time the Nestorian priests took this alphabet to Mongolia and with it their peculiar method of arranging the lines. In the palmy days of Mongol civilisation under Genghiz Khan and his successors this alphabet spread all over Mongolia; and hence in Mongolian the writing is still in vertical instead of horizontal lines. The Manchu alphabet is of Mongolian origin, and thus the Nestorian script was carried to the borders of China.

Side by side with this developement the Persian Zoroastrians modified the Aramean script. The Parsee and earlier Pehlevi come from the monumental characters of the Sassanian and Arsacid period. Further east the Bactrian alphabet was adopted in Northern India and occurs on Asoka's inscription of Kapur-di-giri. From this source also

* Cf. Waddington, 'Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.' Paris: 1870. No. 2464, p. 563.

sprang the cyphers or numerals, which were originally initials of the Indian names of the numbers (as shown by Dr. Isaac Taylor), and from Indian Aryans the Arabs thus learned the value of place in arithmetic, and the forms of the numerals, both of which are popularly supposed to have been Arab inventions.

From the Persian alphabets of the age before Islam also arose the Armenian and the Georgian scripts, which were rendered complete by the addition of a few Greek letters. Thus by the middle ages the Semitic alphabet had spread over the whole of Asia, even invading China, with the Buddhist and Nestorian missionaries.

In Europe the Semitic alphabet made no progress. The Asiatic immigrants first carried a knowledge of the alphabet of Chalcis to Cumæ, and from this original arose the various Italic scripts. It is, however, remarkable that the Phœnician and Greek names of the letters never reached Italy, until the later time when, under the emperors, Greek culture became fashionable in Rome. In earlier ages the letters were known by the syllabic names still given to them in Europe—an indication that these may have been preserved from the syllabary of Asia Minor, unless indeed the Etruscans and Latins reverted to the original sounds as easier to pronounce than the Greek names of the letters.

The Goths, perhaps as early as the time of Herodotus, learned their letters from Greek traders in Scythia, and hence arose the Runic alphabet, which in various forms spread westwards along the Baltic, and came over with Scandinavian conquerors to our own island. In the Byzantine age other alphabets arose from the Greek cursive script, namely, the Slav and the Albanian. Dr. Isaac Taylor has shown to the satisfaction of Slavonic scholars that the Russian alphabet is of Greek cursive origin, naturally accompanying the faith of the Greek Church of the Byzantine period.

The decay of Greece and the rise of the Roman power, even more than geographical position or epigraphic advantages, account for the final triumph of the Latin alphabet in Europe. The minuscules, or small letters, came in gradually about the tenth century, and two distinct types grew up—the Gothic-looking black letter of the Teutonic races, and the clearer and less corrupt Italian forms used by the Latin races of the West. With the introduction of printing into Germany in the fifteenth century the black letter was associated, and brought with the printing-press

to England, Caxton's type being of the Teutonic family. Among other changes due to the personality of Henry VIII. was that of the substitution of the Latin minuscule for the black letter. Thus England, breaking away from Teutonic influence, joined the Latin races in use of 'Roman characters,' and this character has in our own times so clearly asserted its superiority over the Teutonic forms that even in Germany it begins to be generally adopted in preference to the German letters.

Such, briefly sketched, have been the fortunes of the alphabet as it spread from its Syrian home. It is instructive to note how slowly the human mind worked in evolving the idea of A B C. This was no question of taste or of artistic genius; it was a most utilitarian necessity for the trader to be able to record his engagements, and to send notice to his partners. Yet the Assyrian merchants knew only the laborious cuneiform, and at least two thousand years were required to advance from hieroglyphic forms to the earliest alphabet. The invention of printing has done much to preserve the forms of the letters, yet even under our own eyes they are undergoing gradual changes. Any student who opens a book a century old will observe these changes, which are due to the same ancient causes which produced the letters themselves.

It is natural that when changes in modes of writing are so slowly brought about, each generation sticking close to the lessons of childhood, all arbitrary attempts at innovation should be doomed to failure and finally be forgotten. The idea of shorthand is by no means modern. It is said to date back to the days of Cicero; and from the sixth century of our era down to the eleventh a shorthand was used which developed five hundred arbitrary signs, and then perished through its cumbrous attempts to save trouble. In the same way we have seen the endless contractions of the Greek minuscule given up during the present century, and a return made to the alphabet pure and simple. It seems safe to predict that whatever changes in writing lie before us they will all be due to insensible modifications of the Roman text, which is gradually superseding other characters, and that they will never be brought about by the arbitrary edicts either of governments or of private societies. The old causes will continue to act. Alphabets will follow the trader and the missionary, letters will be modified according to the character of the material—wood, stone, metal, or paper, palm-leaves or brick, and according to the instruments used

—whether graver, style, brush, or pen. Before our eyes the steel and stylographic pens have been modifying the handwriting of Englishmen as compared with that of the quill-drivers of a century ago, and the quality of paper used has an equal influence on the forms of the letters. The alphabet used by the most civilised and most widely ruling race must become the dominant alphabet; and with the English language the Roman text must continue to spread over the face of the earth.

Thus, looking back for five thousand years from our own time, we are able to see what causes—linguistic, political, geographical, commercial, and religious—led to the use of the type in which this paper is printed. With a language as yet not much more than a system of exclamations (whatever the origin of speech may have been) a simple picture-writing was sufficient. When from this stage men passed on to the agglutinative or terminational stage, when roots began to subserve grammatical purposes, a hieroglyphic character, gradually becoming less pictorial and more phonetic, has always been found necessary and sufficient. The appearance of inflections has invariably led to the employment of syllables; and at this stage scholarly and conservative societies stopped still. It remained for the busy trader further to simplify the syllabary for the purposes of commerce, and for the Aryan race, with its numerous modifications of vowel-sounds, to develope the alphabet in its most perfect form. With the triumph of Greece all the clumsy Asiatic attempts to solve the final problem were swept away; the cuneiform and the Cypriote syllabary died a natural death; the hieroglyphic system lingered in Egypt, but never affected the history of European scripts. Rome again drove back the Greek alphabet to the East, and the great schism gave Latin letters to Europe and endless alphabets to the Greek sects. The rise of Islam carried the alphabet of Mecca all over Asia and Africa, but the stern veto of the Popes prevented its advance beyond the coasts of Spain. At our own time Arab tombstones may be seen over the graves of Malay Moslems in the cemetery of Cape-town. Amid all this change Chinese writing remains still hieroglyphic, because Chinese language, though not immutable, has never passed beyond the earliest terminational stage.

The doings of man in remote ages form the puzzles which occupy the attention of his descendants. The genius and labour of two generations of European scholars have

hardly sufficed to explain the writings of ancient Asia, which were concealed under the clumsy cuneiform symbols and the illegible scrawl of the hieratic. The alphabetic texts of Phœnicia yielded much more readily to special study, the forms and language being alike familiar. The Akkadian texts have been the last, and are even now imperfectly understood. The result of poring for months over such crabbed documents as those deciphered from Babylonian bricks or Egyptian papyri is often hopelessly inadequate to the labour expended. Yet it is through such labour that the actual history of civilisation is being gradually recovered by the patience of those who piece together facts and beliefs as expressed by the ancient scribes of Abraham's days. From its cradle in Mesopotamia we see the great Asiatic race spreading on every side; the cultured Akkadian, the shrewd and hardy Phœnician, the Hittite prince, the Hebrew shepherd, and the grim, blue-eyed, red-bearded ancestor of the Aryans, pushing from the Volga into Europe. But for the tombs, the inscribed rock-altars, and the amulets, we should know little of these early races. Even Herodotus has to thank the rough Greek and Carian soldiers who, like modern tourists, scrawled their names on the legs of Rameses II., for bearing testimony to his knowledge and honesty in an age when the self-sufficient student claims to write history better than the Father of History, to find blunders in cuneiform tablets, and to correct and criticise the Hebrew chroniclers and prophets.

Art. VI.—1. *Traicté de l'Œconomie Politique.* Par Antoyne de Montchrestien. Avec Introduction et Notes par Th. Funck-Brentano. 8vo. Paris: 1889.

Political Economy, the dismal science, is generally supposed to be the creation of Adam Smith and the writers of the present century. It is, therefore, not without surprise that we find, not only a treatise on the subject but the very name itself, appearing in France so long ago as 1615. The author of this treatise seems to have been as badly treated as his work. Biographers who mention him have drawn exclusively from an obituary notice in the 'Mercure,' which is by no means favourable. Montchrestien probably became a Protestant at the end of his life, and was killed in the war of religion in 1621. It was natural that his memory should be blasted by loyal Catholics. The 'Mercure' tells us

that his name was in reality Mauchrétien, or bad Christian, that his father's origin was entirely unknown, that he became a hanger-on of the nobility, was a passable poet but quarrelsome and fond of duels, and that he adopted a feudal title to which he had no claim. We now find that, on the contrary, he was a studious man of letters, who made a name for himself in early manhood, that he moved in the best Norman society, and that any quarrels in which he may have been engaged were forced upon him by the turbulence of the age in which he lived and the jealousy of his surroundings. He did, as a matter of fact, fight a duel, and killed his man. After vainly asking pardon from Henry IV. in verses not unworthy of Corneille, he fled to England to escape hanging. Here the poet became a political economist. Montchrestien was the first of those Frenchmen who derived enthusiasm for liberty from the air of England, and formed a succession of political thinkers who, during the next century and a half, gave currency to those ideas which produced first the Revolution in America and then the Revolution in France.

The first thing which struck Montchrestien on his arrival in our country was the number of French refugees established in commerce, who had left France during the wars of the Reformation and the League. He investigated the methods by which Queen Elizabeth had attracted them to her shores, and had kept them there. He was especially impressed by the excellence of the English cutlery. After leaving England he visited Holland, that other home of liberty and freedom of speech. He admired the effect of self-government on the developement of industry, and made minute investigations into the machinery of commerce. Montchrestien returned to France towards the end of the reign of Henry IV. He married a rich widow to whom he had long been attached. By the aid of his wife's fortune he established a cutlery manufactory of his own, with a view of supplying French workmen with the tools which they had been so long in need of. He continued these labours without much encouragement for about ten years, in the middle of which he published the treatise which is the subject of the present article. When the Huguenot war broke out in 1621, Montchrestien, disgusted at the treatment he had received from the court, in some way or other connected himself with that party. M. Funck-Brentano does not believe that he ever became a Protestant. The civil war was apparently one of factions rather than of religions. Protestants and Catholics fought on either side, according as they were well-disposed, or otherwise, to the

court and the king. Montchrestien, after in vain trying to defend the town and castle of Rosny against the Prince of Condé, retired to La Rochelle towards the end of July, 1621, and attended the assembly which was held there. He received commissions to raise regiments of horse and foot in Normandy and Maine. He threw himself with great energy into the business, and, having collected a number of partisans in Lower Normandy, he summoned them to meet him on Monday, October 11, close to the forests of Andaine and Alençon. They hoped in a few days to have gathered an army of five or six thousand men. The enterprise was nipped in the bud. On Thursday, October 8, Montchrestien and the few friends he had with him were attacked by fifteen or twenty musketeers under Turgot de Tourailles, an ancestor of the famous minister of Louis XVI. He was killed by a pistol-shot, fired probably by Turgot himself, on the very day fixed for the rising. The Tribunal of Domfront decreed that the corpse of Montchrestien should be dragged on a hurdle, his limbs broken on a *grille*, his body burnt and reduced to ashes, and the ashes scattered to the four winds. Thus a man of genius perished in a brawl. The same ardent spirit which impelled him to new fields of speculation drove him to perilous courses of rash enterprise.

The treatise of Montchrestien belongs more to the general domain of economics than to political economy in its narrower sense. The title he first destined for it was that of an 'Economic Treatise on Traffick.' It deals rather with the art than with the science of public wealth. The private economy of the household is extended first to the town, then to the province, and finally to the kingdom. He grasps the great truth that the wealth of a nation is not derived from capital but from labour. 'The smallest of French provinces 'furnishes your majesties with its corn, its wine, its salt, its 'linen and woollen cloths, its iron, its oil, its wood, and thus 'makes it more rich than all the princes in the world. The 'happiness of men consists principally in wealth, and wealth 'consists in labour.' He gives full weight to the great importance of competition and to the division of labour. He recommends the foundation of industrial schools, where poor children may be instructed in every kind of manufacture. This is the true way to get rid of the wheel and the gallows. He is opposed to monopolies, and desires the free circulation of foreign money, as long as it is of good weight and fineness. He believes in free trade under the conditions of reciprocity. If France is open to Spanish imports, Spain should be open

to those of France. England should supply to France the lead which it does not produce, and receive in return the French wines of which Englishmen are so fond. At the same time there should be protection for articles of necessity. It is not good to be at the mercy of other people for the necessaries of life. He enounces the economic law that whereas articles of prime necessity tend to become cheaper, those of luxury tend to become dearer. For this reason it is wise to apportion taxes so as to fall on those who can most easily bear the burden, otherwise, as the rich are continually trying to shift their burdens on to the poor, it will be found that, as wealth increases at one pole of society, poverty will abound at the other. Such are the great lessons of Montchrestien's book; but they have to be disengaged from a mass of extraneous and irrelevant matter, which renders the work pleasant to read, but makes the course of the argument difficult to follow. Above everything it is necessary to see things as Montchrestien saw them, and to transport ourselves into the economic conditions and ideas of his age. We stand at the epoch of transition from the feudality of the Middle Ages to the centralised system of Richelieu and Colbert. We must, therefore, realise the effect of the feudal system on the developement of French commerce.

The system which we call feudal in reference to the army and the government, in economic production is more fitly designated as patronal. It meets us under different forms in different countries. We find it in the regal constitution of early Rome, in the Homeric age of Greece, in the modern history of Japan. The essence of it lies in the relation of lord and vassal, of patron and client, the one awarding care and protection to his inferior, the other obedience and devotion to his superior. The same relation exists whether the patrons appear as lords or bishops, warriors or clerics, consuls, provosts, or syndics. The result of this system was an infinite variety of rights and duties, taking multitudinous forms, and attaching themselves by prescription to families and communities, forming a complexity of relations which affected not only every circumstance of life, but the soil of earth and the air of heaven. The necessity of securing these rights led to universal distrust. The land was covered with strong castles, fortified towns, and churches. The condition of habitual war was with difficulty restrained by the clergy and the Pope, but they were wars rather of defence than of aggression. As force was necessary for the preservation of rights, so it was indispensable for the

protection of industry. The earliest guilds, whether Roman, Celtic, or German, were formed for the security of their members, but no one could expect to be secure unless he was prepared to defend himself. Towns arose for the purpose of defence on a large scale, and a similar motive led the citizens to place themselves under the strong arm of a powerful family who could engage on equal terms with those who would deprive them of their franchises. Within the walls of the towns a similar process went on. Some guilds obtained such wealth and power as to have vassals of their own, and an aristocracy of wealth grew up side by side with the aristocracy of land. Each separate industry was moulded by the same force. They established a hierarchy of masters, craftsmen, and apprentices, organised with absolute subordination and minute and even tyrannical control. The dangers against which the guilds had to protect themselves were not only the exactions of a neighbouring noble, but the competition of the strangers who came to sell their wares in the towns, and to take away part of their profits, of those who exercised a similar trade to their own, and of those of their own trade who, from ignorance or desire of gain, spoilt the market by turning out inferior products, or taught the art of their employment to too large a number of apprentices.

Towards the close of the eleventh century the towns began to free themselves from their lords. Under the arrangements above described riches increased and the towns became more powerful. The noble patron became useless, or was looked upon rather as an exactor of rights than a performer of duties. He was ready to part with his claims for a consideration. Not that the towns became altogether free; they still remained subject to a more distant superior—a pope, an emperor, or a king—who exercised the privileges which the lord had given up. In his place they received a provost or a bailiff, but their freedom was guarded by charters. The crusades had a considerable effect in hastening this change. The same epoch witnessed the emancipation of the serfs, which the lord had similar reasons for being willing to grant. Women shared in the general advance, and gradually took a position in the family of equality with the male head. These changes only served to develope the patronal system. The unit of competition was not the individual but the group. The choice of labour, both in methods and in degree, was not determined by the wish of each person, but was directed by a

presiding head. It was therefore natural that an economical reformer should look, not at the stimulus of separate effort, but at the result of wise organisation. To his mind the State should perform, in its survey of the whole field, what the master of a guild would do in his restricted domain. At the same time, much as Montchrestien expected from royalty, he adopts towards it no servile or cringing attitude. He insists on the paramount importance of the commonweal. He would find a natural basis for these ideas in the existence of numerous local liberties which the growing power of the monarchy had not as yet destroyed. We shall misunderstand the epoch in which Montchrestien lived if we do not see in it an age not only of ancient and careful government from above, but of expansive and combative liberty from below.

It is true that under the feudal system all land must have a lord, and that every man must have a patron, even the king himself, whose patron was God. But as the rights of the patron were defined by law and custom, so were the duties of the inferior. Each person knew exactly what he had to pay for the protection which was accorded to him. Customs became just as fixed and certain as laws. The increase of wealth and commerce led naturally to an increase of liberty. Patronal rights, if rigorously exacted, would have been fatal to prosperity. What was not granted to argument had to be conceded to force. The wars of the nobles, which extended over so large a part of Europe, were favourable to the liberty of the merchants. The struggles of Guelfs and Ghibellines in Italy, the Hundred Years War in France, the War of the Roses in England, left room for industrial developement even in the countries immediately affected by them, and still more in Flanders, in Switzerland, and in the towns of the Hansa, where independence could assert itself unchecked. We see on the one hand the feudal aristocracy disappearing before the growing power of the Crown, and on the other the towns profiting by the extinction of their masters to secure their freedom on a solid basis. The charters granted to the cities by their new masters show a surprising variety in detail. Liberties are laid down with great exactness, but they are awarded with a multiplicity of conditions which shows that even wilfulness could claim respect. The Crown soon discovered that it had a new set of evils to fear.

The military and territorial vassals which the king had just subdued were succeeded by citizen-vassals more rigorous

than their predecessors, and perhaps just as formidable. A draper or mercer of the fourteenth century, with his army of clerks and dependents of different degrees, his large capital, and his relations with foreign countries, was a power which it was not easy to neglect. His wife and his daughters rivalled princesses in their magnificence, in spite of sumptuary laws. His house, adorned with carved furniture and glowing tapestry, contrasted with the gloom of the feudal manor. As mayor of his town, a man of affairs, captain of the town militia, he was not inferior to a noble. James von Arteveld, the ally of Edward III. against Philip VI., was a weaver and a brewer. Etienne Marcel, the head of the States-General in 1356 and 1357, who held at one time in his hands the destinies of France, was a merchant clothier.

We find an instance of this struggle in the war undertaken by Philippe-le-Bel to prevent the revolted Flemings from falling into the power of England. The king, after endeavouring in vain to obtain money for the enterprise by convening the States-General, was forced to debase the currency, to put pressure on the Jews, on the Lombards, bankers, and the clergy, and finally to commit the gross injustice of despoiling the Templars, who were the richest corporation of the age. Even then he could not obtain what he wanted, and perished in the task he had undertaken, face to face with a revolted nation. The Hundred Years War, notwithstanding the terrible disasters which it inflicted upon France, gave opportunity for the assertion of privileges by the towns, and witnessed the rise of the third estate as a power in the country. In the fifteenth century France was re-established as a country by Joan of Arc, and French commerce was led into new phases of developement by Jacques Cœur, the great merchant of Bourges.

At the end of the great war, the social and economical condition of France was completely transformed. The old aristocracy had disappeared. Louis XI. was the enemy of the nobles and surrounded himself with men of low estate. His confidential servants, Cardinal le Balue, Olivier le Daim, Pierre Doriole, the brothers Briçonnet, were all sprung from the middle class. He was fond of awarding titles of nobility to the municipal officers of great towns. His love of money induced him to raise supplies by selling charters and other certificates of freedom. He took a strong personal interest in the developement of commerce. In 1470, he summoned an assembly of merchants and delegates of the large industrial towns, in order to consult them as to the best means of

stimulating trade. In 1480, after the annexation of Provence, he took especial pains to make the most of his new acquisition. He had agents in Italy, Germany, and England, and is perhaps the first sovereign who followed a consistent and reasonable commercial policy for the benefit of the nation at large. He established a number of fairs, the principal of which was the fair of Lyons; he secured the safety of the roads, and created a network of royal posts. He paid great attention to the mercantile marine. More noticeable still were the means he adopted for the discovery and working of minerals in France. He established a central office for the superintendence of this industry. All who had minerals on their estates were obliged to declare them within five months and ten days, and to work them within eight months, otherwise they were worked by the Crown, with an indemnity to the proprietors. Manufactures of silk and tapestry, which had been destroyed during the war, were revived by Louis XI. He invited workmen from Greece, Flanders, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The cold-blooded despot, hated by the nobles and the clergy whom he had abused, detested by the peasantry whom he had heavily taxed, was beloved by the middle classes, whose interests he had fostered. But the services he had rendered were not apparent during his lifetime, and the harvest he had sown was reaped by others.

We now approach the end of the Middle Ages, the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, the Reformation, the League, and the Renaissance. All the forces then at work in France tended to increase the authority of the king and his influence over trade and commerce. The maritime discoveries of the Portuguese and the Spaniards at this epoch brought about an economic revolution of a most remarkable character. The surface of the world available for purposes of trade was doubled, commerce was turned into new channels, the medium of exchange was increased fourfold. These events were concurrent with social changes which dissolved feudality and established the bases of the modern world. Under the feudal system the greater part of Europe had been portioned out into large estates; only a quarter of the soil of France was occupied by the people; the rest was held by the clergy and the nobility. On the other hand, the large capitalist of modern times had no existence. Trade was almost exclusively in the hands of close corporations, passing, like inheritances, from father to son, and guarded by barriers of all kinds. The two principal

centres of commerce were the shores of the Mediterranean, and the German littoral from the Scheldt to the Oder. Distribution of commodities took place at the fair of Lyons on the one hand, and at those of Frankfort and Cologne on the other; but it was hampered by tolls and customs, which had been established at every available point. By the new discoveries the Mediterranean ceased to be the principal route of traffic to the Indies. Seville, Lisbon, and Antwerp, Rochelle, Bristol, and London succeeded to the inheritance of Venice, Genoa, and Lubeck. New products came into the market, while the old ones, previously confined to the few, became the property of the many. But the greatest effect was produced by the influx of the precious metals, especially of silver—which was forty times as common as gold. Each year during the latter half of the sixteenth century, the mines of Potosi brought into Spain at least two millions worth of silver, and those of Mexico as much again. In Spain the price of commodities was increased sixfold. In France silver coin fell to half its value, the price of land was trebled, that of food was quadrupled, while wages were, as a rule, only raised fifty per cent. Similar results were seen in Italy, Germany, and England. The class which suffered most were the landowners, who lived by rents. The lands of the smaller lords fell into the hands of the wealthy merchants.

This revolution gave a strong impulse to what has been called the mercantile theory—that is, the belief that the wealth of a country depends upon the amount of gold and silver actually in its possession. We need not enter into the controversy as to whether this theory was ever held in the crude form in which it has sometimes been stated. Nor can we deny that, even before the revolution which we are describing, a large share of the precious metals had been regarded as desirable for supplying the sinews of war. But there now arose, from the pressure of commerce, the necessity of wresting from the hands of the Spanish and Portuguese the metals which would otherwise have remained exclusively in their possession. The increase of luxury which followed upon these changes, and upon the discovery, as it may be called, of Italy by the expedition of Charles VIII., shows itself most prominently in the court of Francis I. The king was the centre of a brilliant throng, the dispenser of fame and fortune, the goal to which all abilities, all ambitions, and all rapacity directed themselves. The palaces of Chambord, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre were crowded

with noble lords and ladies, prelates and captains, artists and musicians, resplendent with jewels and brocades, which cast the magnificence of Milan and Florence into the shade. The king travelled with an army. The example of the Crown spread to the nobility, and from them to the merchants. Taxes on imports began to be imposed at the frontier. The power and the domain of the sovereign increased. He became responsible for good order throughout the kingdom and for the safety of public property. The idea arose of protecting native industry against foreign competition by differential duties. The feudal system had either excluded products altogether or admitted them free. Private rights of toll were now suppressed as far as possible. The independence of the old guilds gradually disappeared. They vied with each other in purchasing privileges from the king, but they did not always see that in obtaining an advantage over their rivals they were creating a master for themselves. Royal banks were founded at Lyons and Toulouse, and the creation of a third bank at Paris was only stopped by the jealousy of the city, which did not like to entrust so much money to the hands of the king. An attempt to introduce uniformity of weights and measures only partially succeeded, but it was typical of the centralisation of government which accompanied it.

Similar changes are observable in the condition of foreign commerce. During the greater part of the sixteenth century there was a continual struggle between France, on the one hand, and Spain and Portugal on the other, for the possession of the precious metals. The produce of Guienne and Languedoc purchased the spoils of Mexico and Peru. If trade with the Teutonic nations increased but slowly, that with Italy assumed large proportions. The Lombards, who had succeeded the Jews as bankers, and who had disappeared during the Hundred Years War, now began to appear in large numbers, and Italian banks competed successfully with those held by Frenchmen. A new form of vessel was built for new exigencies. Caraques, galleons, and caravels succeeded the ancient galleys—swift, for escape from enemies; large, for the reception of the new commodities; and stout, to resist the storms of the Indian Ocean. Piracy, unfortunately, was as rife in the sixteenth century as before, and the royal navy was remodelled to guard more efficiently the security of the seas. The new commerce demanded new ports. Aigues-Mortes, which has preserved for us, as restored by Viollet-le-Duc, the type of a mediæval town, was

inevitably deserted, in spite of all efforts to preserve it. Rouen, a river port, could not hold its own against Havre. The opening of a new commerce with the Levant secured the predominance of Marseilles. In the other extremity of the world permanent relations were established with Brazil and Western China, while nearly a hundred ships were engaged in the fisheries of Newfoundland. Jean Ango, of Dieppe, began to rival the reputation of Jacques Cœur, of Bourges. In 1535 Jacques Cartier discovered the St. Lawrence, and sailed up as far as Hochelaga, which was afterwards called Montreal. This epoch was undoubtedly one of great prosperity for France. The population had increased, agriculture had recovered, wealth had extended itself from the towns to the country. The peasants, although heavily taxed, had become more free and better fed. The inhabitants of the towns had lost many of their privileges, but had gained in influence and in security while they had suffered in liberty. In the Middle Ages their ambitions and their careers had been confined to the limits of their towns; they now had a new horizon open to them in the service of the Crown. In the sixteenth century the administration of the country was in the hands of the middle class. The creation of each office brought profit to the royal exchequer. The nobility, whose functions they had usurped, consoled itself for the loss of authority in the service of the Court. On the whole, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that many grievances had been removed and many abuses remedied between the meeting of the States-General in 1484 and that in 1560.

All, or nearly all, this prosperity disappeared in the disastrous reigns of the three last Valois. The country was devastated by the wars of the League, as it had been by the Hundred Years War. The fair face of France was overrun by brigands under the name of soldiers, who reproduced the horrors of the free companies of the Middle Ages. While population and houses were destroyed, taxes and impositions increased. The towns, however, suffered less than the country. The great roads were infested with bandits, the rivers became unnavigable; the fairs of Paris and Lyons were deserted; the Spaniards and Portuguese seized the opportunity of re-asserting their supremacy upon the high seas, and even threatened the coast of France; communication with Brazil and Africa was given up, and Barbary corsairs ruined the commerce of Marseilles. The trade with the Levant appears alone to have escaped. Owing to the

continued importation of precious metals into Europe, prices went on rising, while France, whose commerce was paralysed, was unable to obtain her share of the mediums of exchange by legitimate means. The Chancellor l'Hôpital advised protection; other remedies suggested were the adoption of a maximum price, edicts against money, the enactment of sumptuary laws, the substitution of the crown for the *livre* as a money of account. The cause of the evil lay deeper. The disasters of the times, and the ruin of foreign commerce, drove money into the hands of aliens, and induced those who possessed it to conceal it. Still, in spite of these dark days, something was done to secure uniformity of commercial legislation, and of unity of weights and measures throughout France.

When Henry IV. ascended the throne, in 1589, he had many wounds to heal. Six years later he wrote to the aldermen of the towns that the greater part of the land of France was desert and uncultivated, so that it scarcely supplied what was necessary for the support of the people. In 1601 a large part of France was still overrun by wolves, which had increased so much since the war as to be dangerous to the population. Paris was filled with beggars, whose appearance formed a strange contrast to the splendour of the court and the nobility. In several provinces the peasants, anticipating the excesses of the great Revolution, organised themselves in bands, burned *châteaux*, and slaughtered the landed gentry. In the abeyance of the royal authority irregular tolls had increased so much as to be a serious hindrance to commerce. French seas were surrendered to the enterprise of the English, the Flemish, and the Dutch. The course of trade had deserted a country in which property was so insecure, and had sought other channels. Notwithstanding these misfortunes the taxes were very heavy. Sully reckons the royal taxes at not less than 46 millions of francs. M. Pigeonneau calculates that, at the end of the sixteenth century, the taxes of all kinds could not have been less than 3*l.* a head on the whole population, and that in an age when the easy and well-to-do classes were almost entirely exempt from taxation. The period of improvement is marked by the assembly of the notables at Rouen, in 1596. Henry was indeed the monarch of the people. The wish that every peasant might have a fowl in his pot is characteristic, even if it be not true. He had lived among the peasantry from his boyhood; as king he stopped and spoke to everyone whom he met, asked them where they were going and whence

they were coming, what wares they were carrying, and what was the price of them. If his courtiers rebuked him he replied that a king would be ashamed of himself if he did not know the value of a crown, and that, for his part, he desired to know the value of a farthing, and what trouble these poor people had taken to attain it, in order that he might not tax them beyond their capacity. He was assisted in this policy by two powerful adjutants, Sully and Olivier de Serres. Sully was dominated, but was not misled, by the mercantile theory. He held that the best way to enrich a country was to attract gold and silver to it, and to prevent them from going out of it. At the same time, he declared that agriculture and stock-breeding were the two breasts from which France was suckled, its true mines and treasures of Peru. He knew that the best way to attract the precious metals to France was by producing commodities for exportation, and the best method of keeping them was by encouraging thrift and making the country self-supporting. What Sully did for the finances in general, Olivier de Serres did for agriculture in particular. He preceded Arthur Young by two hundred years, and his life resembles that of his successor. The greater part of it was spent at his property of Pradel, in the Vivarais, in the practice of agriculture, and the remainder was employed in teaching the theories which he had formed from experience. The 'Théâtre de l'Agriculture' is, in some sense, the homologue and the companion of the 'Traicté de l'Œconomie Politique.' Olivier de Serres spoke, like Virgil in his 'Georgics,' to the country gentlemen of his age. Louis XI. wished to supplant the aristocrat by the man of the middle class. Francis I. wished to attract the nobility to revolve as satellites round the central luminary of the sovereign. Henry IV. desired that the nobles should live on their estates, and should form a means of communication between the cottage and the throne.

We have already said that one of the first acts of Montchrestien, after his return from England, was to establish in Normandy a manufactory for the production of superior workman's tools. The working of French mines had been one of the principal preoccupations of Sully. They had fallen into great neglect during the religious wars, and France was obliged to obtain its fine steel from Piedmont, its heavy metal work from Germany, and its tin, copper, and lead from England. By an edict, issued in 1601, mines were placed under the care of the State, and subjected to a minute supervision, a tithe of the profits going to the Crown. By

the close of the reign of Henry IV. these measures had produced most salutary effects, so that French products could hold their own with those of Germany and other nations. It would be tedious to enumerate the different departments of industry in which a similar result was produced. The activity of Sully was devoted to still larger enterprises. He aimed at improving communications, reconstructing the customs, establishing protection against foreign and the exportation of home industries, the reorganisation of the mercantile marine, the signing of commercial treaties with foreign nations, and, above all, the creation of a Greater France, that his country might not be left behind in that struggle for expansion which then, as now, occupied the attention of European nations. The royal roads were restored, and levelled, and planted with trees, which might serve in time of need for military purposes. These roads, which would vie with the best in Europe, were traversed by public coaches, which carried passengers and goods at fixed prices from one end of the country to the other. Similar arrangements were made for water-carriage. Great canals, to join the Atlantic with the Mediterranean, were projected and traced, although they were not finally executed till just before the Revolution. A treaty of commerce, which had long been in negotiation, was signed with James I., in 1606, just after the Gunpowder Plot. Similar agreements were concluded with the Porte, with Morocco, and with the towns of the Hansa. Such difficulties arose with Spain that Henry IV. was obliged to renounce all intercourse with that kingdom and with the Low Countries; but, by the mediation of England, matters were placed upon their ancient footing. At the same time the colonisation of Canada was vigorously resumed. Quebec was founded in July, 1608, and Champlain, whose name is stamped indelibly on the map of North America, received his first commission from Henry IV. Perhaps no period of French history has witnessed greater progress than these fifteen years. Henry IV. found agriculture ruined; he left it not only restored but flourishing. National industry could scarcely be said to exist at the beginning of his reign; at its close the nation was self-sufficing, not only for its necessities, but for its luxuries. Henry found French trade in the hands of foreigners; he succeeded to a kingdom without roads, without ships, without colonies, without money. All these defects he either remedied himself, or showed how they might be provided for by future sovereigns. Such were the enter-

prises and the projects which were cut short by the knife of Ravaillac.

Shortly after this disaster appeared the treatise of Montchrestien, dedicated to the young king Louis XIII. and his mother Mary of Medici. In five years they had already been able to undo much of the work of the great Henry. Montchrestien not only advised a return of a wise policy, but he anticipated the work of Richelieu and Colbert. The reader will now be in a position to understand the spirit and bearing of his recommendations. The treatise of Montchrestien is divided into four books. The first has reference to manufactures, the best means of encouraging them, and the workmen by whom they are carried on. The second book treats of commerce, both internal and external, of protection and free trade, of the medium of exchange. The third is devoted to commerce and colonisation, while the fourth deals with the general duties of the sovereign. According to Montchrestien the two most important industries of France are agriculture and the iron manufacture. The wealth of a country, he says, does not depend on the extent of its territory nor on the size of its population, but in the fact that no portion of land is left unemployed, and that each is appropriated to that kind of cultivation which suits it best. He tells us that although France has large numbers of labourers engaged in tilling the soil, the State does not at present do its best either to encourage them or to give them the instruction which they most require, or to stimulate them to that emulation which is the best course of activity amongst men. Also that in metallurgy France has five hundred thousand artisans living like salamanders in the midst of fire, but has allowed other nations to borrow from her and to get beyond her. Everything, he says, should be done to encourage this industry. Frenchmen should use their own products, and, if necessary, prohibit their exportation. They should also protect their manufactures. The scythes used in France were to a large extent from foreign countries, such as Germany and Lorraine. They are not so good as the French scythes, but are twice as cheap. Yet the French scythe-makers are dying of hunger. Why not allow French artisans to make what scythes they please, and compete on equal terms? German scythes are cheap because the market is glutted. Yet half of them are of no use, and are made of iron instead of steel. Montchrestien applies similar arguments to the manufacture of hats, linens, woollens, silks, and leathers. His general remedy is protection. In the Spanish wool imported from

Flanders you find, he tells us, five and twenty or thirty pounds of stone wrapped up in the wool, and the wool itself full of sand. Indeed the Spaniards, after washing the sheep, make them roll themselves in sand, which not only increases the weight of the fleece but rots the wool. All foreign wool should be examined before it is sold, and indeed is done at Lyons. 'Are we blind or mad to allow foreigners to sell their faulty 'and ill-conditioned cloth in the public exchange, whereas our 'own is compelled to keep the shop. These very English who 'drive us out of our markets have learnt the trade from us. 'The Flemings have been wise enough to prohibit the im-'portation of English cloth.' Montchrestien remarks that there is a tendency amongst all people to prefer foreign productions to their own. In the London exchange you may hear men crying, 'French combs,' 'French garters,' 'French girdles,' which are all of good English manufacture. The French not only allow the English to import cloth, but to bring it already dyed, and that sometimes with indigo, whereas it is well known that woad is the only foundation for a good sound blue. This should never be permitted, for it will ruin French dyers. It is a great mistake to allow the importation of foreign books, since the home trade employs about fifty thousand hands in France. French publishers would not become very rich; but foreign teaching poisons the mind and corrupts the morals, and sows evil seed in innocent hearts. Besides a multitude of books is not a good thing. Even in France copyrights should not be prolonged beyond four or six years.

Another important matter, he tells us, is the encouragement of technical education, in which France has much to learn from the example of Switzerland and Germany. The poor children should be collected, the sexes separated, and all kinds of manufactures taught them. Excellent examples of these schools are found in Holland. Also the apprenticing of poor children may produce good results. The poor should not be allowed to die of hunger, but should be gathered into workhouses and taken care of. 'Also for the purpose 'of valid protection we require a good police; and where 'can we find a better example of this than in England, 'where all foreign merchandise is confiscated, and those who 'import it are subject to heavy fines?' Thus a citizen of Rouen, living in London, who did a large contraband trade, was thrown into prison more than twenty times in two years, until, at last, he had to put an end to both his trade and his sojourn. 'Each country ought to maintain its own

'people. In Lyons, no one who is not a citizen is allowed to 'be employed before one who is. The welfare of the people 'is the supreme law, and everything must give way to that.' Montchrestien's ideal with regard to the industry of a country is to make the fullest possible use of every advantage which it possesses, whether in men, soil, or natural products, and to remove all influences which may compete with or impede the full developement of these resources.

The book entitled 'Commerce' treats of the relations of France with foreign countries. Montchrestien gives, in passing, an interesting picture of the City of London as he had found it. He says:—

'If any nation has restricted trade for its own profit, and inclosed it, as it were, within narrow bounds, it is without doubt the English nation, and principally the City of London, the capital of the kingdom, where the greatest business of the country is carried on. The result is, that the greater part of these men consider that whatever they do not gain they lose. All the laws of the kingdom are directed to the attainment of wealth, both by the citizen and by the State. That is the meaning of the oath—never to do a kindness to any stranger, whether an ally or not; and I approve of it, if it be, as some of them interpret it, to the prejudice and against the interest of their State. Otherwise it is worse than barbarous. In this town all traders are comprised in twenty-four guilds, each of which has an alderman. All those who wish to direct affairs of commerce must acquire the rights and privileges of one of the companies under a freedman by a service of seven years, the laws of which are very strict and rigorous. Each guild has its special hall and merchandise specially attached to it. There is also a head, who is called warden. Kings and queens enter these guilds, and are incorporated into one of them, of which they are made free, and the noblemen of the country follow their example. From the aldermen of whom I have spoken the Mayor of London is elected every year—a great and venerable magistrate, it is said the second of the kingdom. To this dignity, conferred by the body of the merchants, persons of low extraction aspire, and obtain riches gained by commerce.'

Montchrestien complains, in contrast to this, that in the France of his day all profitable employments fall into the hands of foreigners. While the brightest spirits of France are amusing themselves in palaces, devouring or being devoured, desirous only to fleece everyone and to wear fine clothes, foreigners are found discharging merchandise on the quays, conducting business in the exchange, buying up cloth and linen in the market. While young Frenchmen are sweating for their pleasure in a tennis court, winning or losing money, or squandering in a university the property

which their fathers have had much difficulty in acquiring, foreigners are thronging our country-houses, writing letters, and drawing up bills. He recommends that the same stringent measures should be enforced against aliens in France as are extended against Frenchmen in foreign countries.

His remarks about the coin of the realm are very sensible. He says that the best way of preventing falsification is to secure that the gold and silver coinage should be as pure as possible. This, however, is only a digression. He soon returns to his main grievance of 'fair trade.' No French cloths, he says, may be imported into England under pain of confiscation. On the other hand, the English bring into France as much cloth as they please, and in such large quantities that French workmen are compelled to follow another trade and often to beg their bread. In Ireland French traders are treated worse than in Turkey or Barbary. In that country the English only pay a duty of forty-five sous, whereas the French have to pay four francs and a half. There is also a difference of weights. A Frenchman buying goods in England takes them at the weight settled by the seller; on the other hand, if he sells goods he must use the royal weights, whereas in France royal weights are obligatory for every kind of transaction. In the matter of wines the purveyor of the king of England takes all the best of the produce at his own price, and leaves the merchant to make his profit out of what is left. Also every Frenchman on entering England is obliged to pay a tribute of five sous, and one of thirty sous when he leaves. If he cannot pay, his cloak is frequently torn off his back. In France, on the contrary, foreigners enter and leave the country without restraint. Also in England the *droit d'aubaine* is in force, which confiscates to the sovereign the property of any foreigner dying within his dominions, whereas in France the right has been abolished. Frenchmen are also subject to a summary process of arrest in England, which is often enforced with great harshness. Montchrestien pleads for an equal reciprocity in all these matters. The same state of things is found to exist in the relations between France and Spain.

Another interesting topic is that of fisheries, which were then so much neglected that French waters were fished by foreigners. The Dutch, he tells us, employ two thousand vessels in the herring fishery, and they catch their fish off the French coasts, and cod as well. They have ships fitted with wells to bring the fish alive to shore, and arrangements

for salting them as soon as they reach the quays. The only reason why Dutch fish sell better than French is that they are dressed with better salt. The French could easily compete with the Dutch if they took sufficient pains. It is not abundance of gold and silver, and a quantity of pearls and diamonds, says Montchrestien, which make the wealth and happiness of a country, but the amount of necessaries and luxuries which they will purchase. Nor is it the existence of numerous armies or of heaps of treasure that preserves a kingdom, but faithful subjects, who cannot be constrained by force or turned aside from their duty by violence, and who cannot be corrupted by bribes. Where the prince and his subjects perform their mutual duties, the one of command and the other of obedience, the State, by this harmony of goodwill, abides in peace and concord.

In the third book Montchrestien does his best to inspire the young monarch with the desire to emulate the glories of his father's reign in colonisation and in the mastery of the seas. Listen to these stirring words :—

'You have an advantage, sire, which no prince in the world can rival. This France of yours by herself could drown and cover the whole globe with men. And with what men? Men invincible, bearing arms which no one could resist. If you could but for one moment recognise your strength, and feel your heart as duty orders, and hope suggests, the bravest will pale with fear, and will be eclipsed. Palestine will not have enough palms, nor Greece sufficient laurels, to crown your brow. You have better reason for well-doing than any monarch in the world ever had. Asia is waiting for you, and the ocean opens to you her arms.'

He recommends a seafaring life as the best cure for the luxury and effeminacy of the age. He recalls (with some slight straining of the facts of history) the memory of Urban de Braquemont, admiral of France, who sent Jean de Béthencourt with a fleet, equipped at his own expense, to discover and conquer in his name the seven Canary Islands; but he whom he left in charge sold them to Prince Henry of Portugal, the Navigator; also of Verazzano, the pilot of Francis I., and of Jacques Cœur, of whom we have already spoken.

'You have,' he says, referring to the two seas which bathe the coasts of France, 'two great roads open for the acquisition of glory; one which carries you directly against the Turks and unbelievers, who are becoming weaker every day as they are becoming less pure in blood; and the other which opens a broad highway to the people whom you may please to send into the new world, where you may plant and propagate more than one New France. Each of these enterprises is only to be approached by the channel of navigation.'

By every kind of appeal he urges the queen-mother and her son to nerve themselves to the expansion of France.

'If the base passions of ambition, covetousness, the desire of vengeance, or the pressure of superior force, have in ancient times driven people to seek new abodes, surely we may now obey the voice of a higher mandate. It is prophesied that the word of God shall extend over the whole earth, and that is daily being accomplished. The harvest is rich and reapers alone are needed. Do not let us be troubled by the length and difficulty of the way, for all roads lead to heaven. Do not let us shudder at the abyss of waters, for He who walked the waves can sustain and guide us by his hand. If we must carry arms to plant the service of God, let us remember the children of Israel, who rebuilt the Temple with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other. If we are deaf to the voice of conscience and of honour, let us listen to the call of interest.'

The fourth and concluding book is a general exhortation on the duties of the sovereign. Montchrestien urges the young prince to preserve with great care the rights of the Gallican Church, to distinguish carefully between what does and what does not belong to Cæsar, and to prevent any interference of the Church in affairs of State. Next he is to apply himself to the improvement of morality. In old times the higher, the mean, and the lower justice was to be found in every family: the father had power of life and death over his children, the lord over his serfs, and the husband over his wife in certain cases. Now that all this has come to an end, the sovereign can alone supply the defect. Montchrestien recommends the institution of an order of merit, which shall be used for the reward of virtuous conduct, and he concludes by the defence of an equal system of justice.

The doctrines of Montchrestien were to bear their fruit in the administration of Richelieu and Colbert. History has paid far greater attention to the destructive than to the constructive side of Richelieu's policy; to his abasement of Spain and Austria than to the stimulus he gave to commercial and to colonial trade. He crushed the Huguenots, but he did not revoke the Edict of Nantes; he overthrew the nobility as enemies of the Crown, but he restored the nobles as a support of the royal authority; he was ready to wrestle with the parliaments, but he did not fail to respect their constitutional importance. M. Funck-Brentano considers him to have been the greatest statesman who ever governed in France. Richelieu inaugurated his new commercial policy at the assembly of notables held in Paris in 1626. He

restored the former regulations for the manufacture of silk, cloth, linen, and cotton. He obliged foreign artisans established in France to take French apprentices; foreign cloths were excluded to encourage home industries; wine and corn were only to be exported when the necessities of France were supplied; encouragement was given to men of noble birth to engage in foreign trade; the fleets trading to the Indies and to the Levant were to be convoyed by ships of war; marine schools were to be established in the sea-towns of France at the king's expense; Frenchmen were forbidden to serve on foreign vessels. At the same time a reciprocity of taxation was introduced, and, lastly, a kind of Navigation Act was passed, which prohibited all French merchandise, except salt, to be exported in foreign bottoms, unless there were no French ship in port. Although these regulations were resisted by the parliaments, and only came into force by degrees, they accurately expressed the policy of the great Cardinal on these matters.

Richelieu held the post of minister of commerce and navigation, so that he was principally concerned with traffic by sea. This did not prevent him from extending the canalisation of France, begun by Henry IV., repairing the roads, and reorganising the system of posts. By an edict of 1635 this was made a royal monopoly. His chief strength, however, was thrown into the work of colonisation. For this purpose it was necessary to improve the French seaports, both on the Mediterranean and on the ocean. Some of these plans were interrupted by the Cardinal's death; the foundation of great colonising companies was rendered difficult by the interference of the parliaments, and the schemes of Richelieu were left to be concluded by Colbert.

It would carry us too far afield to enter upon the career of Colbert, but enough has been said to show that the treatise of Montchrestien did not remain without results. Written at a time when the public spirit of France was at a low ebb, animated by ample knowledge of the capacities of the nation, and by a tone of fine enthusiasm, it pointed the way in which progress should be made. Those who read it now should forget the narrow Protectionism which it inculcates—a policy better suited for those times than for ours—and should fix their attention on the ardent desire to make the fullest use of every capacity with which Nature had endowed the country, and the sincere and devoted patriotism which lives along its eloquent pages.

ART. VII.—1. *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes.* Par ANATOLE LEROY-BEAULIEU. Tome IV.: La Religion. Paris: 1889.

2. *La Russie Orthodoxe et Protestante.* Par F. DE ROUGEMONT. Genève: 1863.

3. *Russisches Christenthum.* Dargestellt nach russischen Angaben von VICTOR FRANK. Paderborn: 1889.

4. *Russische Sectirer.* By Dr. VON GERBEL-EMBACH. Heilbronn: 1883.

5. *La Russie Sectaire.* Par TSAKNI. Paris: 1887.

6. *Russische Leute.* By F. DERNBURG. Berlin: 1885.

7. *Geschichtsbilder aus der lutherischen Kirche Livlands.* By VON HARLESS. Leipzig: 1869.

8. *Rapport du Général Comte Bobrinski à S. M. I.* Texte Russe, accompagné d'une traduction française. Berlin: 1870.

9. *Rechtskraft und Rechtsbruch der liv- und esthländischen Privilegien.* Leipzig: 1887.

10. *Offenes Sendschreiben an H. C. Oberprocureur K. Pobedonoszeff.* By DALTON. Leipzig: 1889.

RELIGIOUS liberty is not tantamount to liberty of conscience. Despotism may prevent the expression of religious feelings distasteful to the ruling powers of a commonwealth; it may kill, torture, or expel those who give vent to certain opinions; it may, by fear or enticement, elicit a verbal confession of a certain creed; but it is powerless as to the innermost convictions of the individual. Ferdinand and Isabella could force the Moriscos to profess Christianity, but the tombstones of the converted give evidence in Hebrew language that they remained Jews at heart.

Practically considered, religious liberty means the freedom of the individual to give public expression to his religious creed, to unite with members of the same persuasion for public worship and fellowship, and to live up to his religious convictions. It is, therefore, evident that religious liberty does not and cannot exist where the State identifies itself exclusively with a certain creed to which it enforces compliance. It was unknown to all antiquity. Greeks and Romans deemed it a civil duty to worship the gods of the State in the prescribed manner. Disrespect to them was resistance to the law of the State and a felony. Socrates

died for having tried to introduce new gods. It is the same with Islam in our own days: in the Koran civil and religious law are inseparably blended; the unbeliever can never enjoy the same rights as the Mussulman. That principle was equally applied by the Catholic religion of the Middle Ages; the heretic was a public criminal, and, as such, punished by the State. The Reformation and the struggles that followed it made a large breach in that system, but they did not ensure religious liberty. The freedom of public worship remained confined to certain religious creeds. Catholicism was proscribed in England, Holland, Scandinavia, and part of the German States. Protestantism was stamped out in Austria, Spain, Bavaria, the Italian States, and, later on, in France. Humanity has, indeed, required a long time to realise the principle of religious liberty. In the eighteenth century—called the age of enlightenment—there was scarcely a country in Europe where dissent from the established religion did not involve civil disabilities of some kind; but to-day the battle is won in every State which claims to be civilised. The State has certainly the right to forbid practices offending public morality under the pretext of religious opinions, such as polygamy or slavery. The British Government, while maintaining perfect impartiality as to the different creeds of its subjects in India, and even respecting their prejudices, has suppressed suttee and human sacrifices, and has enforced the peaceful co-existence of Hindoos and Mahomedans. But, if the State claims to uphold religious liberty, it must give free scope to all creeds within legal limits, and must not allow any religious persuasion to be the cause of civil disabilities.

Even thus defined, religious liberty is not complete. Religious belief is so powerful a factor in the mental constitution of men, that it not only forms the closest bond of human brotherhood, but inevitably strives to extend itself by drawing others into the same fellowship. Every living creed, therefore, tends to propagandism. When the Sanhedrim commanded the apostles 'not to speak at all or to 'teach in the name of Jesus,' Peter and John answered, 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto 'you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but 'speak the things which we have seen and heard.'—(Acts iv. 19, 20.) By that principle of propagandism the Christian Church conquered in spite of all persecution; and ever since it has been the same with every creed which is convinced of its truth. We want to make others participate in what we

have recognised to be true: a religious community which renounces missionary activity is dead or petrified. The only limit to that tendency is that it should be done by the spiritual means of persuasion. In former times, indeed, Christian sovereigns propagated the Gospel by the sword, as Charlemagne did in Northern Germany; and the principle of Islam is to this day, 'Make war upon the infidels till 'they believe in the Prophet, or submit to paying poll-tax.' But, in States which claim to be civilised, the days of forcible conversion are gone. They admit only of peaceful propagandism, and that activity is protected as the necessary complement of religious liberty.

These are the principles admitted by the civilised world since the Pontifical State ceased to exist. At the Congress of Berlin, 1878, religious liberty was made a condition of the independence of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, and imposed on the tributary principality of Bulgaria. But how is it with the huge empire which covers nearly the whole east of Europe and a large part of Asia? Does religious liberty exist in Russia? In an article of the 'Contemporary 'Review' of February 1889, 'A Cask of Honey with a 'Spoonful of Tar,' Madame Novikoff has undertaken to answer that question in the affirmative; we shall try to prove by facts that this is utterly false, and that we witness to-day, in Russia, a religious persecution such as has scarcely existed since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.

To that end we must first consider the position of the Russian Orthodox Church; and, secondly, how the persecution of the dissenting creeds in the Empire is exercised.

The Russian Orthodox Church is an offset of the Byzantine Church. Since the first expedition of Oleg, Rurik's son, against Constantinople in 907, the mutual relations between Greeks and Russians had remained very active, the emperor, Leo VI., having been obliged to grant to the latter large commercial privileges. They thus learnt to know the Greek Church, and were attracted by the pomp of its service. Still more important was the circumstance that already, about 850, the Slav apostles, Cyrillus and Methodius, by translating the Bible and the Greek ritual for the Moravians, had given the Slavs a lettered idiom and enlarged their language by many ideas which were foreign to them. Thus, the Greek Church and the language of St. Cyril were known to the Russians even before their conversion. We hear first of a Christian community at Kiew. Then, in 957, Olga, the

widow of Igor, Oleg's son, on a journey to Constantinople, in 957, with a large number of considerable men, embraced Christianity; the conversion of her grandson, Wladimir, decided its victory in Russia.

The Byzantine Patriarchate did not know how to exercise the great and salutary part of the Papacy in Western Europe. It was a prisoner of the Empire, and tried to make up for its serfdom by drawing profit from the conquests of the secular power. The Greek priests arrived in Bulgaria and Servia in the rear of the Imperial troops, and treated those populations as conquered; nay, after the Turkish invasion, the Greek Cross proved more oppressive than the Crescent. In Russia the course was different. In the beginning, indeed, this Church appears to be a province of that of Constantinople. The Greek monks, who were the chief instruments of the conversion, monopolised the higher ecclesiastical offices. The Metropolitan, residing at Kiew, was named by the Patriarch of Byzantium, and Russians were, at the most, admitted to the diaconate. Gradually, however, native Russians also rose to higher ecclesiastical places, from which the Greeks were, one after the other, excluded. The link with Byzantium was still enfeebled by the Mongol invasion, during which the political centre was transported from Kiew first to Wladimir, then to Moscow. Whilst the princes were the humble servants of the Tartar Khans, and the people sank under the hard oppression of the barbarian conquerors, the higher clergy were the only representatives of culture who maintained the national traditions. When the country was broken up into separate principalities, it might, as Herzen puts it, 'from divided have become dispersed but 'for the religious tie.' The shaking off of the Mongol yoke, and the rise of autocracy, led to severing the last connexion with Byzantium. Boris Godunow, 1587, raised the Metropolitan dignity to that of an autonomous patriarchate, and the Patriarch of Constantinople acknowledged its parity with his own dignity. Nay, the other Patriarchs of the Eastern Church praised it, as a fortunate circumstance, that there was now a Patriarch who was free from all foreign dominion whilst all his brethren were under the Mussulman yoke. The Patriarch of Moscow, at that time, was a powerful personage—a sort of Mikado—who, at the same time, identified himself with the national idea. The public acts bore the signature of the Patriarch as well as that of the Czar. It was a fortunate chance for Russia that the hierarchy was strongly organised, when shortly afterwards, in consequence

of the extinction of the house of Rurik, the civil power was weakened by the anarchy of usurpers. It helped to save Russia from internal dissolution, and presided over the establishment of the Romanows. When, for instance, in 1610, the Poles invaded Russia, and even took possession of Moscow, it was the octogenarian Patriarch, Hermogenes, who roused the people to resistance. He paid for his courage by a terrible death, but Moscow was delivered. In 1669, Little Russia, which, under the Mongol invasion, had fallen under the Lithuano-Polish dominion, was conquered. With the political union fell the rival Orthodox Patriarchate of Kiew. Thus the Russian Church was reconstituted in its unity and enlarged by the reunion of the Ukraine and by the submission of the Cossacks, both principally achieved by the influence of the Patriarch Nikon.

But if the national Russian Church was thus firmly constituted on the other hand, serious drawbacks were not wanting. It was entirely cut off from any contact with the Christian civilisation of Western Europe, the reforms of the great monks of Cluny, the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, the crusades, the era of the great councils, the Renaissance, the Reformation and its reaction on the Catholic Church—all these events, which exercised a paramount influence on the life of Western Christianity, left the Russian Church entirely untouched; the attempts to re-establish the union of the Eastern and the Roman Church at the councils of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1434) proved abortive; thus the ecclesiastical authority in Russia had nothing to lean upon when the autocracy of the Czar was firmly established and turned against its spiritual foster-mother. The same Nikon whose reign marks the height of patriarchal power also saw its decline in a struggle with the Czar Alexis, in which the Patriarch maintained the superiority of the ecclesiastical authority in a spirit worthy of Gregory VII. He was summoned, by the influence of his enemies, the Boyars, before a council, which deposed and exiled him to a convent. The episcopate itself abandoned its chief. Henceforth the supremacy of the State in the Church was established.

But the patriarchate of Nikon was also fatal in another way. The mass books and rituals had for centuries swarmed with the errors and corruptions of ignorant copyists, so that by and by the old doctrines of the Greek Church were substantially altered. Under the Mongol dominion the people which had adopted Christianity by order, but had remained

at heart half heathen, were cut off from the civilising influence of Byzantium, and had sunk intellectually and materially; there were no schools, and only exceptionally was a priest acquainted with reading and writing. An attempt of Czar Wassili Ivanovitch (1505–33) to have the faulty Russian texts corrected by a learned monk from Mount Athos, Maxentius, who carefully reduced them to the Greek originals, failed by the violent opposition of the clergy, so that the Czar was compelled to exile Maxentius to a convent as a 'spoiler of the ecclesiastical texts.' Czar Iwan IV. was not more successful, and only the powerful personality of Nikon, with the help of the preponderating majority of the ecclesiastical dignitaries and of the State effected a revision of the rituals which re-established the old doctrines. But a large part of the people stoutly resisted that reform. When all attempts at an understanding had failed, the very council which deposed Nikon declared the adherents of the old rites founded on spurious texts to be heretics, and formally excluded them from the communion of the Church (May 13, 1667). The points of difference which brought about this schism appear, considered from a Western standard, of an extraordinarily subordinate and purely external nature. They consist in various modes of making the cross, in differences of writing the name of Jesus, in various forms of the Host, in differences with regard to the number of repetitions of the Amen or Hallelujah, &c.—in short, externals, which could only be of weight to a people knowing but little of the moral importance of religious life. The old ritualistic forms were regarded as magical ceremonies apt to lose their virtue by the slightest alteration.* And so firmly did the people cling to these forms that armed insurrections broke out in defence of what they called their ancient faith. These movements were put down with the utmost rigour, but this bloody persecution only increased the importance of the schismatics, who began to seek martyrdom with enthusiasm.†

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* 'Il semble que pour ce peuple le prêtre fût resté une sorte de 'chaman, les cérémonies des enchantements, et toute la religion une 'sorcellerie.' (Leroy-Beaulieu, p. 330.) The old heathen usages are still resorted to by the rural population in case of the cattle-plague, curiously associated with the worship of Christian images borne in procession, whilst the plague, personified in a straw mannikin, is buried with a cat or a dog. (Ibid. p. 41.)

† One of the leaders of the 'old faithful,' the Starowerzy as they

Such was the origin of the Raskol, which to this day plays a conspicuous part in the religious life of Russia, and has deprived the official Church of its influence over a great part of the nation. That schism was the beginning of religious persecution, though previously the Russian, like all Oriental Churches, had been distinguished by its tolerance, and thereby presented a favourable contrast to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, especially in the neighbouring Polish empire, where the reformation had been put down by torrents of blood.

At the same time the schism increased the dependence of the Church upon the civil power, to which it was obliged to have recourse in order to put down the sectarians. Thus the patriarchate was already much weakened before Peter the Great aimed at it the final blow. Its suppression, as M. Leroy-Beaulieu observes, was a condition of the success of his other reforms, because it still represented the old national traditions, opposed to the sweeping changes by which he was resolved to transform the whole empire. He remembered the conflict of his father with Nikon; his sister Sophia, who resisted his reforms, leaned upon the Strelitzians, belonging to the old faith. He had in his travels adopted the perversion of the Protestant doctrine of the supreme episcopate vested in the sovereign, and resolved to apply it to Russia, 'because otherwise the people would look more to the 'supreme pastor than to the supreme monarch.' The autocracy was to have no spiritual rival, the Church should no more form a state within the State: therefore he first substituted for the patriarch an exarch; then, when the higher clergy had been accustomed to the absence of the former highest ecclesiastical authority, and had been filled with his nominees, he established by his 'spiritual regulation' the holy directing Synod, a body completely dependent upon the Czar. The episcopate was too weak to resist, they accepted the change, and even ratified it by their signature. Moreover, this overthrow of the old ecclesiastical constitution was acknowledged by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who declared that the synod established by Peter 'is our brother 'in Christ, and has power equal to the four holy apostolical 'patriarchates.' But whilst the clergy and the higher classes

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call themselves, Awakum, who was banished to the convent of Solowetzk on the White Sea, persuaded its monks to join in his opposition, and defied the troops of the Czar in that convent for seven years. Finally he was burnt alive in 1681; Nikito Pustoswjat, Prince Chowanski, and others, were beheaded.

submitted to this ecclesiastical revolution, it strengthened the resistance of those adhering to the old faith. If their opposition against Nikon's reforms had the character of a national reaction, it was much more so with Peter's reforms, which inundated the country with foreigners, introduced Western customs and slighted all national traditions. They abhorred Peter's measures as the work of Antichrist, considered subjection to the power of those holding sway as an abomination to the Lord, shut themselves up more and more narrowly against the outer world, and even the most sweeping persecution of the Czar only hardened them in their resistance to what they thought cowardly concessions to the reign of Satan.

The reform introduced by Peter and completed by Catherine II.'s measure of secularising the property of the Church and paying the clergy by the State, has remained the constitution of the Russian Church. The Czar is not indeed the head of the hierarchy,* he would never think of interfering with the creed, the service, or liturgy, as it has often been done by Protestant sovereigns; he is even in the Orthodox catechism simply called 'principal curator and protector of 'the Church,' but he is not the less its absolute master. The holy Synod is simply an administrative body for ecclesiastical affairs. A ukase of Peter of May 9, 1722, declared that for such affairs it should have the same power as the Senate for civil affairs. By the oath taken by its members, they swear to be faithful and obedient servants and subjects of their natural and true lord, and confess that the Emperor of all the Russias is the highest judge of this spiritual Synod. The real power is vested in the hands of the high procurator, who is always a civilian and sometimes has been a soldier, such as General Protassow under Nicholas I.; he can veto any resolution of the Synod, and none is valid without his signature; he is the only middleman between the assembly and the emperor, with whom the ultimate decision rests; all propositions for conferring ecclesiastical dignities are submitted to the Czar by him, the prelates are merely his obedient tools. The Synod sitting only twice a week, a large number of affairs are settled by him alone. Although the

* It is said that when the clergy asked for a new patriarch, Peter I., beating his breast, replied, 'This is your patriarch.' (Hermann, 'Geschichte des Russischen Staates,' iv., p. 350.) But, as Leroy-Beaulieu observes, even if the report is true, such sallies are not to be taken literally.

metropolitans of St. Petersburg, Kiew, and Moscow are *de jure* members of the Synod, the latter, when he once dared to differ from Nicholas I.'s opinion, was immediately sent back to his diocese, whereby he ceased to participate in the Synod.*

Without going into the details of its organisation, we may now realise what the Russian Church is. It is the most centralised and absolute Cæsaro-Papacy in the world, and just as subjected to the civil power as the latter was subjected to the Church in the theocracy of the former Pontifical State. The autocrat Czar, in whose person all civil power is concentrated, by his coronation at the Kremlin, the national sanctuary, is the supreme lord of orthodoxy. The consecration is a sort of ordination, which confers on the sovereign the divine enlightenment for accomplishing his providential mission. The Church, which presides at this ceremony, must recollect the character which by this proceeding has been conferred upon the anointed of the Lord. It yearly launches its anathemas against those who hold that the Orthodox monarch is not elevated by a special dispensation of God to the throne, and that the gifts of the Holy Ghost for accomplishing his great mission are not infused by the consecration.

At the same time, the Church has remained a purely national institution; the device of Nicholas I., 'Autocracy, 'orthodoxy, nationality,' is still acknowledged and acted upon by the great majority of the people; for them Russian and Orthodox are tantamount; a speaker addressing a meeting begins by 'Orthodox!' just as we begin a speech by 'Gentle-'men.' If the government or party leaders want to raise the national enthusiasm, they begin by appealing to the faith of the people; every war against the Porte was represented as a crusade against the infidels for liberating the orthodox brethren under the Mussulman yoke. Even all other European nations are considered heretics. A proclamation of the holy synod of 1848 closed with the words, 'Hearken, ye heathen, 'and submit, for with us is God.' This is the more curious as there is perhaps no country where the higher classes are so profoundly indifferent and sceptical on all religious questions as in Russia. In good society you never meet, with certain exceptions, a clergyman of the Greek Church. The intellectual and moral life, the culture and the developement of the reigning classes remain perfectly untouched by the influence of orthodoxy. It is only twice a year that, according to

* Dolgorukow, 'La Vérité sur la Russie.' Paris: 1860, p. 344.

custom, priests are received in every orthodox house; at Epiphany the clergymen of the respective parish churches make the tour of the houses in their district, in order to bless the families. As soon as they have finished their ritual and singing, the head of the family hands them their fee, varying from ten to fifty roubles, whereupon they speedily depart. The second case is the breakfast on Easter Sunday, at which the pope, proffering his congratulations, is admitted. All attempts made in recent times to raise the influence of the clergy on the cultivated classes have proved abortive.* Nevertheless, this does not prevent them from respecting the Church as a national institution. Leroy-Beaulieu tells us that at Moscow a lady said to him, 'In religion I am simply 'Christian, without being attached to any creed; my tend-'encies would be rather Protestant, but as a Russian I am 'passionately orthodox.' Nay, at the Slavonic congress in Moscow in 1869, Prince Tcherkaski declared that he preferred an orthodox atheist to a believing Roman Catholic. This is also explained by the internal character of the Orthodox Church. All the different Protestant Churches repose on a certain creed; a man belongs to the Anglican Church because he subscribes the Thirty-nine Articles, to the Lutheran Church because he adopts the Augsburg Confession. The Roman Catholic Church is a constitutional Church; you are a Catholic, not because you believe a certain set of dogmas, but because you believe in the divinely instituted hierarchy culminating in the Pope. The Orthodox Church is a liturgical Church,† the community of rites constitutes its fellowship; no question is asked about dogmatical opinions or individual religious feelings, but whoever objects to the established ritual is excluded from the Church as a heretic. The schism of the Raskol was, as we have seen, purely ritualistic, yet to this day twelve to fourteen millions of the Russian people cling to its divers forms, they prefer to be shut out from the official community, and to suffer persecution rather than to submit to what they consider as a godless innovation.

The combination of the purely liturgical character of the Russian Church and of its complete subjection to the civil

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* Aus der Petersburger Gesellschaft, 5 ed., p. 87. Leipzig: 1880.

† In a conversation with Herr Dernburg, Professor Bogdanow, of Moscow, himself a Darwinist, maintained that Russia is the most religious of all countries, that the life of the people is an unbroken chain of ecclesiastical acts, that nothing is done without making the sign of the cross, no apple or hive of honey eaten without being blessed beforehand; but all this is merely a matter of outward ceremony.

power deprives it of independent movement and free organic action to a degree of which there is scarcely an example in the general history of the Christian Church. There are no synods or conferences of the clergy, no sermons or anthems sung by the people, no centres of ecclesiastical science, a co-operation of priests and parishioners is unknown, a theological literature does not exist and cannot exist, no religious writings being allowed to be published except such as are sanctioned by the Holy Synod. When Alexander II., in 1865, abolished the preventive censorship for the press of St. Petersburg and Moscow it was expressly stated in the ukase that this liberty did not include any question touching religion. The bishop and his clergy are separated by a wide gulf; the prelate is generally an aged monk, suddenly summoned from his cell to his see by the will of the Emperor, and perfectly ignorant of administrative affairs, which, as likewise the greatest part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are delegated to the Synod and to the consistories. His principal duty is to show absolute obedience to the Czar and zeal in the suppression of heterodoxy. The lower clergy, the popes, mostly sons of priests, and married to girls of the same class, are without any protection against the arbitrary power of the bishops, wretchedly paid, obliged to cultivate their own glebe, entirely ignorant, uniformly given to drunkenness, and confine themselves to the performance of ritualistic ceremonies, such as marriages, funerals, and exorcising the houses and stables of the peasants. The pay for these performances not being fixed, there is a constant haggling for fees, and Engelgart, in his sketches 'From the 'Country,' states that the average income of a pope from these casuals is about thirty-three kopecks a day. Under such circumstances there can be no question of religious instruction and cure of souls; the popes do not know the fundamental Christian doctrines, they do not read the Bible, and they are consequently unable to contribute anything to the religious education of the people.

Now, given this condition of the Russian Church, it is self-evident that religious liberty, as defined in our introductory remarks, cannot exist in Russia, and Madame Novikoff, in denying this, either resorts to bold perversions of facts, or makes admissions which refute her own assertions. In her above-quoted article (p. 208) she says:—

'We consider every schism as a plague, whose infection has to be stamped out. We have no hankering after the ideal of possessing as many creeds as there are signposts; nor do we care to replace the

majestic fabric of our national Church by a *macédoine* of contending sects. Schism may be a virtue in the eyes of a nonconformist; as for us, we are content with one absolute truth, based on the Gospels, and explained by the seven Œcumenical Councils. Schisms, far from being commended by the Gospels, are deplored as positive sins by St. Paul. Mr. Stead remarked to Mr. Pobédonostzeff, "It seems that even the apostles would be banished from Russia if they came to preach there." To which, with his usual kind earnestness, the procurator of the Holy Synod replied, "but this which we possess *is* their doctrine; the apostles could only come to strengthen our faith, not to shake it."'

But who is to decide whether the Orthodox Church possesses this pure apostolical faith? If it is so sure of that fact, it ought to have the confidence that the preaching of other religious convictions can never touch that rock. A religious community afraid of any criticism of its creed, and forbidding missionary activity by means of peaceable persuasion, only gives a *testimonium paupertatis* to the belief in its solidity. If the apostles denounced carnal sects, who used liberty as a cloak of maliciousness, they never recommended 'to stamp out schisms' by secular arms, but simply to hold no communion with heretics. Their whole doctrine is one sermon on the text, 'Where the Spirit of the Lord 'is, there is liberty' (2 Cor. iii. 17), just as Christ Himself said, 'In My Father's house are many mansions' (John xiv. 2). The principle of stamping out religious opinions is simply that of the Inquisition, and it has not even succeeded in saving that 'majestic fabric of our national 'Church,' of which Madame Novikoff speaks, as is proved by the simple fact of the existence of the millions of the Raskolniks, who offer a Babel of contending sects worthy to side with any variety exhibited in the United States, and who even under Alexander II. have increased by nearly four millions.

Madame Novikoff says, 'We do not carry our propaganda 'into other Christian countries; but we cannot permit 'attempts to pervert others from the orthodox faith.' The first fact is true, but simply because any propaganda in Catholic or Protestant countries where the Orthodox Church has perfect liberty of controversy would be entirely unsuccessful in the face of the religious vigour of those creeds; the second fact is a virtual confession that religious liberty does not exist in Russia. She will not 'allow every quack 'soul-saver to pervert our simple-minded peasants, by filling 'their hearts with all kinds of nonsense in the name of 'religious liberty;' but the truth is, that the Orthodox Church cannot bear any competition in the care of souls,

because it does nothing itself to raise or enlighten the spiritual faith of the people. Nor do clear-sighted Russians make a secret of this. When the sincere Orthodox Aksakow asked for liberty of conscience, the historian Pogodin answered, 'That in that case half of the Orthodox peasants 'would leave the Church, and half of the masters would turn 'Catholics.' Upon which Aksakow exclaimed, 'This, then, is 'the condition of our Church as it appears in its present 'state! Really an unworthy state; not only painful, but 'horrible!'* But the fact remains that Russia is the only Christian State where not only propagandism is forbidden to other creeds and reserved to the national Church, but where even the spontaneous conversion from the latter to another creed is heavily punished by the State. That this is the case we shall see in examining how far it is true when Madame Novikoff says, 'In Russia you may be Pro-'testant, Catholic, or Mahomedan. You may practise your 'rites and worship God in your own way, and also bring 'up your children in your own creed.' From the reign of Iwan III. to this day the history of Russia has been one of constant conquest, and, in extending ever anew her frontiers in Europe and Asia, she was obliged to give a legal status to the religion of the annexed countries. Since Peter the Great at every new acquisition the czars promised to respect the religion and the public worship of their new subjects. The German was allowed to remain Protestant, the Pole Catholic, the Tartar and Khirgiz Mussulman, the Israelite Jewish. How far these promises were kept we shall see further on. But all these creeds, which, in the official language, are termed 'foreign confessions,' are only authorised for the conquered provinces and immigrated foreigners, not for the Russians of Old Russia; a Protestant or Catholic may turn Orthodox, an Orthodox dare never desert the Established Church—nay, a Jew is not allowed to turn Protestant or Catholic. In a letter to Mr. Naville, Mr. Pobedonoszeff declares:—

'That, Russia drawing her vital principle from the Orthodox creed, it is a sacred duty bequeathed to her by history, and an essential condition of her national existence, to discard from the Orthodox Church everything which might menace its security.' According to the opinion of the high procurator, in Russia the Western creeds, far from having abandoned their domineering pretensions, are always ready to attack not only the power, but even the unity of the fatherland. The

* The Moskwa, April 19, 1870.

government cannot admit the liberty of their propaganda, it will never allow the children of the Orthodox Church to be torn away from it and to be enrolled in foreign confessions. This Russia declares in her laws and confides for it in the justice of Him who alone governs the destinies of the empires.' *

It is therefore not astonishing that in the Russian code—'the 'Swod'—more than a thousand articles treat of the protection of the Church by the State and of the relations of the police to the faithful and to other creeds. The administration of the Sacraments, the forms of prayer and ceremonies in the Church and at home, are regulated by the civil and penal law just as much as the rights of foreign creeds. Every Russian is bound to confess and to receive the Sacrament once a year, and to prove by a certificate that he has done so; without that document, he can neither be a witness nor be sworn in a civil suit. He is not allowed even to change his place in church. The respective prescriptions of the Swod go into such details that an unimpeachable witness and great friend of Madame Novikoff's family—the Slavophil Aksakow, exclaimed:—

'In reading this volume, one cannot sufficiently wonder to what a degree the slightest religious action is here fenced, provided for, formulated into rules of police, and registered in articles and paragraphs. It takes away one's breath thinking to what niceties of orthodoxy the care of the police is stretched. The state providence for orthodoxy surrounds the Russian nearly from his birth, does not leave him during all his life, and extends even to the grave. Naturally the state does not ask at all that these holy duties should be fulfilled with the necessary sincerity of belief, it only cares that the formal discipline is observed as in civil life.' †

The greatest care is taken to protect the established Church against the inroads of other creeds, and to enlarge the number of its adherents. First, as Madame Novikoff herself admits, all children born in mixed marriages must be educated in the Orthodox faith. The Catholic Church in principle asks as much, but in scarcely any civilised State is this request supported by the State; parents are free to do what they like, and have only to deal with the Church as to the consequences. It is different in Russia, where agreements contrary to this prescription are penal offences; the inscription in the baptismal registers is decisive.

The Swod (xiv. 2, Art. 47) severely forbids any Orthodox

* Journal de St. Pétersbourg, Feb. 17, 1888.

† The Moskwa, April 16, 1870.

subject to change his religion, whatever may be his religious conviction, and fixes the penalties for such an offence. Apostasy is visited by the loss of all civil rights; the apostate becomes incapable of owning property and of inheriting; his children are taken from him, those who have persuaded him to change his religion are punished by exile to Siberia or corporal punishment and imprisonment with hard labour from one to two years (T. xv. Art. 205). Whoever knows that his wife or children intend to leave the Orthodox faith, and does not prevent this by all measures which the law places at his disposal, will be imprisoned from three days to three months (T. xv. Art. 210). Parents bound by law to educate their children in the Orthodox faith, but who have them baptised or educated according to the rite of another Christian confession, will suffer imprisonment from one to two years (T. xv. Art. 208). Those who hinder anyone wanting to become a member of the Orthodox Church are punished by imprisonment from three to six months (T. xv. Art. 209). Whoever tries to seduce members of the Orthodox Church to adopt another Christian creed by a sermon or writing will be punished in the first case by imprisonment from one to two years, in the second from four to six years, in the third case by banishment to Siberia for life (T. xv. Art. 207).* In an official letter of September 30, 1886, the governor of Livland, General Sinowjeff reminds the Orthodox bishop of Riga, that Orthodox subjects confirmed by Lutheran pastors according to Art. 188–90 of the Penal Law are liable to lose their children, who are made over to other persons for their education, whilst they themselves will suffer imprisonment. Those who are baptised according to the Orthodox rite and married in a Lutheran or Catholic church, fare still worse; such marriages are illegal and the children born to them illegitimate. A member of one of the sects which rejects the worship of images, who, in a conversation with an Orthodox, states his reasons against such worship, may be exiled to Siberia for having attacked the established religion. The meetings of the Molokans, whom Sir Mackenzie Wallace compares to the Presbyterians, and of the Stundists who reject churches and assemble in peasants' houses for reading the Bible together, are dispersed by military force.

But this is not all. The Greek Church boasts of using the living national languages, in opposition to the Roman

* Tsakni, 'La Russie sectaire.' Paris: 1887.

Catholic worship which clings to Latin, unintelligible to the masses. Now in Russia the Orthodox Church uses in Asia the languages of the Tunguse, Kamtchadales, &c., but the living Russian idioms are entirely excluded from public worship. The liturgy and the texts of the Bible are read in the ecclesiastical Slavonic, i.e. Old Bulgarian, which is unintelligible to any Russian who has not learnt it. It was only twenty-five years ago that the holy Synod authorised a translation of the Bible which is a mixture of Great Russian and ecclesiastical Slavonic, and even that version is only permitted for domestic use, never in the church. Further, the Synod alone being entitled to divulge the Holy Scripture, it is not allowed to anyone to publish a translation more akin to modern Russian, so that even Jews, Roman Catholics, &c. are not entitled to have a Russian translation of the Bible approved by their own ecclesiastical authorities. Still less have the White and Little Russians been able to obtain concessions for their idiom in that respect. Yet the White Russian is spoken by nearly four millions in the governments of Smolensk, Vitebsk, Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, Mohilew; and Little Russian or Ukraine, which differs from the Great Russian as the Provençal differs from the French, by sixteen millions. Both idioms are wholly excluded from the religious life of the official Church. The censorship of the Synod has refused to allow the publication of a Little Russian version of the New Testament, although it was acknowledged to be exact in 1863 by the Academy of Sciences; any religious writing in White or Little Russian is forbidden, and even the priests of these twenty millions are not allowed to preach in these idioms, so that these people have only the resource of such books as are printed in Austria and Leipzig and smuggled into the country.

It is evident that these facts, which Madame Novikoff seems to ignore completely, sufficiently dispose of M. Pobedonoszeff's assertion that the Western creeds are always ready to attack the Orthodox faith; the penal prescriptions against the slightest attempt at doing so are on the contrary so severe that the foreign confessions would be happy enough if they were left alone unmolested.

But the right of propagandism, which is forbidden to all foreign confessions, is expressly granted to the Orthodox Church. It is true that in a manifesto of July 22, 1763, Catherine II. prohibited any attempt of the members of the State Church to draw proselytes into the community of their creed, but that act is not only a dead letter, it has

been superseded by a recent disposition to the contrary effect. Whilst formerly the State Church was simply designated as 'the Greek' or the 'Oriental' Church, we find in the eleventh volume of the Swod, published in 1856, a distinction between the 'ruling Church' and the merely tolerated creeds; and T. xiv. 2, Art. 97, reserves to the former the exclusive right 'of inducing the adherents of other Christian confes-'sions and of the heterodox to adopt its faith.' The clergy of other creeds are not even allowed to warn their members against deserting their faith and passing over to orthodoxy, because that would be an offence to the ruling Church. Thus, what is declared to be a crime for other creeds is carried on under the protection and with the pressure of the civil power. It is, indeed, said in that paragraph that the conversion shall only take place by persuasion, but in fact it is done in the most aggressive manner against the other creeds, as we shall see, if not officially, at least under the tacit sanction of the government by its organs. Land, freedom from taxation, and all sorts of worldly advantages, are promised to the orthodox converts; criminals are pardoned if they embrace the true faith. The Catholic and Protestant creeds are insulted and calumniated, but forbidden to answer the false charges brought against them; and if their pastors dare to do so, they are deposed and exiled. No return to a former creed is allowed; when the people, who generally know nothing of the Orthodox Church, see that they have been deluded by illusory promises, they must remain in it, unless they would be visited by punishment for apostasy. In order to favour this propaganda, section 566 of the Statute on Orders provides expressly, 'Those 'who have converted to the ruling Church not less than '160 non-Christians or adherents of pernicious sects have 'the right to claim the third class of the Order of St. Anne.'

Strange to say, there is a single exception allowed *de facto* in face of such legal enactments—the only other creed which is tacitly suffered to make propaganda is that of Islam. In former times there existed an evangelical mission to the Mahommedans of Russia on the Volga and in the Caucasus; it was stopped by an imperial edict, because the task of converting the Mussulmans to Christianity was to be reserved to the Orthodox Church. But that Church has done nothing to fulfil this object, and M. Pobedonoszeff, in his report of 1884 to the Emperor, is obliged to admit that the Tartars revert in crowds to Mahommedanism, and make

numerous proselytes among the Christian youth. He states that in the eparchy of Kasan only one Christian church exists for every 1,000 souls, but a mosque for every 785 inhabitants; the Christians have one school for every 2,800 souls, the Mahommedans one for 780. Not only the Koran is printed in government offices at Kasan, but tracts of the most aggressive anti-Christian character are published in those parts with the authorisation of the censorship. Pastor Dalton (p. 62) quotes some of them, as, for instance, the 'Tibjan-ul-Metalib,' which extols the accurate knowledge of the Koran, and says that if its doctrines are followed the Mussulman hosts will annihilate the enemies of the Mahommedan religion, and the Christians will embrace Islam in crowds. The Sultan is called 'our Padishah,' an infidel is one who rejects his khaliphate or resists the propaganda of the prophet. Another pamphlet, written in Arabic, but translated by a Russian subject into the Kasan Tartar idiom, 'The Gift of the Kings,' preached the 'Djihad,' the holy war, undertaken to destroy the root of the Kafirs in order to glorify Islam, and says that, if the Kafirs refuse to adopt the latter, the Padishah is entitled to kill them or reduce them to slavery. This a Mollah is allowed to do in Russia. The Mussulmans alone thus appear to enjoy real liberty in this Christian country.

After having seen what is, generally speaking, the state of religious liberty in Russia we shall now revert to the special persecutions to which Catholics and Protestants are subjected in her western provinces. Ethnologically speaking, there stretches between Russia proper and her western neighbours a wide belt of four distinct territories, which are in themselves as different from each other as they are alien from the race which has brought them gradually under its dominion. Finland is a Swedish colony; the Baltic provinces, Livonia, Esthland, and Kurland a German one, both founded in countries inhabited by different aboriginal populations. Poland proper, established at the Congress of Vienna as a kingdom under the personal union with Russia, Volhynia, and Lithuania, represented parts of the former republic of Poland; and Bessarabia, torn off from Valachia in 1812 by the Peace of Bucharest, is an outpost of the Roumanian nationality. We may leave out of our consideration that province as well as Finland, because in neither of them does religious persecution exist. Bessarabia belongs to the Eastern Church; and Finland,

when it was treacherously occupied in 1808 * and ceded by Sweden by the Peace of Fredricshamm (September 5, 1809), at least maintained its own constitution, which grants a certain independence, and particularly the rights of the Lutheran Church, to the Grand-Duchy. Hitherto these rights have been respected by the Russian government, because Alexander III., at his accession, has confirmed the constitution, although certain ominous signs are not wanting that this will not last for ever.†

As to Poland, we cannot deny that if her Catholics complain of persecution, they are chastised with the same rod which the republic formerly wielded against the dissidents. Under Sigismund II. it was at the height of its power (1548–72); the Reformation had powerfully spread; five-sixths of the population belonged to the Lutheran and the Calvinistic creeds. But under his weak successors the Jesuits became all-powerful, the dissidents were excluded from all public offices, which were reserved to Catholics. Protestants and Greeks were alike persecuted, and wars were undertaken against Russia and Sweden with the aim of conquering those empires for the Catholic faith. Moreover, it cannot be contested, that the introduction of the union of the Greek and Roman confessions was largely a work of Jesuitical intrigue. At the Council of Florence (1438–39) the Greeks had adopted the Roman doctrine of the origin of the Holy Ghost, of purgatory, and had recognised the primacy of the Pope; they had maintained their ritual, the marriage of the priests, the chalice in the Holy Supper, and the use of the national language in the public worship. That union was rejected by the Eastern Church, but it was introduced in Lithuania and White Russia by a compromise concluded at Bresz, in 1596, between their clergy and delegates of the Curia. In the course of

* The pretext of that occupation was the refusal of King Gustavus IV. to accede to the continental blockade; but in a secret article of the Peace of Tilsit, Napoleon I. consented to the incorporation of Finland by Alexander I.

† The recent resignation as governor of Finland of General von der Heyden, who was generally esteemed, is viewed with great misgivings by the population, because his successor, Prince Oldenburg, is an obedient tool of the Slavophils. A deputation sent by the Finland Diet to St. Petersburg in order to complain of the attacks of the Russian press on the established rights of the Grand-Duchy was refused admission.

the seventeenth century the union gradually took a more Catholic character, by the influence of the Jesuits; the convents especially adopted the Roman type; the service was performed in Latin, so that finally in the higher clergy the difference between Catholics and Uniates ceased. A change took place by the partitions of Poland, which brought all the dioceses of the Uniates—except two in Galicia—under Russian dominion. Catherine II. resolved to Russianise the incorporated Lithuanian provinces, and for that purpose to suppress, as far as possible, the Uniates. She at once deposed three bishops inclining to Rome, suppressed 145 Uniate convents, founded numerous Orthodox ones and churches, interdicted under the severest penalties the adoption of the Catholic faith by Uniates, and by the harshest means compelled two millions of her newly-made subjects to 'return' to what Mouravieff, the quasi-official historian of the Russian Church, calls 'the religion of their 'ancestors,' a religion, that is to say, which their ancestors had abandoned two centuries previously; whilst she interfered in Poland with the dissenting creeds in the name of 'liberty of conscience.'* This policy was not continued under Paul and Alexander, and the latter established a special department for the affairs of the Uniate Church, which, on the whole, conscientiously respected the *status quo*.

But under Nicholas I., whose motto was 'One law, 'one language, one faith,' things took a different turn. Under the direction of Count Protassow, the military procurator of the holy Synod, and with the help of a young Uniate clergyman, Semäschkow, a thorough persecution of the Uniate Church began; its bishops were deposed, its seminaries closed, Orthodox schools and catechisms were introduced, the priests adhering to their rites were banished. The propaganda for converting the Uniate peasants to the Orthodox Church was working with high pressure, so that in 1828–35 50,000, mostly belonging to crown domains and Russian nobles, passed over. After the

* The empress, as is well known, was herself a complete free-thinker. Speaking of one of the abortive assemblies which she convoked for political reasons, she writes to Voltaire, 'I think you would be pleased with this assembly, where an orthodox believer sits between a heretic and a Mussulman, the three listening to an idolator, and all four consulting together how to render their conclusions satisfactory to all.' (A. Head, 'The Russian Church and Russian Dissent:' London, 1878.)

death of the Uniate metropolitan Pulgak, Semäschkow, by intimidation, got up a petition for reunion with the Orthodox Church; the opponents were silenced by military force; March 25, 1839, the Emperor sanctioned the measure which deprived the Uniate Church of its legal status; and the protests of Gregory XVI. proved unavailing. The remnants of the Uniates in the district of Chelm, about 290 parishes, who wished for a closer union with the Catholics, were ruthlessly put down in 1874, and the peasants literally forced by the knout into Orthodox churches.*

With the Polish Catholics it was at first different. Catherine, while raging against the Uniates, had tried to win the Jesuits, and had even offered them a refuge when the Order was abolished by Clement XIV. Under Alexander I., Czartoryski's influence maintained the rights of the Catholic Church, although the Jesuits in 1820 were summarily banished from the empire; but the clergy having sided with the insurgents of 1831, Nicholas I. confiscated all its estates, abolished many convents and cures, introduced the Russian law on mixed marriages, and interdicted the intercourse of the bishops with Rome. The public protests of the Pope against this oppression availed nothing.† A convention between the Czar and Pius IX. in 1847 relaxed some of these asperities, and in the first part of Alexander II.'s reign the Catholic Church shared in the general more liberal *régime*; but after the untimely insurrection of 1863 the repression redoubled in vigour; priests and monks were executed or exiled to Siberia by hundreds, 104 convents were abolished, and to the remaining thirty-five all intercourse with foreign superiors was forbidden. Pius IX. in a consistory openly accused the potentate of Russia of having compelled his Polish subjects to insurrection in order to eradicate the Catholic religion; and a violent personal recrimination took place at the New Year's reception between the Pope and the Russian minister, Baron Meyendorff, who, in consequence, left Rome. The Emperor declared the convention of 1847 to be null and void; he

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* A heartrending story of this compulsion still going on is told in an article of the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' (August 1, 1889), 'Simple récit,' signed 'Adapté par Mme. Marguerite Porodowska,' which bears the stamp of being taken from life.

† 'Esposizione corredata di documenti sulle incessanti cure della stessa Santità sua a riparo dei gravi mali, da cui è afflitta la religione cattolica ne' dominii di Russia e di Polonia' (Roma, 1842).

again interdicted all intercourse of the clergy with the Pope; the Church was placed under the administration of a consistory at St. Petersburg; and, under the special protection of the late Empress, Countess Antoinette Bludow carried on a propaganda for educating the youth in the spirit of national orthodoxy. During the latter years fresh negotiations have been carried on with the Roman See; some bishops have been reappointed, but no understanding has been arrived at on the principal questions. The Russian government asks that at least in the provinces between the Dnieper and the Bug the Great Russian idiom shall become the language of public worship in Catholic churches, whilst the population of these territories is either, as in the districts of Kowno, Augustowo, and the eastern part of Wilna, Lithuanian, i.e. not even Slav; and in the other parts White Russian and Little Russian. When this territory became Russian the government favoured the introduction of the Polish language, in order to suppress the national idioms; now it asks for the introduction of Russian in the Catholic worship, in order that Polonism, having become more dangerous, may be stamped out; whilst in the Orthodox Church itself, as we have seen, not the Russian language, but the old Slavonic, is used. The Curia, of course, cannot comply with this demand of forcing upon the population a language which they do not even understand, simply for political reasons. Thus we see a constant struggle between despotism, which by all means tries to make apostates while suppressing the religious wants of the people, and the population, who, with desperate passive resistance, cling to their old faith and the use of their national language in public worship.*

The Baltic provinces, Livland, Esthland, and Kurland, were colonised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by German merchants, knights and priests, whose number so rapidly increased that the original inhabitants of these countries were compelled to acknowledge them as masters, and from them accepted the Christian religion. Gradually

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* A curious chapter in Dernburg's book, 'Russians and Poles,' shows how little progress the Russification in Poland has made, notwithstanding the harshest measures. The Polish nobility has been greatly impoverished by confiscations of their estates, which are bought by Jews and Germans, but no Polish lady holds any intercourse with the Russian officials. The Emperor Nicholas himself said, 'J'en 'viendrais à bout des Polonais, jamais des Polonaises,'

there arose a federative state, designated by the collective name of Livland, owing allegiance to the German Emperor as its liege lord, and to the Pope as its spiritual head; whilst the cities, especially Riga, Revel, and Dorpat, maintained an independent position as members of the Hanseatic League. When the Lutheran creed rapidly spread over the Baltic provinces the continuance of this feudal-ecclesiastical form of government became impossible, and at the same time the frightful devastation by the invasion of Ivan the Terrible ruined the country, which became unable to maintain its independence. The appeals for help to the German Empire were in vain: the Hapsburgs of that time were absorbed by suppressing Protestantism in their dominions; the Livonian Estates declared that they had been miserably abandoned by his Imperial Majesty, the electors, princes, and States of the Holy Roman Empire. Esthland, the northern country, surrendered to Sweden; Kurland, the southern part, became a Polish vassal dukedom, the wise prince of which, Gothard Ketteler, formerly Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, maintained a relative independence, which lasted for nearly two hundred years. Livland was obliged to acknowledge the sovereignty of Poland, but under the conditions of the Privilegium Sigismundi of November 24, 1568, which guaranteed that the country should be left in the possession of the pure evangelical doctrine, according to the Augsburg Confession, under a German government and German laws. This solemn covenant was indeed soon violated; the Jesuits, all-powerful under Sigismund's successors, introduced Catholic bishoprics and encroached upon the rights of the Protestant Church, till at last the Swedo-Polish war of succession united Livland to the Swedish crown, and Gustavus Adolphus restored the country to order and civilisation. Unfortunately, the reign of that great and good prince did not last long enough to heal the wounds which Polish misrule had inflicted. Charles XI., in his financial straits, ventured upon a measure which, under a shallow pretext, confiscated nearly five-sixths of all Livonian estates for the benefit of the Swedish exchequer. The resistance of the proprietors against this arbitrary proceeding was desperate, and one of their chiefs, the famous Patkul, flying to Peter I., had the fatal idea of directing the Czar's attention to the importance which an extension of the Russian frontiers to the Baltic would have for the empire. In the great northern war between Charles XII. and Peter I. Livland was the principal battlefield, and finally became

Russian. The important point, however, is, that the country was not conquered by Peter, but voluntarily surrendered by distinct capitulations in 1710, ten years before it was ceded by Sweden. Holland, England, Poland, Prussia, and Denmark in 1699 had concluded a treaty by which these powers declared that they would not allow Livland to become Russian. Therefore, the Russian Field-marshal Shermetieff, after having thoroughly devastated the country, endeavoured to bring about a compact with the Estates and the cities of Livland and Esthland, by which they voluntarily accepted the Russian sovereignty ; whilst he, in the name of the Czar, solemnly promised 'that his Majesty would graciously 'maintain all the privileges, rights, laws, and customs 'granted by the Swedish crown,' adding that these re-established rights should never in the future be violated, but observed for all time as a 'mutuum vinculum' between the provinces and the Czar, not as an act of grace, but as a solemn obligation. These promises were confirmed by Peter I. in the several acts of September 28 and 30, 1710, and March 13, 1712. Finally, at the cession of the provinces by the Treaty of Nystad (September 9, 1721), Art. 10 stipulated expressly—

'In the aforesaid countries no restraint of conscience shall be introduced, but the evangelical religion, all matters of school and what is connected with them, shall be left and maintained on the footing as it has been under the Swedish government, with the sole provision that the Greek religion may there also be exercised freely and without impediment.'

This, then, is as full an international and constitutional obligation as it can be; and to maintain that the Czar, as autocrat, may change it, is tantamount to saying that an absolute sovereign is incapable of concluding a binding treaty. In fact, the privileges sanctioned by Peter were respected by him and his successors. Catherine II., indeed, attempted to evade these engagements, trying to supplant the old constitution by a bureaucracy, but she left the religious rights untouched; and Paul I. restored the treaty rights of the provinces, to which, in 1795, Kurland was united, under similar conditions, by a resolution of its Estates. Under Alexander I., the University of Dorpat, which had fallen into decay in consequence of the impoverishment of the country, was founded anew (1810). It soon rose to high prosperity and became the intellectual centre of the Baltic provinces; nay, for the whole Empire a Dorpat diploma was deemed the best recommendation. As

to the Church, a ukase of 1802 provided that no one was to be appointed pastor in the Baltic provinces unless he produced a testimonial from that university.

The history of the Baltic provinces from 1795 to 1845 is not marked by any striking event; but, during the long peace after 1815, the country gradually rose to a prosperity unknown since the Middle Ages. Serfdom was abolished by the Estates, commerce was flourishing, the clergy and nobility took up the cause of popular education, schools and gymnasiums were established, whilst in Russia proper 90 per cent. of the people were illiterate.* Yet nowhere in his vast dominions could the Czar boast of more faithful subjects. The Baltic nobility furnished the Russian army and diplomacy with their ablest generals and ambassadors. The names of the Lievens, Pahlens, Krüdners, Brunnows, Stackelbergs, Budbergs, &c., are inseparably connected with modern Russian history, and it is noteworthy that the Emperor Nicholas, in remembrance of the great conspiracy at his accession, in which members of the first Russian families were implicated, gave preference to the Baltic nobles on the ground of their loyalty.

Yet it was under his reign that the first encroachments on the vested rights of the Protestant Church in the Baltic provinces took place. In consequence of the solemn promises of Peter I. and the Peace of Nystad, which, as we have seen, established the equality of the Evangelical and the Greek creeds, the principles prevailing in Russia proper with reference to mixed marriages and apostasy were not applied in Livland, Esthland, and Kurland. But, in 1832, Nicholas, who himself had confirmed these promises, promulgated a ukase, by which those provisions of the Russian penal code were declared applicable to the Baltic provinces. Lutheran pastors were absolutely forbidden to receive into their community members of the Orthodox Church; solemnising mixed marriages and baptising children born from them were visited by deposition from office, unless a special authorisation was granted; and obedience by oath to these pre-

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* Still in 1884, notwithstanding all endeavours of the orthodox propaganda to found schools, it was statistically established that in Livland from 1861–80 the province had established at its own cost 651 communal school-houses and 43 parochial school-houses. The average of the children visiting these schools was 90 per cent. There was a school to 711 inhabitants; in Esthland even to 546 inhabitants; in Russia proper, one to 3,216 inhabitants. (Dalton, p. 20.)

scriptions was demanded. In 1838, a Greek bishopric was established in the entirely Protestant city of Riga, under pretext of combating the Raskol rife in the suburbs—in fact, for the express purpose of converting the Protestant Letts to the Orthodox Church. It was followed by a Greek seminary, destined to educate priests preaching in Lettish. Orthodox catechisms and pamphlets in this idiom were sown broadcast, praising the Orthodox Church, reviling the Lutheran creed, and assuring the peasants that by embracing the former they would enjoy much greater liberty. All this, however, was of comparatively little influence; but from 1839–41 a series of bad harvests created great distress in the country. And now Count Protassow, who had so gloriously contributed to stamping out the Uniates, saw his opportunity for drawing the Baltic population into the fold of the Orthodox Church. A stream of itinerant agents traversed the country, holding out promises of every kind to the peasants if they would only place their names on the Greek registers. They would not only be freed from paying tithes to the Lutheran pastors, but would be exempted from military service, receive free education of their children at the expense of the Crown, grants of land in Southern Russia, and advantageous employment in the public service, whilst they would be allowed to retain their worship.

Misled by these deceitful promises, about 100,000 of the poorest Letts and Esths passed over to the 'foreign Church,' as they called it, in order to purchase a better future. These deluded people, who had been led to sign memorials drawn up in Russian, which they did not even understand, had to pay dearly for their apostasy; none of the promises made to them were fulfilled, and they found themselves excluded from the educational institutions of their Lutheran brethren. Living in the midst of a Protestant country, they were separated by their nationality from the Russian people; the crude worship of the Orthodox Church soon became disgusting to them, and they wanted to return to their ancestral creed. But they were met by the inexorable Russian law, which treats the abandonment of the Greek Church as a penal offence; and the Lutheran pastors, willing as they might be to readmit these poor people to their communion, dared not defy the law. When their petitions to be released from their bondage met with a flat refusal, the indignant proselytes declared that nothing at least should ever compel them to attend the Orthodox service. They went in disguise to the Lord's Supper in Lutheran churches, introduced a sort

of civil marriage amongst themselves, and baptised their own children. So desperate was their resistance, that the government was obliged to let the matter drop, and when in 1848 Prince Alexander Suworow, an honest man, unbiassed by Slavophil prejudices, was appointed governor-general, he put a stop to all persecution, notwithstanding the clamour of the Orthodox zealots, who accused him of betraying the national cause. Yet the Russian laws with reference to mixed marriages and against apostasy remained in force. At last, after the change of government, the complaints of the Baltic Lutherans moved the benevolent heart of the Emperor Alexander II., and he sent his aide-de-camp, Count Bobrinski, to report on the grievances complained of. The memorandum of April 18, 1864, in which that gentleman of unsuspected orthodoxy gives an account of the result of his mission, is of a really appalling character. After having examined the peasants in every district, he says:—

'The situation of these unfortunate families, which, having deserted Lutheranism without having embraced at heart Greek orthodoxy—in fact do not belong to any religion whatever—is most deplorable and doleful. The peasants brought up in the principles of the Lutheran creed and converted to orthodoxy in 1845, have not been convinced by religious arguments, but only moved by the hope of bettering their material condition. This fact is beyond dispute, and fully admitted by the Russian clergy.'

The Count then says, that after the conversion the comparatively few Greek priests, scantily supported and miserably paid by the government, were quite unable to meet the spiritual wants of the converts. Of 113 churches to be built only forty-six were erected, in thirteen parishes there were neither churches nor priests. On the other hand, the Lutheran clergy did all in their power to raise the moral condition of the Protestant population. Their pastors having all studied at the universities of Dorpat or Germany, were men of culture. They had more than a thousand schools with good teachers, whilst there were 310 Orthodox schools established in huts or poultry-yards. In consequence orthodoxy had nowhere been able to take root, and had nowhere succeeded in conciliating the population, although the priests showed themselves very indulgent as to the non-observance of the rites, and even allowed the use of Lutheran prayer-books and hymns. The resistance of the peasantry to the performance of the Orthodox ritual was such, that the clergy constantly appealed to the civil authorities for help; but the interference of the police only compromised the dignity

of Orthodoxy, and extreme measures would only lead to deplorable consequences. To raise the standard of religious Orthodox institutions to that of the Lutheran would, if it were possible, involve immense sacrifices with a very doubtful result. Thus there remained but one issue, not to retain in the bosom of the Orthodox Church any except those who sincerely profess its creed, and to give to all others liberty to follow their religious convictions, although the Greek clergy acknowledge that, if such liberty were granted, very few of the converts would remain faithful to Orthodoxy. Such was the conclusion of the inquiries of this unimpeachable Russian patriot, who closed his report with the following sentence :—

'Your Majesty, it has been painful to me, as Orthodox and as a Russian, to witness with my own eyes the degradation of the Russian Orthodoxy through the public exposure of this official fraud. It is not the earnest words of these unhappy fanatics, who turn themselves to your Majesty with the humble but impassioned prayer to, grant them the right to confess the religion which is in accordance with the conviction of their own conscience, not those open-hearted and touching expressions of their feelings, which have made so painful an impression on me, as this fact in particular—that the violence done to conscience, and the official fraud, which is known to all, should be indissolubly connected with the thought of Russia and Orthodoxy.'

The emperor did not dare to revoke openly these iniquitous laws, but he issued a secret order to the governor of the Baltic provinces, Count Schouvalow, in March 1865, that the peasants should *de facto* be allowed to return to their ancient faith, and that in the Baltic provinces no questions should be asked about the baptism and education of the children. Archbishop Platon, of Riga, who had been at the head of the Orthodox propaganda, was transferred to a see among the Cossacks of Nowo-Tcherkask. Although this order, as well as Bobrinsky's report, was not made public, the mere fact raised a great storm among the Slavophils. Juri Samarin accused the Count of unpardonable levity, of having been deluded by the Baltic nobles, who only wanted to maintain their tyranny over the peasants, and above all of having insulted the memory of the Emperor Nicholas, by having spoken of an official fraud. Societies for propagating the Orthodox creed in the Baltic provinces were founded under the protection of the empress, who, although herself born and educated a Protestant, had even before her accession shown great zeal for Orthodoxy. At first it may have had its origin in the wish for popularity; it was increased by her

feeble health and estrangement from her husband; she was completely subdued by the influence of the fanatical confessor of the Court, Bashanow; and Countess Bludow, who had won her laurels in the campaign against the Uniates, became her chosen agent for neutralising the measures of the emperor. These societies collected a good deal of money for building Greek churches and endowing Orthodox schools; besides, the Russian authorities and priests evaded the Imperial order, maintaining that the ukase of 1846, according to which all landed property should be exempt from tithes as soon as its proprietor turned Orthodox, remained in force.

At the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance of 1870 the condition of the Baltic provinces was discussed, and an international deputation was sent to the Emperor Alexander, then visiting his sister, the Queen of Würtemberg. They were received at the Castle Berg, near Stuttgart, by the Czar, who told them that he had an equal regard for all religions in his empire, and that no kind of worship should be hindered in its exercise, but that he could not allow any propaganda. Pastor Monod, having thanked his Majesty for his kind intentions, and alluding to Count Bobrinski's report, ventured to observe that these just and humane intentions were not yet fully carried out, and that it would be worthy of the liberator of twenty millions of serfs to heal by his all-powerful hand the still bleeding wounds of the Lutheran population. The emperor, in reply, admitted that some such cases had occurred, and added:—

'We have a law forbidding anyone to abjure the Greek religion who has once adopted it; however, we take as little notice as possible of those who are reverting to their old faith. As to the children, it is certain that they were brought over by their parents when they had yet no free will, and we will not keep them back. For the rest, I do not like changes of religion; if a man has grown up in a Church, he must not leave it.'

Pastor Monod having observed, 'Unless he leaves it from 'sincere conviction,' the emperor replied, 'Evidemment; 'mais ce que je n'aime pas, ce sont les changements en 'masse.'

The Franco-German War, which immediately followed this audience, having drawn the emperor's attention from the subject, another collective petition was presented to him by a deputation of the Evangelical Alliance on July 14, 1871, at the Villa Taubenheim, in favour of liberty of conscience to be granted to the Baltic provinces as well as to the Russian Empire in general, and of annulling the above-

mentioned penal laws. The deputation was received by Prince Gortchakoff, who asserted that religious liberty had always been the peculiar attribute of the Russian Empire, and that the complaints of the Letts and Esths mostly reposed on inexact assertions; but he admitted that as to those who were or might become members of the Orthodox Church, it was an essential law of Russia that they must continue to be so; this, however, was no infringement of religious liberty, and even if an alteration of that law should be deemed necessary, it must be left to the discretion of the emperor. Dr. Steane maintaining that the right of propagating the creed which one professes by all legitimate means of persuasion was an integral part of religious liberty, the Chancellor replied that he could not accept that doctrine of religious liberty; the Greek Church was not a propagandist Church like the Roman; as to the various sects in the Russian Empire, the government policy had been to put down those which inculcated immoral tenets, 'and as for the 'rest we deal thus with them.' The Chancellor consequently declined to receive the petition, as some of its demands would involve the abolition of legal prescriptions, and in that question he could not admit any foreign interference, but he promised to give a faithful account to his imperial master of what had passed at the interview. This he did in a report published in the official paper of August 12, praising the indefatigable patience with which he had listened to the speeches of these gentlemen, and concluding with the observation 'that they had evidently seen the complete want 'of success of their endeavours.'

Such was, indeed, the case; the penal laws remained in force, and the activity of the 'Brastwos' redoubled.'* But a new era of persecution began with the accession of Alexander III., which was coupled with the Russification of the Baltic provinces. Already Alexander II. on his return from the Paris Exhibition of 1867 had addressed the loyal deputations at Riga in Russian, and had asked them not to forget that they belonged to 'one family,' and formed an integral part of Russia. A ukase of January 3, 1850, which had hitherto remained a dead letter, was renewed in March

* In the little town of Goldingen, in Kurland, 150 Letts had turned Orthodox, each receiving thirty roubles, as present, at their christening. Forthwith 250 dessaetines of Crown land were given for the erection of a Greek church and school. In 1870 the government granted 200,000 roubles annually for the erection of new Greek churches.

1867, by which all authorities in the Baltic provinces were ordered to correspond in Russian, and only such persons were to be admitted to public employments who had a sufficient knowledge of that language. Matters became, however, much worse under his successor. Educated by M. Pobedonoszeff, a narrow fanatic, who had prevailed upon him to cancel the draft of the constitution signed by Alexander II. just before his assassination, and who was now promoted to the office of high procurator of the holy Synod, he recalled (July 26, 1885) the above-mentioned order of his father, and with retroactive effect replaced in vigour the dispositions of the Swod as established for Russia proper. Contrary to what Peter I. had promised in the capitulations of 1710 and repeated in the ratification of the Peace of Nystad ('We 'promise by our Czaric word for Us, Our successors and 'descendants in the Russian Empire, that We shall observe 'and accomplish all and everything contained in the pre-'ceding peace, firmly, irrevocably, solemnly and inviolably 'for ever and ever'), he was the first Russian sovereign who demurred to confirming the privileges of the Baltic provinces, and, when at last in the autumn of 1885 the representatives of the Estates humbly asked for that confirmation, they were refused an audience and received for answer that his Majesty, after having taken cognisance of the petition, had commanded that such demands should never be repeated. His Majesty hoped that the nobility would concur to the best of their ability to bring about an amalgamation of the provinces with the rest of Russia, and thereby prove their fidelity. His Majesty considered the Baltic provinces to be an integral part of Russia, and would govern them with the same justice, but according to the general law, without any privileges.

In 1887 the Czar's brother, Grand Duke Wladimir, whose wife, a Mecklenburg princess, had, with the sanction of Alexander II., remained a Lutheran, made a tour through the Baltic provinces and showed great courtesy to the representatives of the Estates, whilst he treated rather coldly the Russian officials; but he was obliged by special command of the Czar, when he visited Dorpat, to inform the delegates of the university, the nobility, and the city, 'that 'all measures for uniting the Baltic dominions with the 'Russian empire by the firm resolution of the emperor were 'to be applied in the sense of a greater approximation to the 'Russian family.'

The Greek bishop of Riga, Donat, in his farewell address

of May 1887, declared, 'We have sworn fidelity to the 'Russian emperor, Alexander III., but we shall be per- 'fectly faithful to him only when we are united to him by 'the same creed.' Consequently Russification, Orthodox propaganda, and encroachments upon the rights of the Lutheran Churches went hand in hand. When the peasants, who as converts of 1845 were again to be inscribed in the registers of the Orthodox Church, implored the Greek bishop Donat to permit them to profess the Protestant religion, the latter flatly refused. Sixty-five pastors were prosecuted on the charge of having admitted to the Lord's Supper persons who had been enrolled on the Greek registers, and of having performed marriages between Lutherans and members of the Orthodox Church. When the courts declared that in most of these cases no proofs of the alleged offences were brought forward, the Imperial prosecutor appealed to the senate, which condemned several of the Lutheran pastors — for instance, Pastor Brandt, Pastor Christoph, Pastor Hoerschelman, Pastor Haggers—to exile in remote parts of the empire or in Siberia; the pastor of Gockenhusen, having simply mentioned the historical fact that, under Ivan the Terrible, the Russians had destroyed the church of the parish, was, without judicial sentence, exiled for two years to Smolensk, and when the consistory of Riga tried to keep open his place they were officially informed that, by order of the Czar, the pastor would never be allowed to fill again a post in the Baltic provinces. In an official letter of February 1887, the governor of Livland, General Sinowjeff, states that in future all cases of apostasy from the Orthodox Church will be severely punished; converts who attend the instructions of a Lutheran pastor are liable to imprisonment; in short, all the above-mentioned enactments of the Swod in favour of the exclusive rights of the established Church are to be applied to the Baltic provinces. A law of March 5, 1887, provides that private estates may be expropriated compulsorily for the wants of the Greek Church, clergy, and schools; no evangelical church can be constructed or repaired without the authorisation of the Greek bishop. Yet the senate is of opinion that the law is not equal to the exigencies of the situation in the Baltic provinces. The Baltic courts, according to its opinion, are too leniently disposed towards the aggressors against the Orthodox cause; they are to be reconstructed and their members must belong to the Greek Church; the consistories are to be dissolved, and the whole Protestant Church of the Baltic provinces to be

administered by a central authority at St. Petersburg. A new memorial of the Evangelical Alliance, forwarded to the Czar in August 1887, was answered by M. Pobedonoszeff, who asserts that all creeds are perfectly free in Russia 'if 'they abstain from proselytising,' although, alas, 'l'Europe 'persiste à ne pas le reconnaître.' He tries to evade the facts of persecution, by accusing the Lutheran clergy of the same aggressive hatred against the Orthodox Church as was formerly displayed by the Poles, and the Baltic nobility of the same ruthless oppression of the peasants exercised by their ancestors the Teutonic chevaliers.

'Mettant toute sorte d'entraves à la moindre tentative de rapprochement spirituel avec la Mère-Patrie de la part des indigènes, violant de son côté la liberté de leur conscience, il (le luthéranisme) jette en même temps les hauts cris sur la violence faite à la liberté de la propagande luthérienne, fait retentir l'Europe de ses lamentations, répand le trouble dans les plus paisibles communes luthériennes des autres parties de l'Empire, jette partout l'alarme dans l'esprit de ses corréligionnaires.'

The shallowness of these accusations has been excellently exposed by Pastor Dalton's pamphlet, who, himself belonging to the Calvinistic Protestant Church, has thought it his duty to take up the cause of his Lutheran brethren, and proves how utterly false it is to identify the clinging to the faith of their ancestors with the aggressive spirit of the Jesuits under the Polish dominion, by which the Protestants suffered as much as the Orthodox. It is said that the Czar read this pamphlet at his visit at Copenhagen, and ordered M. Pobedonoszeff to answer it; but nothing has transpired of such an answer, and in the meantime it was forbidden to translate the pamphlet into Russian. M. Pobedonoszeff was said to have fallen into disgrace, but he maintains his post, and his policy continues to be followed, as before.

If it is asked what can be the motive of the government in thus oppressing the population of three of its most loyal and by far most civilised provinces, the answer is, that, on the one hand, the Slavophil party, under the pressure of which it acts since the establishment of the unity of Germany, entertains the insane fear that Germany intends to annex the Baltic provinces, although Prince Bismarck and the Emperors William I., Frederic III., and William II. have emphatically denied the very idea of such an aggression, and their policy has been confirmed by the declaration of Chancellor von Caprivi in his speech at the Reichstag of May 16, 1890. Nothing can be done by foreign intervention;

the only government which, as the signatory of the Treaty of Nystad, would have a title to interfere, Sweden, has neither the interest nor the power to do so. The Baltic provinces are left to themselves, and it remains to be seen what passive resistance to brute force can achieve; the odds seem to be against them, but they have weathered equal storms under the Jesuitical reign of the Polish dominion and have yet recovered their rights. But the world should at least know what religious liberty in Russia signifies; it should realise the fact that a government, which claims to be a Christian one, persecutes millions of its subjects in a way unheard of in any civilised empire, and the British public should not be misled by the audacious misrepresentations of Russian agents in this country.

Art. VIII.—1. *A History of British Birds.* With Coloured Illustrations of their Eggs. By Henry Seebohm. 4 vols. London: 1883–1885.

2. *An Illustrated Manual of British Birds.* By Howard Saunders, F.L.S., F.Z.S., &c. London: 1889.

3. *Ueber den Flug der Vögel.* Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntniss der mechanischen und biologischen Probleme der activen Locomotion. Von Dr. H. Strasser. Jena: 1885.

Of winged insects there are hundreds of thousands of species, exercising an incalculable influence on the economy of the globe. The feathered vertebrates, which are mostly also endowed with wings, cannot compete with these in number of species, but they appeal more forcibly to ordinary human interest. They do not, it is true, reach the highest levels of animal sagacity, nor do they readily combine in man's favour, as his horse and his hound will do, the two characters of useful docile servant and faithful intelligent friend. Nevertheless, for their indirect services and for other not unimportant considerations, they well deserve the attention which so many acute naturalists and thoughtful writers bring to bear upon them.

In one respect birds, as a class, at once inspire and subdue our imagination. By their high-soaring flight and wonderful speed they have ever suggested and encouraged the thought that the dull, creeping movements of man's present body and the earth-bound affections of his mind may at some time be exchanged for nobler energies in a purer and

brighter environment. On the other hand, this flight and speed are continually mocking us with the evidence everywhere displayed of our own incompetence. With nature in all parts of the globe showing us how the thing ought to be done, we are still unable to do it. The conjuror performing his feats is at pains to distract the attention or deceive the eye of the spectator. But the flight of a bird is enacted before us, either swiftly or slowly, as many times as we please, and with no interfering circumstance to beguile our observation. The machine, too, is handed over to us to examine and pull to pieces at our leisure, and in as many hundreds of examples as we choose. Yet, not from want of the wish, and even the eager desire, nor from want of making many attempts, we still cannot fly. Mechanical flight for human beings is still awaiting an Archimedes or a James Watt.

The jealousy of 'the featherless biped' is not likely to be injuriously stirred against his winged fellow-creatures on account of their one point of superiority, and if it were, that evil passion might be calmed by this further reflection. When we look at our relations to the rest of animated nature, we find the gorilla, the tiger, the wolf, the crocodile, the rattlesnake, the shark, the scorpion, the hornet, the mosquito, the land leech, the bacterium, apt to be actively spiteful and aggressive, dangerous to us, many of them with decidedly homicidal tendencies, whereas in the bird-world, though there is great power and ferocity in some of its members, there seems to be no feeling of hostility towards man. The swan upon the 'tided Thames,' or the gobbler of the farmyard, in whom familiarity has bred contempt, or some long-suffering owl, may now and then make a petulant attack, but the proud eagle and the strong vulture let living man severely alone, and whatever harm the winged battalions may do to our goods and chattels, it is in general only under the strongest provocation that they make any attack upon our persons. It is almost pitiful to think that when a man is clinging by bare feet and finger-tips to the narrow ledges of a dangerous cliff in quest of eggs, the great griffon vultures will fly screaming in anger and distress round their threatened nest, without ever attempting to push the robber, as often they easily might do, from his perilous foothold. The mythical Harpies of Virgil are true to nature in this, that, though they foul and plunder the food of the exiles, and scream and croak and threaten, they do them no bodily harm. Apart, however, from actual onset with beak

and claw, which modern weapons would easily repel, there are possible modes of mischief more subtle and more serious. Men's minds are generally far more impressed by the violent ending of a single human life than they are by such a destruction of material resources as ultimately involves the slow squeezing out of existence of many lives. Some persons are therefore inclined to regard all birds as harmless because none of them, as a rule, drive their beaks into our faces. But uninstructed sentiment is often miserably pernicious. We ought to learn as accurately as we can what amount of good or harm is done by the birds which are willing to sojourn among us, and, in any instances in which the harm can be reasonably proved to exceed the good, we shall then be in a position to count the cost, and to determine whether we are willing to pay it by the surrender of so much of the comfort or health or continued existence of our fellow human beings. How often are the wicked farmers held up to scorn who shot off all the sparrows in their neighbourhood, and then by a just retribution of providence had their crops entirely devoured by grubs! No one pities the grubs, which would otherwise have been devoured by the wicked sparrows. A man is thought a fool, or even a criminal, who in a cultivated district allows noxious weeds to grow unchecked and disseminate their seed, whereas the necessary restraint upon animal life is often regarded as an outrageous interference with nature. To be effective, the defence of birds must be conducted on sounder principles. They are worth defending. There is so great a charm about them of form and colour, movement and song, that, if they must be sacrificed, at least their condemnation ought not to be pronounced in ignorance of the merits of the case.

As in so many other arguments and discussions, the really vital question, upon the answering of which almost everything depends, is the question of food. The birds, indeed, which gratify not the æsthetic taste of man, but the less noble taste of his palate, have a fair chance of preservation, although it is true that the folly of human greediness was allowed to exterminate so good a comestible as the dodo. But the food-question does not so much concern the species of birds which we take for our share as the vegetable produce which birds and other animals are continually attempting to take for theirs. Great attention has been paid to this subject of late years, and by careful analysis of the food-contents of birds captured at different seasons truly scientific results have been obtained. The ornithologist

whose life has been devoted to observing and describing the form and the flight, the habits and instincts, the nests and the nestlings of various birds, naturally becomes enamoured of his intimates and friends ; and, though it is his business upon occasion to shoot them for specimens and to add their eggs to his collection, still he may be expected to view their preservation in general and the increase of their numbers with exceptional favour. By long and close acquaintance they have become his clients. Moreover, they are for him the exquisite furniture with which not merely a room in a house or a museum is adorned, but every valley and hill, every cliff and stream, gorse-covered heath and bowery coppice, the plains of the wilderness, the deep forest, the peaceful lake, the solitary island, the wide ocean. Not unnaturally, he is disposed to regard the shepherd as a miserable niggard who does not ungrudgingly sacrifice a few lambs for the honour of having in his neighbourhood an eyrie of the golden eagle. Yet, making all due allowance for the effect of the personal equation, for the prepossessions of the ornithologist, there can be little doubt that the question under consideration is treated in Mr. Seebohm's interesting volumes with great impartiality. He expresses his opinions with vigour, and there are many instances in regard to which it is of high and permanent importance that the conclusions which he records should be made widely known. To some of these we will now direct the reader's attention.

The widely distributed kestrel, or windhover, the most familiar falcon of our own islands, here in England feeds chiefly on mice, a diet which it varies with moles, frogs, beetles, caterpillars, cockchafers, and such small game, very seldom imitating the ravenous sparrow-hawk by any assault upon birds. 'From its extreme partiality for mice, the kestrel is one of 'the best friends of the farmer; and the great value of its 'services in destroying these pests ought to place it in far 'greater favour than it now enjoys.' The honey-buzzard, a bird of the same family, which still breeds in the New Forest, makes its principal food in the summer months of wasps and their larvæ. Naturally, it is not a sufficiently acute entomologist to understand that bees and their young should have an immunity, of which wasps are undeserving, and it sometimes eats small birds as well as frogs and mice and grasshoppers, and in the autumn berries and small fruits. But 'gamekeepers, who have not yet learnt to dis-'tinguish between useful and harmful birds of prey,' and collectors, by whom both the skin and the eggs are admired

and coveted, have combined almost to exterminate from England this 'extremely handsome and entirely harmless 'bird.' The common buzzard, not placed like the honey-buzzard among the kites, but intermediate between the eagles and the hawks, is in like manner being gradually driven out of England through the ignorance of game-keepers. Though it satisfies itself and its voracious young chiefly with moles and mice and frogs and blind-worms, its eagle-like appearance marks it out for destruction in this country, 'where the preservation of game is conducted irrationally.' 'In order to study its habits during the breeding-'season, it is necessary to visit the forests of North Germany, 'where it is still a common bird, by far the commonest bird 'of prey. The Prussian foresters are well educated, and 'understand the difference between destructive and harmless 'birds.'

In regard to a different family, the Strigidæ, or owls, the same mischievous ignorance as in regard to the Falconidæ is imputed to our countrymen. It is obvious policy that those who have an enmity in common should, for the nonce, keep the peace towards one another. Yet, if we may trust Mr. Seebohm, writing in 1883, though the barn-owl is himself a sworn foe to rats and mice, 'both the game-'keeper and his master are his sworn foes, one generally as 'ignorant of his usefulness and as indifferent to his fate as 'the other.' Some curious details are given. 'Out of 700 'pellets of this owl which were carefully examined by 'Dr. Altum, remains were found of 16 bats, 2,513 mice, one 'mole, and 22 birds, of which 19 were sparrows.' Though 'the stupid farmer will slay him if he can, and nail his body 'against the barn-door, under the delusion that he will 'eat his pigeons,' there is evidently much to be said for the strongly-worded conclusion that 'the barn-owl is undoubtedly 'the farmer's best friend.' Perhaps Mr. Seebohm rather exaggerates the amount of hostility shown to it, since, in fact, barn-owls appear to be far from uncommon, as, indeed, he himself admits to be the case. The exertions of Waterton in its favour at the beginning of the century must have had a considerable effect in removing or mitigating the antipathy which its nocturnal habits, ghost-like flight, and weird screech were well calculated to originate. At any rate, it may be not so much personal want of wit as prejudice inherited from far-distant ages which still arms the British agriculturist against a seemingly uncanny bird. How ancient that prejudice is appears in part from the statement

of Pliny, that in old times the mere visit of an owl to the city made requisite a solemn purification of Rome. In its usefulness, as in its unmerited sufferings, the barn-owl by no means stands alone. The readers of Jesse's 'Gleanings in 'Natural History' will remember the account there given of a wonderful plague of mice, which threatened to destroy the recent plantations in the Forest of Dean and the New Forest, about fifty years ago. On that occasion a small white owl, as Jesse describes it, came to the rescue in great numbers, and proved of the most essential service in the conflict with the hordes of tiny antagonists. Mr. Seebohm refers to the same extraordinary campaign in his account of the short-eared owl. After recording the services of this species, he says, 'too often, however, the poor harmless owl 'is shot down by the thoughtless farmers or ignorant game-'keepers, who foolishly imagine they are ridding their 'domains of a pest, although in reality they are taking the 'life of one of their most valuable friends.'

In the family of the Passeridæ, or singing birds, there are several species which are not the victims of relentless persecution, for the missel or mistle-thrush, the song thrush, and the blackbird, though they levy toll on fruit, are recognised as rendering service by feeding on worms, snails, and insects, besides being in this country very generally beloved for their music and to some extent protected by public opinion. So much, indeed, are robins sheltered by popular sentiment, that a large increase of their numbers might have been expected; but this appears to be restrained by other causes, partly, perhaps, by that jealousy of temper and spirit of self-assertion which impel the robin to keep rivals of his own species at a respectful distance. But in regard to several birds in the various sub-families of this large group, protests are needed against the injurious treatment to which they are subjected through ignorance. Thus, the common dipper has been supposed to devour the ova and fry of the salmon and the trout, and been persecuted accordingly by 'the ignorant pisciculturist and the bigoted angler.' But, though he occasionally eats a small fish, 'instead of being the fish-preserver's 'enemy, he is, in fact, one of his firmest friends. His food 'consists of various creatures which, in their larval stages 'of development, are themselves the greatest enemies to the 'ova.' The great tit, or oxeye, by its sprightliness, its variety of attitude, its readiness to approach the dwellings of men, endears itself to the lover of bird-life,

'By the gardener, however, it is too often considered an enemy; for its visits to the fruit-trees in spring often lead to the destruction of many promising buds. But the "Oxeye" has an object in searching these buds; for lurking within them are grubs which might eventually prove quite as injurious, not only to the bud which it pulls to pieces, but to many others on the same tree.'

Little, it seems, can be said in favour of the hooded crow and the carrion crow, unless from the special point of view of the bird-loving naturalist, to whom their sagacity, their courage, their aërial evolutions, and other characteristics, make them not merely creatures to be tolerated, but most engaging birds. To the economist they seem to be full of all kinds of mischief, for which they make far from adequate compensation by the ignoble service they render as scavengers. The closely-allied rook appears to be actually increasing in numbers in Scotland, a fact which is there viewed with some anxiety, and which makes it the object of vigorous persecution, 'for it may be harmless enough in 'England, where its feeding-grounds are so large, but in 'Scotland, where its pastures are small, it may possibly take 'a leaf from the carrion crow's book and become a pest.' In England 'the rook's many services to man have placed it 'in greater favour than all its other sable congeners.' Even the farmer, to whom so many sins against birds are imputed, is candid enough to recognise the services of the rook. The rook's 'visits to the pasture-lands are regular and 'incessant, to prey upon the worms, snails, and grubs 'that abound there, especially in the morning. He frequents 'the corn-lands chiefly during the sowing season; but his 'little pilferings of grain are amply repaid by the wire-'worms and the grubs of the cockchafer and the craneflies 'which he greedily devours.' On the other hand, a very constant associate of the rook appears to be less justly treated. 'The jackdaw does not win much favour, and 'its reputed ill-deeds, on a much smaller scale, of course, 'than its larger congeners, are considered a sufficient excuse 'by the ignorant gamekeeper and farmer for taking its life. 'It is quite as harmless a bird as the rook, and at certain 'seasons of the year is very useful.' 'Its food consists 'largely of insects, worms, grubs, and even the parasites on 'cattle,' and in the turnip and potato fields it wages war upon wireworms. For birds like the magpie and the jay, of exceptionally beautiful plumage, it were to be wished that the defence on the economic side could be made rather stronger; but though there are parts of the year in which

they do good service by feeding on worms and grubs and noxious insects, there are other periods in which it is allowed that they are decidedly hostile both to gardeners and game-keepers, two classes of mankind meritorious indeed, but by no means patient of interference.

In regard to the wood-pigeon, or cushat, whereas the Rev. F. O. Morris wrote some years ago, 'It may safely 'be said that any damage it does is abundantly compen-'sated by the good that it effects in the destruction of 'the seeds of injurious plants,' the Earl of Haddington replied, 'As I have examined the contents of the crops of 'some thousand or two of pigeons, I am in a position to 'state positively that the amount of good done in this 'way by no means counterbalances the injury done by 'them to the farmer, especially in the newly sown corn-'fields, and on the young grass-fields, where they devour 'bushels of the leaf of the white clover. Their voracity is 'most remarkable, and, unfortunately, their powers of diges-'tion are also most incredible.'

The merits and demerits of the house-sparrow have a literature to themselves, wherein instructed opinion appears to have decided that the former are outweighed by the latter, that for whatever services they bestow these birds exact too large a payment, that in many situations they make themselves more free than welcome, and that no farmer can be expected to thank them for ridding his field of charlock-seed and insect larvæ if, in return, they consume or spoil his whole crop of corn. But it would be wrong to include in one sweeping condemnation with the audacious and prolific sparrow all the small seed-eating birds. For example, of the greenfinch, which, like most other finches, is partly granivorous and partly insectivorous, Mr. Seebohm, while allowing that were its numbers proportionate to those of the sparrow it might be as destructive to the crops, adds the observation that, 'the 'amount of noxious seeds this bird devours is enormous, and 'amply repays any trifling loss of grain the farmer may 'suffer.' In the family Cuculidæ, the well-known cuckoo, popular and useful as it is, suffers often from ignorance and misapprehension. Its food consists chiefly, as in the case of so many other birds, of insects, worms, grubs, berries, and seeds. 'The amount of injurious insects and larvæ which 'the cuckoo destroys in a single season is almost past belief; 'and the service this useful bird renders to the farmer, the 'gardener, and the owner of trees and forests should secure

'it the greatest protection.' But keepers fancy that it sucks the eggs of the birds which are more especially under their charge, and nature has endowed it for its own protection with a close resemblance to the truculent and dreaded sparrow-hawk, so close a mimicry that the little birds mob it as though it were their real enemy. Contrary to the evident intention of nature, 'its resemblance to a hawk is very often 'the cause of its death; for the gamekeeper shoots it down 'at every opportunity, not only in the belief that he is 'killing an obnoxious creature, but also to prevent it from 'turning into a hawk in winter!' For the actual hawks an ingenious plea is set up—that they ought to have permission to live in the interests of the game-preserver himself. These birds of prey, it is argued, will be almost sure to do what the sportsman cannot, and would not if he could. They will single out as easiest of capture the weak and sickly birds, whether of grouse or other game, and thus by a natural process stamp out the beginnings of disease, which might otherwise spread and eventually cause a far greater loss than any resulting from the depredations of winged pirates.

Turning to another branch of the subject, we may notice that the *avifauna* of our islands includes a considerable assemblage of birds which are not of any direct economic importance, which do not appreciably do us either good or harm, neither largely serving us for food nor liberally helping themselves to our supplies, nor yet destroying to our advantage those animal and vegetable enemies of our prosperity which, by their numbers and minuteness, set man's own opposition at defiance. Among the birds which thus form a kind of neutral host there are some that would under no probable circumstances become numerous among us; some have once been common, but are now rare; some by the necessary conditions of their existence are local, confined to a few spots where the exceptional conditions suited to them are to be found; some visit our shores regularly, though in small numbers; others may be looked upon as accidental visitants, who would not have come at all if they could have helped themselves. It is worth while considering how in general these groups ought to be treated. If we are to be guided by custom and precedent, innumerable records enable us to perceive what is the time-honoured rule of practice. According to this law, the first man with a gun who can get within shot of a rare bird is entitled to shoot it. The penalty upon the first man with a gun for not conforming to the law is simply this, that the second man with a gun will

secure the prize in his stead. Should a rare fowl by any chance be protected on the estate upon which it first alights, as soon as it flies over to the adjoining estate its life will be sacrificed. With distinctively foreign birds, such as the slim and graceful flamingo, occasionally driven to England by stress of weather, and never likely to establish a colony among us, the desire to secure interesting specimens is likely always to override any natural but otherwise unsupported sentiment of hospitality. In regard to birds once abundant, it seems strange to think that in old times the common kite was so much at home in London that its numbers specially attracted the attention of foreigners visiting our capital. It was even protected by law as a necessary bird. Its predilection for garbage made it valuable. The sanitary arrangements of the metropolis in the reign of Henry VIII. were, beyond dispute, of that free and easy description with which aërial scavengers are so competent to deal. Nowadays the so-called common kite is becoming very uncommon in England and Wales, and according to Mr. Howard Saunders 'it will soon be exterminated by the collectors of British specimens unless the 'greatest caution is observed.' The graceful hoopoe, it is said, so frequently visits our southern and eastern coasts in the spring time that it would soon come to breed regularly among us were it not so mercilessly massacred on its arrival. The remarkable avocet, with its curiously long and thin and upward-curving beak, was once numerous in the fen district, and used to nest regularly on the flat shores of Kent and Sussex. But its eggs are in demand with collectors, its feathers with the makers of artificial flies, and the fen-land has been drained. Under these discouraging circumstances small flocks of the avocet still reach England in May, and occasionally in autumn; but the former, Mr. Saunders says, are never allowed to breed, 'for the amasser 'of British-killed specimens offers to the local gunners inducements which far exceed the amount of any fine and costs 'that would be imposed, even in the problematical event of 'the offender's conviction under the feeble Wild Birds' 'Preservation Act.' The common bittern has always been in high favour with ornithologists and poets for its striking appearance and beautiful plumage and its strange cry, as well as for its solitary habits and the somewhat romantic scenery in which, in consequence, it has to be sought. Already in 1842 an anonymous writer was deploring the probability of its becoming extinct, regarding

it as proscribed by the arbitrary caprice of man, who is so ready thoughtlessly to make a gap in nature, which all his knowledge and ingenuity would never be able to fill up again. The draining of the East Anglian fens, in itself a work of the highest utility, has dislodged the bittern from its favourite haunts; but Mr. Howard Saunders points out that 'even in the present day so many of the birds which 'regularly visit us are shot in spring that, if a little for-'bearance were exercised, the "boom" of the bittern might 'again be heard in our land.'

Many other species of birds less striking, indeed, in most instances than the bittern, but still delightful objects, and more ready in general than the bittern to display their charms, might be frequent among us, adding pleasure, one would suppose, to the existence of the most commonplace observer, if that forbearance of which Mr. Saunders speaks could be brought into common use and practice. Admiration and curiosity make some men too keenly competitive for the possession of these favourites. The more rare and lovely a bird is that offers to make its home among us, the more eagerly we seek its destruction. Those that escape the traditional Englishman's desire to kill something, and whose dainty flesh is not coveted by the epicure, tempt the enlightened naturalist to seize them for 'specimens.' The tender-hearted reader will perhaps scarcely forgive Mr. Seebohm himself for the part which, by his own confession, he took in the doleful tragedy of the little stint in Norway. First his interpreter slew the male bird. Then Mr. Seebohm and his friend walked up to the nest and sat down quietly, one on each side of the eggs. As quietly the mother bird slipped off the nest and began walking round them, pecking on the ground as if feeding, and approaching almost within arm's length. 'It was a most interesting and beautiful sight. The tame-'ness of the bird was almost ludicrous.' And then he tells of all her pretty antics and ingenious devices to lure him away from the nest, closing his story with the euphemistic expression, 'and I secured her.' He cannot reasonably be blamed. His friend and he had gone to the land of the midnight sun, braved the mosquitoes, bivouacked in a wreck, and otherwise taken upon themselves a vast amount of trouble, on purpose thus to 'secure,' to free from all future care and danger, little stints and other beloved objects of a similar kind. The very books which do so much to increase our knowledge and promote our love of

birds could never have been written without an ample supply of 'specimens.' They are so essential to any thoroughness of learning or honesty of teaching that the naturalist is forced to become a partner in the very destruction against which he makes his protest. But none the less he is entitled to raise his voice against wanton and indiscriminate slaughter, and to urge upon every kind of sportsman, scientific or otherwise, the wisdom and advantage of self-restraint. It would be extremely disappointing and almost disgraceful to us if the ever-increasing love of natural history pursuits ended in stripping and despoiling our land of all its most interesting living objects of natural history. There are those who think it necessary for the honour of botany to carry off all the blossoms they can find of a plant that is rare in any locality, or to root up the plant itself wherever it occurs. There are others, without any special botanical knowledge, who leave alone the rarer weeds, but as mercilessly pluck every wild flower that is peculiarly attractive. For some distance, therefore, round any large assemblage of houses the roadsides, instead of being, as at many parts of the year they might be, delightful natural gardens, are tame and uniform, adorned, if at all, only with the flowers which no one thinks worth picking. Whether for the protection of wild flowers or wild birds, there is needed, more than anything else, an enlightened public opinion, for this is stronger than the law and the prophets combined, more effective than judge and jury, dispensing with Acts of Parliament, acting upon the first beginnings of education, and influencing all classes for the benefit of all.

Mr. Seebohm's volumes are so evidently the work of a highly trained, acute, and trustworthy observer, and so admirably adapted to inspire true notions of the charm and value of bird-life, that the one or two faults which we take leave to find with them are in nowise intended to make the number of their readers less. A work of this character and importance should certainly have been illustrated by figures of the birds themselves, in addition to the elaborate portraits that are given of the birds' eggs. The ordinary student will infallibly find his interest diminished in the verbal description of a bird which he cannot compare with its picture. Often he will be at a loss to understand the points insisted on, or be put to the inconvenience of consulting some other work on the subject. Even now a supplementary volume of engravings might be issued to supply the omission. A second point on which we are far from approving Mr.

Seebohm's discretion has regard to the tough question of Latin names. To the ordinary observer these often seem to be superfluous and impertinent. It may readily be admitted that there is a homeliness and pleasant familiarity in such names as the hedge-sparrow and the garden warbler that can never be associated with such designations as *Accentor modularis* and *Sylvia hortensis*. But in science the use of the common vernacular names has two inconveniences: the one comparatively slight, that in different districts the same name may have been applied to different birds, or different names to the same bird; the other far more considerable, that if, instead of one name for a species available everywhere, there is to be a separate name in every language, the difficulties of scientific intercourse and discussion are enormously increased. A German, a Frenchman, a Pole, an Italian, perfectly able to read an English description of the garden warbler, might search their dictionaries in vain for the name of the bird itself, and would have, perhaps, to study minutely the details given before discovering that the bird described was one with which they were already well acquainted, and about which at the moment they needed no information. Whether for all purposes a common language would be an advantage to mankind we are not on this occasion concerned to inquire. For their own purposes scientific men are agreed that in natural history the same species ought, if possible, to have the same name all the world over. What that name should be in many particular instances they are by no means agreed. Fully to explain how this has come to pass would be rather a long story. It may, however, be pointed out that, natural objects being exceedingly multitudinous, not merely in individuals, but in their kinds or species, no naturalist can be really well acquainted with more than a small section either of the whole mass of the objects themselves, or of the literature which describes them, while some naturalists increase the literature without being really well acquainted with any section of the objects. Hence it has arisen, and still arises, that not unfrequently the same species is described in science as well as in popular speech under more than one independent designation, and is sometimes described accurately and recognisably, but at others with misleading vagueness or downright error. In old times, moreover, naturalists to a great extent contented themselves with a definite name for the genus alone, as it might be *Aquila* or *Bubo*, discriminating species not by a name, but by a larger

or smaller group of descriptive epithets. This cumbrous method could not fail with the progress of science to become unworkable, and eventually it had to yield to the system of binomial nomenclature, by which every living object is entitled in classification to a generic and specific name, through all the range of physiology that extends between *Homo sapiens*, reasoning man, and the stony seaweed, or nullipore, *Melobesia calcarea*. It is at a subsequent stage to this that the matter for controversy between ourselves and Mr. Seebohm was developed.

In 1842 the late H. E. Strickland, assisted by many zoologists, both British and foreign, drew up rules of zoological nomenclature, which received the approval of the British Association in that year. These rules, slightly altered and amended, were again approved, and recommended for the general use of zoologists, by the same association in 1865. They neither exist nor claim to exist by right divine. They are open to criticism. They are no part of the statutes of Great Britain, nor will they be found noticed in any code of international law. But they have met with very general acceptance in the scientific world, and they are based on two principles, one of which never is and the other never ought to be left out of sight in the ordinary transactions of human life—the first expedience, the second justice. The binomial nomenclature was definitely introduced into science by the tenth edition of Linnæus' 'Systema Naturæ' in 1758. Expedience imperatively demanded that only names given or adopted within the era of this notable improvement, and framed in conformity with it, should have scientific value. Justice in turn demanded that, subject to these limitations, the earliest writer who had published an intelligible description of a species should have the privilege of determining its name. Illogically and unfortunately, the British Association have chosen 1766, the date of the twelfth edition of Linnæus' great work, instead of 1758, the date of the tenth edition, as the starting point in time of modern zoological nomenclature. In this respect their principles are bound to outweigh, and will no doubt eventually displace, their precepts. But Mr. Seebohm cares nothing either for their principles or their precepts, except to denounce them repeatedly as full of mischief and productive of hopeless confusion, as fit only for Utopia, and wanting in common sense. His own system is to 'adopt the name which has 'been *most used* by previous writers,' or, as he otherwise and more accurately expresses it, to follow the usage *plurimorum*

auctorum. Under this system the chance of a difference of opinion is, he thinks, reduced to a minimum; 'no new 'names can possibly be raked up and applied,' and there is no need to flatter the vanity of an author by coupling the describer's name with that of the species described. He seems entirely to forget that in almost all disputed cases the author whose vanity he is afraid of gratifying will have long been in the grave; the names which he is afraid of raking up are not, as he strangely calls them, 'new names,' but, by the very essence of their claim, the oldest of the old; and his ingenious plan for suppressing difference of opinion by always siding with the majority is predestined, one may hope, to ignominious failure. The naturalist who by laborious travel and research, close observing, tedious comparison, skilful dissection, may have earned the privilege of attaching his surname in a scientific manual to the Latin appellation, whether of an obscure little bunting or of a glorious bird of paradise, has for the most part to content himself with that reward, which surely ought not to be grudged him, since the very flimsiness of it renders him almost an object of contempt in this money-making world. There is a certain speciousness about Mr. Seebohm's plan of following 'most authors,' because happily in a great many instances most authors have done justice to their predecessors, and have, therefore, used the names which had the best right to be used. But the fact that they often go right is no sound argument for following them when they go wrong. The so-called raking up of old names is only a very interesting enquiry into the history of ornithology, in which probably Mr. Seebohm himself indulges with the greatest satisfaction, as may be judged from the compendious and dogmatic but valuable survey of that history in the introduction to his third volume. The validity of a name decided only by the comparative number of writers using it must always be insecure, since the majority of one date might become the minority at another; whereas literary investigation is now so keen that, though one early name may now and then be displaced by an earlier, claims of priority have on the whole the best possible chance of being settled on a fixed and permanent basis. To be consistent in his attack upon vanity, Mr. Seebohm ought to make his lists of synonyms useless by omitting the names of the different authors to whom the synonyms are due. He is, indeed, not over careful in the construction of these lists, since he is willing to make such an entry as '*Motacilla hypolais*,' with a reference to Linnæus, although he had pre-

viously himself correctly stated that Linnæus wrote not *Hypolais*, but *Hippolais*. He does not appear to have studied very carefully the British Association rules, of which he is so contemptuous, since for the genus of swifts he rejects the name *Micropus*, given by Wolf in 1810, on the ground that the word had been already used for a genus of plants, although in 1865 it was expressly agreed that 'botany 'should not be introduced into the Strickland rules and 'recommendations.' It is perfectly true that Linnæus was far surpassed by other men among his contemporaries in some of the departments of natural history; but when Mr. Seebohm remarks that 'Linnæus had the good luck to 'adopt a binomial system of nomenclature,' one feels inclined to add, by way of comment on this petulance, that Linnæus had the good luck to be a great genius.

Leaving controversy, we may find for a moment a lighter theme in the names of birds as presented to us in our mother tongue. The large number of English surnames taken from birds, such as Eagle, Falcon, Hawk, Buzzard, Nightingale, Finch, Wren, Sparrow, and the like, are a testimony to the attention paid by our ancestors to this branch of the animal kingdom. In most instances, no doubt, the person upon whom a name of this kind was first conferred will have received it on account of some real or fancied resemblance to his namesake in his features or his gait. As with family names derived from occupations, so those from birds may severally have had more than one independent origin. This has obviously been the case with the former class, but less certainly the case, and certainly the case in a less degree, with the latter class; for though the surnames derived from birds form a very long list, individually they are far from common. Among birds themselves, some have trivial names that are rather misleading, as, for example, that largest of the kingfishers, the laughing jackass of Australia, about whose derisive habits amusing stories are told. The name of the titmouse might puzzle a young zoologist apart from the explanation that it signifies not any kind of a mouse, but a little mew, or tiny gull. The moor-hen of our ponds must seem oddly named to those who do not understand that the word means the mire, or marsh, hen, not the hen of the moorland. Like the famous butterfly, which flies in the season of butter, the wheatear, instead of being, as it is, an insectivorous bird, frequenting moors and mountains, fallows and stone-pits, might from its name be naturally supposed to love the corn-field and feed on ears

of wheat. Its name, however, as Mr. Howard Saunders explains, is really a corruption of an Anglo-Saxon form meaning white-rump, and, no doubt, originally the word was wheatears in the singular as well as in the plural. The nightingale, or songster of the night, as the derivation of its name implies, is by no means the only bird that sings under a starlight sky. On this point Mr. Seebohm remarks: 'The sedge-warbler, the robin, the thrush, the cuckoo, the 'grasshopper-warbler, and others repeatedly do so. I have 'heard persons describe in rapturous language the music 'they have heard at night, which they attributed to the 'present bird [the nightingale], when the sedge-warbler was 'undoubtedly the musician that had charmed them so much.' Though men commonly speak of all animals but themselves as the 'dumb animals,' the expression is little applicable to the realm of birds. Peewit and crake, cuckoo and chiff-chaff, are ready instances of birds named from their cries or notes. The 'chiff, cheff, chaff' of the last-mentioned has been said by one naturalist to remind the hearer 'of the 'faint chime of the distant village church bell.' But Mr. Seebohm, who is an exceptionally qualified judge of such matters, pronounces this comparison to be 'unmiti-'gated nonsense.' Practically it is very few of the utterances of birds, except their harsh and croaking cries, that can be well represented by our alphabets. We have no adequate notation for their songs. Even in transcribing their call-notes, the shrillness or the languor, the sonorous quality or the piping cheerfulness, the accent of warning or solicitation, and, above all, the melodiousness, when there is any, must be lost in our clumsy methods of transliteration. The best that can be said for the attempt is that it may call up a more or less vivid remembrance of the actual sounds in those whose trained ears are already familiar with bird-language. A little practice may teach even a Londoner to hear the song thrush quickly calling 'Pretty Dick, pretty 'Dick,' or the yellow-ammer asking for 'a little bit of 'bread and no chee-ese.' In Scotland the yellow-ammer is called the yeldrake, and there it is supposed to say, 'Chivil, 'chivil, chee-ee, if you harry my nest, the de'il tak' thee-ee;' while the song of the thrush relates that the broth is thick and needs stirring and tasting, 'Broo thick, broo thick, stir 'about, stir about, pree it, pree it, pree it.' The Scotchman calls the peewit the peeweep, and to his ear it says 'Pee-'weep, wallo-peweep.' The curlew he names the whaup, because, as it careers about in the air, its cry is 'Whaup,

'whaup,' to which in its descent to the ground it adds 'Curlew, curlew, curlew,' with the accent on the second syllable, not on the first. One of the numerous American goatsuckers tells the gaucho (in his language, not in ours) that the sun is risen. The kittiwake speaks English, and says to those who approach its nest, 'Get-a-way, 'get-a-way.' But the language of birds in general will scarcely become a part of ordinary education until the phonograph has enabled us to store up specimens of these sweet and varied voices for our study and analysis at leisure. With our vocal, as distinguished from our written, imitations of their speech birds themselves are only too readily content, to the loss of their lives and liberties, since, both on the Continent and in our own eastern counties the professional bird-catchers, by their skill in this respect, lure their victims with the greatest certainty. The two Germans who, some time ago, led a Robinson Crusoe kind of existence on Inaccessible Island, in the Atlantic, were able, by whistling as they approached them, to secure the thrushes of that island at will during their two years' sojourn upon it.

Those who would listen with full enjoyment to the choristers of the air warbling their native wood-notes wild must not only have ears attuned by Nature to that music, but also an enthusiasm for seeking it in the lonely and sequestered regions that these musicians love. There the artistic temperament will find the eye as well as the ear rewarded. Ornithologists can be prosaic enough while measuring the dimensions, describing the colours and markings, discussing the nomenclature, the classification, the genera and sub-genera, the species and varieties, of the birds they are concerned with, but as soon as they are engaged in telling us about the haunts of the different kinds their language is at once suffused with a glow of poetry. They are inspired by the romantic charm of what their own eyes have seen, and are evidently striving, often with great success, to impart to others some of the artistic delight they themselves have felt. It is no question only of 'celebrities at home,' such as bower-birds and eagles, for the surroundings of the little goldcrest, the whinchat, and the reed-warbler are full as lovingly handled. But the living birds, whether common or rare, are by no means always to be found in the bosom of the family by all who might wish to see them there. For such sights a man may have to wander far, to make close and diligent search, to be a nimble and adventurous climber. The simplicity of

character which renders birds in general unsuspicious of human force or fraud until harsh experience has forced them to believe in it, seldom extends to the care of their eggs and young. They want no visits of enquiry, however polite, to the tree-tops and rock-ledges where these are placed. By the parent birds in many species no trouble for the welfare and comfort of their young is declined, and when the trouble taken seems to be least, as when some sea-bird lays its egg upon the bare rock, the health and safety of the young are no doubt sufficiently cared for by the seeming carelessness. In nests and nesting-places there is indeed a wonderful variety exhibited. Leaving out of sight the extraordinary structures which are sewn together with cobwebs or silk, or other fibres, by the tailor-bird, and the marvellous work of the weaver-bird, in distant lands, there is abundant diversity of type nearer home—the elaborate, the gigantic, the laboriously excavated, the ingeniously hidden. In many nests the choice of materials is sufficiently strange. Some are remarkable for the apparently intentional absence of concealment. This is natural enough in birds like the swallows of the temple and the sacred ibis, which have learnt to confide in man's protection; but the same explanation will not apply to the spotted fly-catcher, nor to the wary missel-thrush, which, contrary to the custom of its family, ceases to sing in the nesting season, yet appears to counteract the precaution of silence by heedless exposure of its nest; but this may be due to a crafty negligence, just as in the children's game of hiding the thimble, when the object supposed to be secreted escapes discovery by not being hidden. As a thing may become conspicuous by its absence, so also may its presence be disguised by being unexpectedly conspicuous. More often, however, the nests, which are not secured by being comparatively inaccessible, are withdrawn from observation, either by the natural circumstances of their position or by artifice, or by both combined. The wood-owl sometimes breeds in the deserted burrow of a fox or a rabbit. Trouble is saved and privacy attained by a stroke of sagacity which injures no one. Far different is it, in regard to trouble taken, with the nest of the chaffinch, carefully compacted of rootlets, moss, and grasses, strengthened or adorned with cobwebs and lichens, and softly lined with hair and feathers and the down of seeds. Mr. Seebohm calls the structure 'a matchless piece of handi-' work,' as though the pliancy of human fingers alone were equal to such skill; and the following passage, which he

quotes from his friend Mr. Charles Dixon, brings vividly before the mind the extent of ingenuity which these little creatures can display in order to shield their young ones from danger:—

'Here, on this grassy bank, is a gorse bush, dry and withered, killed by the relentless frosts of the preceding winter. Amongst its prickly branches, however, a chaffinch has made her nest. Found merely by accident, let us examine it closely. The outside of the nest is thickly covered with little pieces of decayed wood, obtained from a log close by, which assimilate her nest most admirably to the brown, dead foliage of the gorse bush and its withered blooms. So closely does it resemble surrounding tints that, seen at a short distance, it appears part of the bush itself. Take another instance: on the lichen-covered branch of this hoary birch tree something is seen which appears to be a knotted prominence of the bark; closer inspection reveals the nest of the chaffinch, its walls being decked with lichens and spiders' webs, the whole harmonizing so closely with the tints of the bark as to defy all but the keenest gaze to detect the bird's secret. Another instance: in yonder hawthorn tree, clothed in fairest bloom, is a chaffinch's nest; the lichens and the decayed wood, however, have been discarded, and in their place are small scraps of paper, so thickly studding the outside of the nest as to appear, at a casual glance, nothing more than an exceptionally handsome bunch of bloom.'

Wonderful as this capacity of adaptation appears in a little insignificant bird, the facts may be illustrated and their trustworthiness supported by what occurs among animals of still lower type. There are species of crabs which, not indeed for the benefit of their young, but for their own individual advantage, pluck pieces of sponge and seaweed and actually plant them on the spines of their own shells, so that they, being themselves creatures slow of movement, may lie in the submarine garden as if a part of it, secure from the observation of foes, and ready to pounce on unsuspecting prey. The surprising circumstance has further been noted that, when these crustaceans are removed from the surroundings with which they have made themselves harmonise to others of a different character, they proceed either to cover up or to pluck off the no longer suitable costume, and replace it by a better match.*

Among birds there are not many which choose the materials of the nest with so much art as the chaffinch exhibits. In numerous instances it may be said that all is grist that comes to the mill. Often all sorts of rags and fragments of

* Die Maskirung der Oxyrrhynchen Decapoden (C. W. S. Aurivillius). Stockholm, 1889.

newspapers form an incongruous mixture with horsehair and wool and the vegetable spoils of the forest. In deep-burrowed hole of a river bank a layer of small fish-bones on a gluey lining will suffice the parental instinct of the king-fisher. The Asiatic swiftlets form their famous edible birds'-nests in the first instance entirely from the thickened mucus of their own salivary glands—at any rate a more agreeable use of that apparatus than is made of it in the mouths of Asiatic women for preparing the contents of the kaava-bowl. In many nests a soft lining is produced by cast pellets from the birds' own throats, or by down from their own breasts. Some birds make extensive castles, so to speak, of the numerous twigs and branches which they gather from the ground or break off from the trees. The jackdaw is sometimes an extravagant builder, with a regal indifference to the amount of materials employed. A gentleman in Kent, who happened to have a large stock of light bundles of firewood in his courtyard, found that a chimney in his house had become unusable. To deal with the mischief either the chimney must be dismantled or the obstruction burnt out. The latter plan was recommended by the builder as the quicker and the less costly. The former was preferred by the householder as involving less risk. Upon opening out the chimney it was found to be a vast repository of firewood, the setting light to which would probably have involved the entire destruction of the mansion itself in the attempt to dislodge the nest for which a pair of jackdaws had laid this colossal foundation. On the other hand, jackdaws that have found a small and suitable hole will, at times, content themselves with the mere rudiments of a nest. How humble a position a bird will occasionally choose for a breeding-place is shown by the nest of a sparrow lodged in a fungus, a natural curiosity preserved and exhibited in the British Museum at South Kensington.

Considering the unwearied industry and passionate solicitude which most birds display over the rearing of their young, it would be pleasant to think that some reciprocity was shown by the offspring when age and infirmity overtake the parents. But there are several reasons why this is not much to be expected. Even among mankind, in uncivilised tribes, the old and feeble, instead of exciting compassion and respect, are often regarded as encumbrances not to be cherished, but removed. The early maturity of birds, compared with the total length of their lives, soon brings the younger generation into competition with their parents,

who are led by a useful instinct to drive away the offspring they have up till then so tenderly reared. Thus the ties of affection are effectively snapped asunder at an early date. During the sharp winters when the strongest and healthiest bird can barely keep itself from starving, in long migratory flights across the sea, against the sudden attacks of fierce enemies, filial gratitude, had such a feeling been developed in the feathered breasts, could have done but little to succour the infirmities of age. Yet we can relate an incident, on good authority, which shows that, at least in domesticated birds, a sentiment may be evoked which strongly resembles the reverence of children for a parent. A hen had been set to hatch out a brood of ducklings, which she reared in the usual manner. When in due course the ducklings had grown into ducks, the hen which had brought them up became engaged in a combat with another hen in the same poultry-yard. Aroused by the fray, the ducks left their pond, advanced to the scene of action, separated the combatants, and then proudly (if pride can be judged of from the demeanour of a duck) escorted their foster-mother to a distance out of harm's way.

Reference has been made above to the zoological department of the British Museum in Cromwell Road, South Kensington. There, in the national collection, are now exhibited a delightful series of specimens of birds, presented to the eye with a skilful and artistic reproduction of the immediate surroundings which they have in nature. There, as among their native cliffs, the great gannets, the guillemots, and the kittiwakes of the Bass Rock are to be found, and there also the snipe and plover and woodcock, heron and tern, skylark and siskin, nuthatch and butcher-bird, the nightingale and blackcap and sedge-warbler, almost all of them species which thousands of people know full well by name and fame, yet have never seen, and can even scarcely ever hope to see, in the recesses of their nesting homes, fondly watching over their eggs and callow young ones. It is thus that they are shown in the museum, vocal indeed no longer, and with their swift wings motionless, but otherwise lifelike in presentment. He that cannot seek them in their native haunts should by all means visit them here, where no inquisitive gaze, however prolonged, will scare them, nor foot of the intruder flutter their tender bosoms with parental anxiety and alarm. By the bequest of the lately deceased naturalist, Mr. E. T. Booth, his grand ornithological collection, prepared in this same instructively

beautiful manner, is to be added to the educational resources of the nation: a noble gift, and an enduring memorial to the merits of the giver, whose taste and science and love of birds have taught the taxidermist how to make his realism more real, in and by making it poetical and picturesque.

No museum specimens, however skilfully mounted, will convey more than a suggestion of the modes of flight, or explain why some birds pass from place to place with gracefully undulating career, others by a series of little aërial jumps; why some dart like arrows from a bow, others flap heavily along; why some circle and tumble and perform all sorts of wild evolutions in the air; and why to these or those, and not to others of the great assemblage, are allotted the pouncing and sailing and grandly soaring capacities of movement. Towards this branch of study the museum offers such assistance as it can, by showing in the skeleton how the bones of what may be called the arm and hand and fingers of the bird are arranged for extending and drawing together the membranes and feathers of the wing, and how means of attachment and insertion are provided for the powerful muscles by which the wing-strokes are enabled to utilise the resistance of the air. Even those who have the most unstinted opportunities of observing the flight of different birds in nature, though they may derive an indefinable delight from the aspect of freedom and gaiety, the appearance of inimitable dexterity, the show of power and the sense of mystery, as well as the almost endless variety in the motions observed, do not, after all, by the unaided efforts of their own eyesight, make any great advance in the science of aërial locomotion. In recent years the instantaneous plates of the photographer and the photographic gun, methods of registering the number of beats of a wing in a given time and the direction of the stroke, accurate measurements of weights and surfaces and other dimensions, and abstruse mathematical calculations as to the effects of varying the proportions of the bird and as to action and reaction between it and the medium it has to traverse, have been brought to bear upon the mechanism of flight.

Among other results of attention concentrated on the question has been the solution of a problem long unexplained—the problem presented by the power of such a bird as the albatross to sail and wheel about in the atmosphere, even for an hour at a time, apparently without a single flapping of its outspread wings. While it is the

business of the muscles to keep the wings firmly outstretched from the shoulder-joint and to determine the necessary positions of the head and tail and trunk, and while the various air-sacs and air-cavities distributed about the body and in the bones give buoyancy to the whole animal machine, it is only by taking advantage of differences in the currents of the air that the bird is able to perform what looks like a miracle. The action is really not very different from that of a car on a switchback railway. Having obtained a great altitude in the sky by the ordinary lifting power of its wings, it lets go, so to speak, and slips down the slope of one air-current till it meets another, up which it is borne by its acquired momentum, to re-enter, perhaps, the previous current, or to find some other down which it may again perform a dexterous slant, again and again to circle upwards before the exhausted energy at length requires to be once more renewed by vigorous wing-strokes. Beautifully as this machinery works, the conditions under which it works are by no means favourable to the hopes that man might entertain of imitating its processes with any extensive advantage in practice.

The giant birds of geology, such as the *dinornis*, the extinct moa of New Zealand, some of which stood more than ten feet high, were most of them wingless, just as still the great ostrich is a running, not a flying, bird. The albatrosses and the condors, giants among the winged fowl of the present day, are only relatively gigantic, since the weights of their bodies are trifling compared with those of human beings, and their lofty flights, even if matched by the ascending powers of balloons, are unsuited to the respiratory faculties of man. Helmholtz has observed that, though many small birds which are granivorous fly swiftly, the great birds that are potent on the wing are fish and flesh eaters, not needing extensive organs of digestion for their concentrated food. He thinks it therefore probable that in the model of the great Alpine eagle nature has attained the utmost limit that can be attained, with muscles for the working organs and conditions of nourishment as favourable as possible for the size of a creature which is to raise itself by wings and maintain itself for any time high in the air. Under these circumstances he concludes that it is scarcely to be considered probable that man, with the most skilfully contrived mechanism, to be moved by his own muscular power, would ever be able to raise his own weight into the air

and sustain it there for any time worth speaking of.* When vessels filled with gas lighter than air are employed to supply the lifting power, and yet other vessels are employed with some stored force to take the place of our own muscular resources, the consequential increase of bulk and weight in the complex machine must indeed greatly discourage human aspirations and longings for the invention of artificial wings. The desire involved, however little it may be formulated, in those aspirations, is for the capacity to cleave the air like a merlin or to skim over the waters like a swift, and for ability to do this or something like it freely on the impulse of the moment, not after consultation with the gasworks and a fee to the electrical engineer.

By the nature of the case, the gardens of the Zoological Society can provide but few facilities for studying the flight of birds; but for observing some of the habits and customs, the general gait and demeanour, the form and feather-clothing of many rare species, these well-known and much valued gardens offer opportunities from which perhaps the lion and the bear too much distract the general gaze. Long and laborious would be the earth-encompassing travels by land and sea of anyone who should attempt to visit in their natural birth-places all the wonderful feathered kinds which a tour of the gardens will show him in an hour. Here, without distinction of palæarctic and nearctic, neotropical and ethiopian, Indian and Australian regions, the student will find gathered together vultures and golden pheasants, the toucan, the trumpeter, the superb tanager, macaws and bower-birds, the stork and crane and flamingo, pelicans with their great pouched bills, and, from time to time, the coveted bird of paradise. What if for the classifier the bird of paradise be little more than a glorified crow, yet in its many species it displays the finish of form, the brilliance and soft harmony of colouring, the exquisite grace of plumage that feast the eye, that satisfy the hungry soul of admiration, that seem to exhaust in that line of her craft Nature's capacity of delightfulness. No doubt, to be seen in all the fulness of their charm they should be seen amidst the tropical vegetation and in the tropical sunshine of their native clime, but such a view of them only belongs to the rare chances of travel or the risks of prolonged exploration. It may even be said that the surpassing beauty of the lyre-bird or that of the twelve-wired bird of paradise is a thing sometimes not

* Ueber den Flug der Vögel, p. 242 (Dr. H. Strasser). 1885.

in living existence. All the year round, indeed, it may be seen in museum specimens, but in the living state the traveller may search for it in vain, unless he searches for it about the period of the courting season, what time these children of nature's brightest fancy have donned their wondrous costumes, not for our satisfaction, but to attract and pleasure their own admiring mates. Yet, if we commend to home-keeping students the advantages they actually possess, and which they cannot without unwisdom and loss to themselves neglect, those are still to be envied who, with open and instruction-gathering eyes, can commune more directly with nature in this as in all other branches of study. Especially the islands and coast-fringes of the world are found to be the favourite haunts of birds. Thus at Raine Island in the South Pacific the birds 'are in such numbers 'as to darken the air as they fly overhead'; at Svœrholt, not far from the North Cape in Norway, there are reckoned to be five or six millions of kittiwakes. How that vast clouds of birds in migration visit the tiny island of Heligoland has long been matter of familiar knowledge. Prettily does Alberg Holm, in his 'Avifauna of the Färoes,' describe what may be met with there by one fishing in a fiord on a mid-summer day, when the waters are covered with mist and the waves are still. Then, he says:

'If you will sit quietly in the boat, the Arctic tern will fly in so trustfully that a fishing-line may be thrown round it; the kittiwake flies over and beside the boat; presently it finds a piece of fish or flesh; then in the twinkling of an eye the long-tailed skua darts upon the scene with its screaming cry of *Tio*, *Tio*, and the whole fiord is filled with the liveliest, if not the most harmonious, music; peace follows the finished contest for a moment, till a similar occasion renews it, perhaps a still larger pirate, the great skua, putting in its claims. The black guillemot meantime keeps ducking and diving in constant attendance on the boat, while further off in the mist will be heard the cries of puffins and common guillemots, and flocks of shearwaters and the greater and the lesser blackbacked gulls and the herring-gull keep at a convenient and respectful distance.'

The 'Challenger' people were busy with the depths of the sea, yet they found time to obtain seven new and beautiful species of birds from the Philippine Islands and six from the Admiralty Islands, besides numerous species already known both from those islands and many others. Far in the Southern Ocean, at Marion Island, Kerguelen, and the Falklands, these explorers became familiar with the great king penguins; with the banded penguin at Kerguelen, Heard

Island, and Marion Island; with the jackass penguin at the Cape of Good Hope; with its near relation in antarctic America, the Magellanic penguin, which will burrow its nest eight feet into the sand hills. The crested penguins, of which the rockhoppers and macaronis appear to be not separate species, but only colour varieties, were met with in the Tristan da Cunha group, as well as at the Cape, the Falklands, and Kerguelen. One of the old sea-captains fancied that these wingless birds might be feathered fishes. Wherever they and their eggs are to be found, the sailor need be in no fear of starving. With their astonishing numbers and strange habits the recent explorers were evidently as much amazed and fascinated as the earliest circumnavigators of the world had been before them. On Nightingale Island the night-flying petrels were in the day-time dug out of their holes by help of the officers' dogs. On Marion island the nesting albatrosses had to submit, indignant but helpless, to having their huge wings stretched out from behind for scientific measurement. In Kerguelen Mr. Moseley was pursuing as a sportsman and a caterer the teal of that island, and for some time tramped after them in vain; but at last,

'I saw,' he says, 'a flock get up from the bed of a river which ran down the valley about 150 yards off. I thought the birds must be wild, and had been recently shot at; but no, they got up merely to come and look at me. They pitched about forty yards off, and then set off running towards me in line, like farm-yard ducks, seven of them in a row, headed by a drake.'

In these antarctic teal there was the true spirit of scientific curiosity. What resulted from it need not be mentioned, lest it should discourage those in whom we have been respectfully endeavouring to encourage this very spirit of enquiry. Every good cause must have its martyrs, and, besides, a great scientific expedition was at that particular moment longing for fresh meat.

To say that the literature of ornithology is a vast one is to say no more of it than may be said for almost every branch of modern learning. Though Pallas's 'Sand Grouse,' for example, may not seem a subject of absorbing interest to the world at large, yet in a catalogue of zoological papers for a single month of last year a full page was occupied by the titles of twenty-two writings on this single topic, produced by a score of authors—German, French, English, and Italian. The very fact that birds are in colour and form so distinguished, beautiful with so great

a variety of adornment, makes every descriptive work a costly one if it is accompanied with the full portraiture of these fascinating objects. Some books—such as Gould's 'Monograph of the Humming Birds,' or his 'British Birds,' also with magnificent plates, Booth's 'Rough Notes,' Dresser's 'History of the Birds of Europe,' although of this last Mr. Seebohm says, 'Every ornithologist who can afford it 'ought to buy this work,'—are, in fact, hopelessly out of the reach of ordinary purses. Some, like Mr. Seebohm's own work here noticed, like the new edition of 'Yarrell,' by Newton and Saunders, like the volumes of the 'Catalogue 'of Birds in the British Museum,' by R. Bowdler Sharpe, and others, or like Sclater and Hudson's 'Argentine 'Ornithology,' reach such a measure of price and of importance that the student who is forced to be modest in expense can neither do with them nor without them. It is a decided boon when, as with Mr. Howard Saunders' 'Manual of British Birds,' and as with the article on 'Aves,' by Mr. Bowdler Sharpe, in 'Cassell's Natural History,' information of great value and trustworthiness can be compressed within moderate limits, and excellent illustrations combined with no extravagance of cost. Mr. Saunders' volume has the particular merit of giving the Latin names of the species so accented that one can pronounce them correctly without the necessity of being a Bentley or a Scaliger. For a discussion of the mechanical and biological problems connected with flying, Dr. Strasser's 'Ueber den Flug der 'Vögel' should not be overlooked, especially as his work is a guide to a crowd of other authorities from whom he differs or with whom he agrees. For pleasant pleading in harmonious verse on behalf of the feathered tribes those who can be influenced by a poet's numbers should read Mr. W. J. Courthope's 'Paradise of Birds.' The second edition of this agreeable poem has been entered in a well-known record—whether intentionally or under a misapprehension—among the recent *scientific* publications of the day. Mr. Courthope despatches his friends, Maresnest the philosopher and the romantic Windbag, to the Pole, a landless latitude beyond the snow and ice, in order that in that soft hyperborean region they may, if possible, meet with and recover the race of birds, which he supposes the follies of fashion, the greediness of epicures, the specimen-hunting of naturalists, and the general persecution by farmers, builders, schoolboys, and sportsmen to have extirpated from the world at large. Any such universal extinction or exodus of

the tribe as the poet's fancy assumes is little as yet to be feared, but with his motive we are in full sympathy. The opportunities have been set forth which men have of increasing their acquaintance with birds, of becoming more intimate with their modes of life, their homes, their affections, their structure, powers, and varied beauties. There are mental and moral, there are practical and business-like advantages to accrue from this kind of learning to the learners themselves; while, as to the birds, it should certainly tend to rescue them from indiscriminate pillage and massacre, to make mankind in general less ready to destroy useful allies or to drive away delightful companions.

Art. IX.—1. *Le Prince de Ligne et ses Contemporains.* Par M. Victor du Bled. 8vo. Paris: 1890.

The great interest—it is not too much to say the matchless charm—of the Prince de Ligne lies in his multifarious nationality. He was neither one individually, nor was he of one race. By birth he was a Belgian, a subject and soldier of Austria, a favourite of the Empresses Maria Theresa and Catherine of Russia, a friend of Frederic II. the great enemy of his own adored mistress, and the most welcome of visitors at the Court of Versailles and in the *salons* of Paris. Thus he was the representative of that intellectual society which a few years later bore the name of 'European;' and he was the first, as he was the completest, of his kind. Not only does he typify the nationalities that surround him, he reflects the minds of the sovereigns who were the last rulers of their peoples; contrasting, blending together all the aspects of courts or crowds, and escaping any attempts at confining him within his special moment of time. He was really astride upon two centuries.

In this respect, his latest biographer is to be praised for having entitled his work the 'Prince de Ligne and his Con-' temporaries,' for they cannot, without obvious disadvantage, be separated. The eighteenth century, in nearly every country, but most of all in France, was one of transformation, whose moral and social frontiers expand on every side. Its predecessor, the seventeenth, had fixed boundaries, heroic within these, though it may be a little pompous. It was the epoch of which its noblest chronicler, Cousin, said: 'In

'a great age all is great;' and although from birth to decline the succeeding age had but little of its magnificence, and repudiated all its claims to austerity, it still knows where its greatness lay. Personally, the Prince de Ligne represents it by his peculiarly warlike temperament, by the superiority he unconsciously awards to military achievements over all others; his is the true hero nature, that of Condé and Turenne, though combining with it all the more delicate refinements and more varied elegance of a later time. This once granted, M. de Ligne participates in all the complicated elements of the double age extending from 1760 to 1821, from Rousseau to Chateaubriand, from Frederic II. and Lord Chesterfield to Madame de Staël. The entire sociability of the eighteenth century—undefinable, but of irresistible attraction—lives in him; but if any attempt be made to circumscribe him, or to make him other than the product of a mixed civilisation, he were best left untouched. The Prince de Ligne is the man of many nations, or he is nothing.

The charm of French society between 1750 and 1820 did not so much consist in its culture as in the originality and individualism of those who headed it. Amongst the remarkable men and women of the higher classes in France, whether by worldly station or personal worth, the union of identity of culture and variety of character strikes you at once; whilst the incomparable freedom of religious and political opinions and the gregarious habits of social life, inducing a genuine thirst for the intimate exchange of impressions, created an atmosphere of society such as all the liberalism of our modern civilisation has, in reality, never approached. People were essentially independent; each was himself, though to a certain degree they did conform to this or that usage set down by the fashion of the hour, as is inveighed against by Jean Jacques in his 'Nouvelle 'Héloïse.' Still very few slavishly adopted such or such a mode of thought prescribed by others. Each one had his own particular *Cogito ergo sum*, yet was so irresistibly drawn towards those of his kind that the strongest desire was that of direct intercommunication. Individualism was visible here and there, yet all enjoyed the exchange of their own convictions with it might be the most determined adversary of their opinions or belief. Never did there exist a more curious 'interpenetration,' to use Shelley's word, of human minds, one by the other, never was practically more evident the yearning for 'collectivity,' than on the part of a society that

ignored the strange terms we now employ to describe what our new psychology implies.

When in our epoch the masses, as they are so widely doing, resort to expressions of this sort, they do so, either not knowing what they mean, or meaning something utterly different; but the eighteenth century had unconsciously the thing itself. The French of that time were not used to live apart—they were conglomerate, yearned towards each other, led a collective existence, whereas those of our time live separate, restricted to themselves, and prate of 'collec-'tivity' as of something strange, more or less political or mystical even; a species of abstract socialism ending in anarchy, and mostly resulting in mutual hatred.

Before the Revolution of '89, the society of France guessed, through its intense sociability, at much of what the dreamers of our time are trying to understand, and what is, in truth, leading them to slow but sure disintegration. It was from the irrepressible human sympathy with their kind that came the enormous correspondence of the period: the volumes on volumes of letters that teach us the living life of those who wrote them. They could not live asunder; they poured forth their thoughts lavishly, no matter at what distance. The French of our day no longer write private letters; and this is a circumstance of which to take due note, for it tells a tale of national change. They long no more for any intercommunication with their kind—have no desire for unprofitable exchange of sentiment or thought. They write for a purpose, write articles or books, whatever may ensure money or money's worth; coin their inner selves into a species of circulating medium to gain some end; seldom idly exchange thoughts with others, or seek for a deeper knowledge of others for themselves. In the eighteenth century Paris and St. Petersburg lived in intimacy. From Berlin or Vienna there comes to Versailles, or Kew, or Constantinople, even to Twickenham, the impression received a thousand miles away.

The crowd that was unbusied with the beings of the mind had no status, represented nothing that could by possibility be of any import to the more elevated spirits. But the equality of the *élite* was of a more exalted order; the refined classes constituted a humanity of a far wider scope, and met on an infinitely higher level than any the world has been accustomed to since. They could not have enjoyed the daily life of their time, the flat surfaces of society, without participation in its most exquisite intellectual en-

joyments. There was a sort of universal homage to intellectual grandeur, and pleasure only (though they had it unto excess) did not satisfy them.

A wonderful difference, too, has to be remarked, wonderful to such as have studied the France of subsequent times: in the France of a hundred years ago no foreigner was out of place. 'L'étranger' was a term not invented in a society where the bonds of absolute intimacy extended from the Ermitage to Trianon, or from Lunéville to Sans Souci by way of Schönbrunn; nay more, from Passy to Washington's own Mount Vernon, uniting in actual gossip such lawgivers and statesmen as Hamilton and Governor Morris with the family group of the Neckers on the Genevan Lake.

Amongst all these leaders of culture and elegance stands pre-eminent Maria Theresa's dauntless young Colonel Charles de Ligne.* He is the completest representative of the multiform Europe, of the composite human being of his day. Born in 1735, when Austria was not yet an empire, and Germany could no longer assert her existence as either Holy or Roman; whilst the Flanders of Mary of Burgundy was still imperial territory, and the future Hungary of the modern Magyar was yet governed by the scimitar of the Ottoman Turk, the Prince de Ligne strictly belonged to three distinct nationalities, and left in forty volumes of private correspondence the record of what the close intimacy of such a cosmopolitan could be, and by how tender a sympathy for some (we might, indeed, say many) among the chosen the social instincts of such a citizen of the world could condense themselves a hundred years ago. His present biographer has truly awarded to him his right name: he is 'a polygraphic writer,' but he is so, not by acquirement, but by nature, and there lies his fascination. He captivates us by what he really is: Charles de Ligne, whatever he is, is genuine. He aims at nothing, nor, in truth, do many of his correspondents strain at what lies beyond them; but he is of a naturalness surpassing all the rest because the sources whence he springs are so various. When, for instance, in later years, writing to D'Arenberg of Talleyrand's arrival in Vienna, and alluding to the bishop's delight at being received

* The empress-queen was drawn towards the prince by his reckless bravery, and named him at the age of nineteen to the command of his own father's regiment! 'It is bad enough to have you for a son!' used to object the field-marshal; 'but to have you for one's colonel is too bad.'

by him, he says, 'Just think of his joy, there being no 'Frenchman more in the world save himself and you and I, 'who are not so!'* he speaks the whole truth, for in the union of his national contradictions lies his complete originality. He is a Frenchman of Austria, an Austrian of France, who, when Marie Thérèse sends him to make acquaintance with the Dauphin, reverts to a species of mother country, being when most Austrian most French, or when most Parisian most Viennese.

It is possible that this curious alliance of the two countries has never been sufficiently taken into account in either of them, but it explains a great deal. Like the right and wrong side of the same stuff, it shows so distinctly where the threads of the human tissue, crossing each other, exhibit different shades, makes clear the breach between Marie Antoinette and mobocracy, and paints distinctly the amphibious Prince de Ligne, whom the denizens of the City of Light persist in calling a Frenchman.

By the very circumstance of his birth he is essentially a mixed product, for the Belgium of 1830 was the Wallonland of the empire, once known to the great Julius as Gallia Belgica, a thorough No Man's Land, drifting into the future department of Sambre et Meuse of impending Napoleonic annexations. The manner of M. de Ligne's early life is the same, whether on the banks of the Danube or the Seine. The *bals masqués* which worked such evil in high Parisian places, are the *redoutes* which in the still higher circles of Vienna occasioned none. The Prater is Longchamps, where the golden *carrosse* of Mdlle. Duthé dazzles the envious throng, and revives memories even of the ancient Cours la Reine, where the haughty Montbazon paid her forced homage to the chivalrous Chevreuse, under the angry eyes of Austrian Anne. The past is still so living in what is already tottering into ruin! Madame Dubarry succeeds Madame de Chateauroux, and continues La Pompadour, whilst under the very shadow of the scaffold the triumphant Spaniard, Teresa Cabarrus, celebrates the return to Grecian art with her jewelled anklets and transparent draperies. Towards the last days of

* This is an allusion to the circumstance of their common friend M. de Narbonne's habit of invariably entitling Talleyrand 'l'Evêque.' While the prince was in London in 1792, negotiating the abortive 'Neutrality Treaty' with Lord Grenville and William Pitt, Louis de Narbonne, minister of war in Versailles, writing to any of his diplomatic colleagues elsewhere, never speaks of Talleyrand but as 'the bishop.'

the century revolution and history die together, the revolution being in fact but the violent death of a history that refuses transformation, but leaves to the sword of the First Consul the right of transmitting power through military despotism to the bourgeoisie. When Versailles dies, it dies as much in its quality of Lorraine as of Bourbon, and the Temple surrenders life to the guillotine in a dim vision of distant Luxemburg.

Charles de Ligne looks on, imperturbably true throughout to his double origin. He never yielded to the empire of the Corsican, but was altogether, and to the last, an Austrian soldier and a French grand seigneur of the purest type.

The empire of Bonaparte lacking both philosophy and high breeding, wit and courtly distinction, the Prince de Ligne would none of it. Too just not to recognise in Napoleon his gifts (however fatal to humanity), and not to accept him as the most extraordinary of God's scourges, he nevertheless invariably regarded him from the height of his pride of race, and in 1807, taking note of the brand-new Cæsar at Erfurth, he could not resist saying to his friend Talleyrand: 'Where on earth could you have made acquaintance with 'that man? I don't imagine he could ever have supped 'with us!'

There, again, it is the simplicity of sincerity that barbs the point. There is no affectation in it. It is the plain, natural expression of surprise on the part of the high-born equal of sovereign lords, when taking stock of the parvenu whom Count Louis de Narbonne taught to wear a court dress with comparative ease.* There was no playing at contempt in the speech; it was the mere natural outcome of past habits. Charles de Ligne was no comedian, neither was he anything of a preacher; and he avows, with the best possible grace, that as he feels himself 'neither moral, nor moralist, 'nor moraliser enough to warrant him in sermonising other 'people, he confines himself to the task of making those 'other people around him happy.'

If atavism interests us, it may be advisable to cast a glance over the earliest origins of the Ligne family as bearing in some degree upon his cosmopolitan characteristics. Born

* Count de Narbonne's daughter, the Comtesse de Rambuteau (wife to the well-known préfet de la Seine under Louis Philippe), used under the Second Empire to tell diverting stories of how in her early childhood her father amused his three daughters by showing the manner in which the emperor took his deportment lessons.'

in imperial Burgundian Brussels, with a strain of the Egmont blood in his veins, there is a dispute between the learned in such lore as to whether his first ancestor is the great Rhenish Charles, or the latter's heathen victim, Witikind. The question thus opened, at all events, gave a legitimate right to the head of the house to decide upon the particular form of his belief; he might either serve the Church of Christ with the Catholic Rhinelander whose giant bones rest in Aachen, or devote himself to the gods of the Walhalla: bend his knee to the pope of Rome, or find pleasure in the heretic theories of Voltaire. As with most grands seigneurs of his time, scepticism came naturally to the Prince de Ligne, and the elegant negations of his period appear most consonant with his whole mode of being. His independence of thought is not to be denied by his worst foe; with a high sense of honour, he had great laxity of character.

From the first to the last moments of his life he lived in the intimacy of the ruling powers of our earth; but neither do they absorb nor convert him; neither prevent him from penetrating them to the very core, or they themselves from perceiving it. The terms on which Charles de Ligne lived with the three most powerful sovereigns of his time were such as no other subject was ever admitted to, and the impartiality with which he judged them was not attained to by anyone else; for neither present personal favour, nor the hope of the traditional favour to come, nor the seduction supposed to be so potent of imperial flatteries lavished in public—nothing of all this ever really influenced the opinions and judgements of the Prince de Ligne, and whether he paints Catherine, or Marie Thérèse, or the immortal Fritz, the contours of all his portraits stand out in equal sharpness of outline against their historical background.

To his honour be it noted, the Prince de Ligne was no courtier in the ordinary acceptation of the term. He had his defects like other mortals, but the want of self-respect was not among them; he always held himself too high to allow the station, or the exercise of a delegated power, to disguise the genuine qualities of the personage to whom it was temporarily vouchsafed. This really distinguishes him from the common herd of public men. His strong sense of self-esteem never permitted him to lose sight of individual worth, and upon this point we cannot do better than quote the passages relating to the two empresses in M. du Bled's chapter on Charles de Ligne's frequent visits at Laxemburg, or Peterhof, or the Ermitage:

'The prince was far from underrating the immense faculties lent by supreme power for the achievement of the general good, but he sincerely placed high above it the mental and moral rectitude and the unselfish desire for the common welfare that shone forth in certain rare examples. In his mind Marie Thérèse was undeniably one of these. She might have wept over the division of Poland whilst taking more than her share of the unholy spoils; but she had, nevertheless, instincts of justice towards the people committed to her care, of her duties and obligations towards the anonymous masses, that at a later epoch would have nobly fitted her for the responsibilities of constitutional rule. It was not from her lips that the cynical phrase of "misera contribuens plebs" applied to the Transleithan peasantry would ever have fallen. That was the utterance of her ill-educated, overbearing Hungarian lords of the soil—not hers; and it was precisely for this that Ligne, who divined it in her, paid such homage to the empress-queen, his own true nature being that of a humane modern aristocrat.' *

The manner in which M. du Bled appreciates the various shades of attachment felt by the Prince de Ligne for his exalted friends seems to us so happy and so just, that we follow up the picture of Maria Theresa by that of Catherine of Russia:—

'The amount of esteem and admiration awarded by M. de Ligne to the two sovereigns was equal, but its form and its *nuances* differed widely. For Marie Thérèse he professed a tenderly respectful sentiment, recognising in her an almost magic power of attraction, far beyond anything her great rival had ever exercised. . . . Marie Thérèse was, in his opinion, irresistible from the first moment, whilst the tsarina left the impression she made upon you at the outset to develop itself gradually. Enthusiasm rushed forward to greet the one, and followed on the footsteps of the other. In one respect only did both appear equal. Had the entire universe been shattered at their feet, each would have remained *impavida*. No catastrophe could have called forth alarm in either; neither had learned how to bend, nor was there hidden in either any reserve of weakness for an unexpected reverse of fortune. . . . As far as Catherine is concerned, the prince never swerved in his loyalty to her. Quickly acknowledging her commanding talents, he was gradually brought to feel the seduction of the manner in which she invariably accepted the counsels proffered by true friendship, and her entire frankness in admitting a mistake on her own side. . . . Catherine impressed the prince as being above all things a statesman, and although he was willing to agree that the heart some-

* This modern-mindedness of the prince was evidenced in his famous letter written, it is said, to M. de Lauzun. . . . 'When your French nobles sell their sons to the daughters of wood merchants and soap boilers, the offspring are (as you will discover) hucksters; when an Austrian prince marries a peasant girl for love he creates his equal—a gentleman is born!'

times trenched upon the brain, and passion at times might darken reason, she nevertheless upheld a strong separation between the two, and never, on any occasion, wavered in her State policy, or hesitated in combinations which she herself conscientiously believed to be based upon the good of the empire, and upon the progress of her subjects towards the civilisation of the West. . . . That there existed a far more generally felt "charm," a more instantaneous and mysterious influence in Marie Thérèse, the Prince de Ligne never disputed; but the immutable capacity of rule of the "Semiramis of the North" was a cause to him of genuine and loyal admiration to the last.'

The attachment of the Prince de Ligne to his 'sovereign 'ladies' was of a somewhat complicated nature on both sides. From the very earliest period, the acquirements of the Prince de Ligne, and the variety of his natural gifts, had impressed the tsarina, and inspired in her a friendship that suffered to the end no diminution. She felt he had that rarest of all qualities, and most valued, if least often met with by princes: perfect independence and truthfulness. She knew he was 'safe' and to be relied upon, and to the last hour of her life he remained her devoted, admiring adherent, her constant correspondent and adviser, and of all foreigners the one whose brilliant qualities she best appreciated, and on whose character she placed the firmest trust.* Besides this, there was another small circumstance it is never wise to disregard: Ligne amused the Empress, and with him she could by times indulge in those fits of

* The high esteem Catherine entertained for this quality of trustworthiness, the value she laid on the character of a true gentleman, is exemplified in what the private 'Memoirs' of the Maréchal de Castries relate of her behaviour (in 1793) to M. de Bombelles, who, rightly or wrongly, was held in the lowest esteem by the Comte de Provence and his brother, the Comte d'Artois, yet, nevertheless, charged with putting into the empress's own hands an autograph letter of poor Marie Antoinette's, giving the reasons for which Russia ought to come to the aid of France. Having her own determined opinion of both Bombelles and Breteuil, who insisted on sending him to St. Petersburg, the csarina declared M. de Bombelles unworthy to approach her—'untrustworthy,' as she expressed it—kept him unadmitted to an audience for nearly a fortnight, and only received the letter from his hands at the last extremity, making him then feel how infinitely wiser he would have been to stay away. Upon this very letter she wrote with her own hands: 'Qu'attendre de gens qui toujours agissent selon deux avis contradictoires? l'un en public, l'autre en secret. C'est cette perpétuelle contradiction qui a tout perdu, c'est elle qui empêche tout. On est faux avec tout le monde.' And, shrugging her broad shoulders, and curling her haughty lips, she said contemptuously: 'Et ce Breteuil qui m'a toujours haïe!' The authentic account of the

gaiety in which she occasionally found an almost boisterous relaxation. With Marie Thérèse the sentiment wore a rather different aspect: slightly tenderer, perhaps, from him to her; from her to him more imbued with the simplest kindliness and instinctive maternal care.* But, in both cases, there is an undeniable trace of that peculiar sentiment which marks the intercourse between man and woman, whatever the rank, age, and surrounding circumstances, and which forms so mighty and mysterious an element in nearly all the relationships of the eighteenth century, not only in France, but throughout all Europe.†

But of all his royal *confidants*, probably the most interesting to M. de Ligne was the revolutionary precursor of Potsdam. Upon the half-unconscious but arch overthrower of so many things sacred, upon the great Frederic, the most unaccountable of all Hohenzollerns, the judgement of the Prince de Ligne seems to us to throw a peculiar lustre,

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scene is given in the now lately divulged 'Mémoires' of the Maréchal de Castries in the interesting volume of M. Ernest Daudet on 'Coblentz and the first Emigration.' We see by this that the empress's esteem was not lightly awarded, and that such trust as she reposed in Ligne was a possession deserving of gratitude.

* Marie Thérèse was in every sense a 'gute Oestreicherin!' morally careful of those she had a regard for, and intent on warding off from them dangers she, like all her compatriots, was perpetually engaged in foreseeing. 'You must go away for some time,' whispered the Dauphine one evening at Versailles to Charles de Ligne. 'Mama is uneasy, and thinks you come too much here, and stay too long.'

† With how complete and delicate an instinct the Prince de Ligne felt this 'sentiment mixte, indécis, flottant entre l'amitié et l'amour,' as he expresses it, we may discern by his own inimitable letters to the Marquise de Coigny. 'Do you know why I so regret your absence, madame?' he writes on one occasion. 'Because you are not a woman like any other, as neither am I a man resembling other men; and I know and appreciate you so much better than does the crowd that gathers round you. And why are you not like other women? Because you are really full of heart, though most people do not believe it.' To such letters the exceedingly rare ones of Madame de Coigny reply in the same strain of refined and almost tender sympathy, fully justifying our assertion of the mysterious attraction that in so many cases innocently formed the groundwork of the intellectual attachments between the two sexes in the eighteenth century. A pretty volume might be made of what M. du Bled calls 'ces amitiés amoureuses' before the Revolution—excluding the others, stopping short of the heroines such as Mademoiselle de Lespinasse and Madame d'Epinay and —'Corinne'!

though he passes too lightly over the gross political immorality of his character.

Frederic, inexplicable by the sole light of the past, is only to be read clearly as to what he was, and was to be, by the gains our own age has accomplished; and it is precisely these gains—unrealised during his earthly life—that Charles de Ligne appears to have divined, and to have unerringly applied to their hidden but inevitable purpose in the future. The Prince de Ligne saw not only through Frederic, but beyond him; he saw what the facts of his being all he was, and yet the son of the Brandenburger drill-sergeant, foretold and explained to Europe. That you could not disentangle the son from the father, the man of Rosbach and Sans Souci from the man of the Pomeranian giants, was as plain to the Prince de Ligne in 1760–70 as to Carlyle in 1859, and the kaleidoscope of human beings that would proceed from Frederic's self-willed, extremely cautious, but bold nature, stood out to his mind's eye as well defined as they have become through the successive revelations of more than a century of solid experience.

The date of Frederic's death must not be forgotten. Both Frederic and his friend were essentially modern men, but neither had yet any suspicion of the revolution that would be called forth by the aspiring, reckless spirit of unlimited democracy. M. de Ligne was, as his present biographer has said, a modern aristocrat; Frederic was more than that, but less of an aristocrat, because with such slight regard for the elegances of existence, such inborn habits of roughing it, and such slight respect for what civilisation worships under the name of taste. He went straight up to Voltaire and all the sceptics, without taking into account what others might evolve out of their destructive doctrines. If he adverted to the results that might logically be occasioned by an overthrow of the principles of order in men's minds, he did so from the point of view of his own material power. Resistance from the interior was not a form of ingratitude for benefits received, to which he was at all accustomed, and from the exterior he knew pretty well how to deal with it. His perpetual object was, how to conciliate his dislike of all conventionality with a due respect for constituted authority, meaning obedience to discipline. For the rest, he had, if needed, a reserve to fall back upon; the army, namely, of 60,000 men, which his hard, avaricious father had, with lucky narrowmindedness, provided for him. In that particular conjuncture he was

very much in the same position as the present young kaiser, who, in the last resort, may feel entitled to indulge in any amount of socialistic fancies, so long as his material strength rests upon the splendid military machine his grandfather (aided by the late chancellor) beqeathed to him.

These Hohenzollerns are a singularly strong race, in more than one sense; they are actuated by a spirit of self-preservation that never deserts them, and mostly impels them to the adoption of wise and liberal measures with regard to their subjects. Frederic's theories have been carried out more than those of most other rulers, from the fact that, frankness in him merging easily into cynicism, he spread them more unguardedly amongst his admirers and imitators:

'The king,' observes the Prince de Ligne, 'has for many years anchored himself in the determined conviction that success is the only law and only moral obligation of a statesman; that "treaties" and "protocols" of every kind were matters for ministers and other subordinates, and the laws of nations merely those invoked by the vanquished, never by the victorious.'

In a conversation between Frederic and Joseph II. of Austria, chronicled by M. de Ligne, who was present, there is an anecdote that substantiates the assertion that Frederic should be regarded as the founder of the methods of modern journalism on the Continent, and perhaps of what is called new journalism in England:—

'"Everybody can't adopt the same policy," propounded the king, one day that he was in a vein of courtiership, to the emperor; "what may, for instance, suit me would not be suitable to your imperial majesty. I, for instance, have on certain occasions risked little political lies!" "How so?" replied Joseph II. with a laugh. "Well!" was the rejoinder, "just examine this: Suppose I imagine a piece of news which I know must be denied as false (and is so) in twice twenty-four hours, and I send it forth to the world . . . what matters it? Before the real truth becomes public, the false report has had its effect . . . its work is done!"'

The Prince de Ligne saw enough intellectual superiority in Frederic II. to outbalance what he denominates as professional characteristics—faults made necessary by his *métier de roi*. But he was insensible to the extreme turpitude of a ruler for whom no engagement was sacred, and no object too sacred for his rapacious ambition. In the year 1770, when M. de Ligne, at Neustadt, in the society of the Emperor Joseph, first made acquaintance with the King of Prussia, he was at once dazzled by his genius. . . . 'He ennobles whatever he touches,' he enthusiastically affirms; 'nothing

'commonplace finds its abode in or near him; what in 'others would be trivial or absurd, becomes distinguished 'and elevated the moment it enters his brain. . . .' Different as the two were on so many points of detail, many things united them in the sphere of ideas, and even in that of action. Both were essentially military, with the one distinction alone, that Ligne was a soldier, for he never commanded an army in the field or won a battle, and Frederic a strategist and tactician; the one was inspired by an enthusiastic temperament, the other by his remarkable power of combination. Whilst his widespread capacity for welding together the most heterogeneous elements was the inborn force of the Prince de Ligne, Frederic believed in individualism as the dominant agent of all concentration in government. He relied on the omnipotence of self in its utmost developement; and this it was which made him the, perhaps, best and truest appreciator of his enemy, the empress-queen. When a foreign general on one occasion, seeking to flatter the king, said, 'The empress stands 'alone now; she has only herself to rely upon.' 'Only 'herself?' retorted Frederic; 'eh! monsieur, mais c'est 'beaucoup.'

The attentive student of the part played by Charles de Ligne in European history between 1750 and 1790–98 may perhaps realise all that was due to his peculiar position, peculiar gifts, and peculiar temperament, which endowed him in reality with perceptions, qualities, and means of action vouchsafed only by circumstance to the generations of a century later. Charles de Ligne foresaw the progress of our present age as hardly any one else did; and, with his fertile imagination, and reckless disregard of the cost of what he desired, or deemed desirable, he continued in a marvellous degree to combat the obstacles to rapidity of motion and propinquity between men and nations a hundred years back, and then not yet even dreamt of by science. Human minds met together, as we have already said, at the close of the last century, moved in the same groove, but their bodies were hopelessly sundered, and relatively but few among the more enlightened and more gifted perceived what a gap this want of material contact left in the combinations and plans of action of individuals. M. de Ligne seized upon the deficiency at once, recognised how tamely the written word supplants, in the direct attainment of an end, the practical instruction transmitted by the flash of eye to eye; and, as far as material means could be brought to bear upon his

object, he made time and space subservient to his energies, as science in our time has annihilated both. We give great credit to M. du Bled for having impressed this fact upon his readers' minds, for we are not aware of anyone else having devoted to it the same attention, and it is undoubtedly one of the lesser facts that prove the Prince de Ligne's superiority in the appreciation of details, and his advanced sense of what is needed in their application to higher aims.

'It would be well nigh impossible,' he states, 'to chronicle the continual journeys of M. de Ligne from one end of Europe to the other, from 1760 to 1790. He was a fanatic of glory, as he was a fanatical worshipper of great men, had a rather limited cult for what was then termed patriotism, and thought more of the places where he was nearest to the sovereign spirits he hailed as fellows than of the soil where he was born; his trade was to bring together those whose good understanding, whose intimate knowledge of each other, might be useful to mankind. An Austrian in France' (he himself admits our theory), 'a Frenchman in Austria, both, by turns, in Russia, in the space of six months he has been at Vienna and Berlin, at Prague, Dresden and Warsaw, at Cracow and Petersburg! When he has returned to Paris to dine with Marie Antoinette at Madame de Polignac's—keeping an appointment previously settled for a fixed day—what is the human work he has done, and could not have done save by presence alone—the contact of living presence—in an age where no destroyer of time, no abolisher of space, no electricity, no steam, no substitution of the enslaved elements for the simple exhaustion of vital energies, could have come to his aid? He has brought Frederic II. into good humour, pacified and cajoled the Polish Palatines, and transmitted verbally to the Empress Catherine the personal instructions of Joseph II., whereby hangs an event of much importance. . . . In one single year he goes thirty-four times from Vienna to Brussels, and eighteen from Paris to Belœil, and all this while he is exercising the power of his intelligence on what he has seen and touched, and made others touch and see. His electric brain has been emitting sparks of fire wherever it has been put in proximity to others' brains, and has furnished ideas, trains of thought of its own, views of character, projects, plans of conduct—in short, the human threads of all kinds, whence are woven the tissues of history.'

There rests no doubt on the mind of the reader who follows attentively Charles de Ligne's career, that he really filled a place in the political world of Europe, some hundred years ago, that no isolated individual has ever filled since. His busy brain foresaw what those who as a matter of fact pulled the wires of the various forces and men did not foresee; and, as he foreshadowed them to his own inner vision, acting one upon the other in close personal activity, so did he bring

them together in living groups upon the vast stage of the contemporary theatre, and show them palpably to the outer world. There are numberless private accounts of this or that individual ruler in the archives of various European states—memoirs, diaries, letters, autobiographies, that paint the individuality of such or such a leader of nations or maker of events, but the material impediments which lay between them prevent us from seeing the quick bearing one upon the other of these framers of facts—their reciprocal moves, the to a certain degree collective form assumed so frequently by European statecraft—all this is lost to us in its details; and this it is which the peculiar energy of the Prince de Ligne so singularly and perpetually restored. The spirit of varied nationality, so strongly alive in him, showed him the events enacted throughout the world as in a drama, and, seizing its purport with extraordinary keenness, he in turn exhibits them to others, often even inspired with the dramatic fire himself, and helping to guide the succession of scenes as in a play.

Of his influence, for example, on the csarina, there is no satisfactory denial to be given, nor upon the weight attached by Joseph II. to his advice; and in two of the circumstances least expected at the time, and most prolific in strange consequences to the world, the suggestions of the prince lie at the more or less hidden root. He was a free lance in politics, distinguished for his levity and versatility, but the more ready to serve as a medium. In the interview between Catherine and Joseph at Kherson, whence proceeded the ephemeral alliance between Russia and Austria and the first sowing of the seeds of the Eastern question, we may distinctly discern the hand of Charles de Ligne. In the shortlived reconciliation between the Austrian emperor and Frederic II. the strong attraction exercised by M. de Ligne over Maria Theresa's son, and the keen desire manifested by the Prussian king to make his personal acquaintance, constituted also a considerable part of the curious readiness with which the provisional *entente* between two sovereigns doomed to hostility was patched up. The Prince de Ligne, the really devoted friend of Joseph (though the latter did not always believe it), showed extraordinary impartiality at this juncture, for during the festivities at the camp of Neustadt, whither he accompanied the emperor, he found serious fault with Frederic for the 'affectation of respect,' as he himself expresses it, with which he on all occasions approached the head of the house of Hapsburg, 'making a show,' he con-

tinues, 'of holding the kaiser's stirrups when his imperial 'majesty mounts his horse.'*

The events which crowd round the last years of the eighteenth century may be regarded as the latest display of the principles which prevailed in the civilisation of the ante-revolutionary world; and the Prince de Ligne undeniably took a prominent share therein as one of the directors, or at least one of the machine movers or scene shifters. After 1804 his occupation is gone, and he becomes, with the rest, a spectator, never perhaps utterly and entirely resigning himself to his inferior *rôle*. The nations, so to say, shut up after the 18th Brumaire into their circumscribed limits as separate entities, represented by individual sovereigns or ministers, who spoke and acted for themselves, and never again attained to unity, as component parts of one whole, until the Congress of Vienna, when the theory of resistance to popular liberties was invented and placed under the mystical banner of the Holy Alliance.

When once the great champion of individual despotism had overcome the civilisation of the past, in the person of Bonaparte (in truth, carrying out the latent idea of his precursor, the Prussian king), there was no employment for any intermediary, however highly placed, or however gifted with all the faculties required for the exercise of successful negotiation. Such personalities as the Prince de Ligne were of no further avail; their time was gone by, their place was empty. The change in civilisation itself was too complete; it was not merely a change in the forms of government. Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, all Périgord though he was, could descend to official life and—with a delegated authority, a rank constitutionally conferred upon him—rule. Try to picture to yourself the Prince de Ligne as an administrator of the new bureaucracy! You might sooner take count of him as the head of a democracy, towering above the multitude,—the bishops and palatines, and nuncios and great electors of Poland, thought of crowning him their king,—but you cannot conceive of him as a mere minister—it is his prime originality that he can be subordinate to none. Whatever he is, or does, he is the peer of those who reign. Practically he

* A sort of mania among the Hohenzollerns until the advent of their late great chancellor. Frederic William IV., on the occasion of a visit to the Burg at Vienna, avowed to Baron G., a recently mediatised grand seigneur, that there 'in that palace of the Holy Roman Empire' he always 'felt himself a parvenu.'

ends with the ancient monarchy, and the liberal aristocrat of the eighteenth century, the advanced adviser of the sceptical Frederic and of the philanthropical, anti-Jesuit kaiser, collapses when the old-established royalty lies prostrate. To use his own words, he dies with his friend the Hapsburg emperor. 'Il meurt avec Joseph II.,' who died in 1790, although in fact he survived him until 1814. When the life and reign of the Emperor Joseph closed the *raison d'être* of Charles de Ligne was brought to an end. In the far greater events which followed rapidly after the deaths of his old friends, Frederic II., Catherine of Russia, and Joseph, he ceased to play an important part, and was chiefly noted for the brilliancy of his wit, for his buoyant spirits, and his vivacity, which he retained in extreme old age. 'Je 'n'ai jamais voulu être malade,' he said. 'Cela m'a réussi. 'Maintenant je ne veux pas mourir. Nous verrons si cela 'me réussira.'

Between the fairy tale of the imperial Crimean journey and the outbreak of the French Revolution, there opened for M. de Ligne what, as a soldier, was the climax of his career. St. Petersburg and Vienna having, not unaided by his remarkable diplomatic tact, come to an agreement touching the emperor's meeting with the czarina, the trysting place was fixed at Kherson, and the Prince de Ligne was to accompany his principals during the projected expedition. The alliance was, in fact, a foregone conclusion, but for the prince the outcome of the whole was his own nomination as general-in-chief of the Austrian infantry. For Europe the result was one far more portentous, though quite unforeseen at the moment by those who brought it about. The progress of Catherine through the peninsula was the first sign that indirectly betokened the ultimate break-up of what was then the united Ottoman empire. In reality, when Charles de Ligne travelled over the Chersonese in the gala coach of the mighty empress, the first faint notion of what might be the final fate of the 'sick man' entered into the cogitations of the politicians of the West. Again the position of the Prince de Ligne was the most curious of all. Mindful of the vacillating moods of his friend the German emperor, and resolved to secure for himself a field of activity in a military point of view, he not only accepted his nomination as head of the Austrian army, but obtained Joseph's consent to a simultaneous command of Russian troops, thus ensuring to himself a chance of distinction from a double point of view.

In every sense this singular journey taught Charles de Ligne many things which even he at that time did not know. First it taught him what the two potentates esteemed their own enormous resources, which would not a little surprise their descendants of our modern times; and next, by what stage-managership a Barnum of the species of Potemkin made his sovereign believe in the splendour of a fictitious sway. The gala coach was a vehicle of six seats, and was drawn by sixteen horses; to the Prince de Ligne was awarded a seat as 'bodkin,' and the heat being intense, his head enjoyed frequently the honour of pillowing itself during its nightly slumbers on the shoulder of either kaiser or kaiserin. Their intermediate guest was often awakened, as well as themselves, by the jolts upon the road, occasioned at times by the passage over the prostrate body of a moujik, transplanted from his native Russian earth; and the expressions by which their dreams were interrupted were frequently such as these: 'I've thirty millions of subjects, as 'it seems, reckoning only the males!' would murmur drowsily the csarina. 'And I am assured I have twenty-two millions, counting everybody,' would be the emperor's reply. And subsequently they often fell into classical reflections, and whilst one dreamt of resuscitating Lycurgus or Solon, the other indulged in the capture of towns and villages, and the restoration of governments famed in the annals of Greek antiquity. 'Alas!' it often came to M. de Ligne, when wide awake, to object, 'alas! your majesties will take 'nothing better than beggars and beggary!' 'Listen to 'him, madame!' remarked one night Joseph, pointing affectionately to his companion, 'we have certainly spoilt 'him irremediably. Don't you perceive how totally he is 'without any respect for us both?' But in the midst of all the magnificent plans of conquests and captures, the Sultan took the situation into his own hands, imprisoned the Russian ambassador in a fortress, and, by the wise counsels of England and Prussia, declared war on his enemies beforehand. Here was the opportunity so longed for by the Prince de Ligne. He makes up his mind at once, and on the 1st of November lays siege to Oczakow, and commences a series of feats of arms which, no 'memoirs' of the time deny, but which do not efface the humiliating record of that ill-judged campaign.

We may read with interest the description given by Charles de Ligne of the Turks and their fighting power, and the event has left a trace in our own parliamentary history:—

'As to the Turks,' he writes, 'they are a race of antitheses—all things by turns; courageous and cowardly, hardworking and lazy, licentious and devout, self-indulgent and stoical, refined and coarse, cleanly and wallowing in dirt, superstitious from habit, perceiving Paradise at the muzzles of their guns, shutting up in their chambers heaps of roses and a dead cat. The lordly dignitaries of the Court, or of distant provinces, are all the same, of the same sort: high and low, they are equally suspicious or trusting, ungrateful, proud or crouchingly base, generous and dishonest, and, to a man, disguising their true natures, whether qualities or defects, under a semblance of stolid disdain or insensibility that evidently excludes suffering. No one amongst this strange people being definitely "classed," each one possesses a right to be all or anything, to reach to every, even the very topmost rank; therefore, is for ever waiting for the "place" that is fated to be his! What would the nations of Europe think if a soap boiler were to rise to be prime minister, a gardener to become grand admiral, or a lackey commander-in-chief? Might not Europe herself be transformed into what this Turkish Empire already is—a ruined and crumbling state?'

It is impossible not to be struck by the perspicacity of M. de Ligne, and at the same time by the stability of decay of the Turkish Government,* when one registers the same judgement incontestably merited in the same degree after the lapse of a century and more.

But with the military reputation that the Balkan campaign undeniably brought to Prince Charles and his brave young son came the first note of misfortune. At the outset, all was sunshine; father and son covered themselves with glory; and the young Prince de Ligne may be said to have taken Sabacz sword in hand, being the first to storm the citadel and scale the breach to enter the town. An autograph letter from the Emperor Joseph (who had witnessed the action) told the father that to his son was due the entire success, and the elder prince, tendering the

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* And here is also proved the exceeding resemblance between the Ottomans and their near neighbours, the Austro-Hungarians of the Transleithan territories. During one of the financial crises of the 'sixties,' brought on in Vienna by the obtuseness of the government —'You need go no further,' interrupted Count Moritz Esterhazy to an interlocutor from the city of London. 'I know what you would say; you would warn us of the "downfall of the empire," but of that I have heard since the last forty years, and my father and grandfather before me knew it all by heart. We have had that rung in our ears for generations—have lived upon it—are living on it still.' 'It depends upon what you call "life" in the case of a great state,' was the rejoinder.

missive to the younger one, added: 'Those words are more 'worth to you than all the title deeds in the world, which 'are simply food for rats and mice alone!' showing what at that period was M. de Ligne's own estimate of mere genealogical honours.

But things soon went less well for the Austrian arms than for the personal fame of the house of Ligne. Thirty thousand men were killed fighting by those Turks who proved themselves capable of such contradictory achievements. Added to this, 40,000 others died of the plague, and under stress of disaster the elder De Ligne was summoned to the kaiser's presence, and appointed to the command of the right wing of the army, under the orders of Marshal Laudon, and despatched to the siege of Belgrade. This again was another victory, and nothing can surpass the enthusiasm of all the official despatches: 'Far more than 'half the glory of the taking of Belgrade reverts to your highness,' wrote to him the field marshal. Here again, too, young De Ligne shared the paternal laurels, entering the city at the head of everyone else, his father expressing himself 'full of military joy at the success, and of philosophical 'and human sorrow at having had to throw 12,000 shells at 'the heads of the poor infidels.' But the campaign was, in reality, a disastrous failure, and the attention of the emperor was speedily drawn to perils in another quarter.

This very siege of Belgrade was a turning point in the luck of the elder Prince de Ligne, for in the same despatch by which, inspired by the encomiums of Laudon, Joseph sent to his friend the cross of Maria Theresa as the supreme reward of his bravery in the field, he addressed to him a letter of almost bitter coldness, enjoining upon him to take up his winter quarters at Peterwardein or Essek, and closing his epistle with the following phrase: 'You may soon expect 'further proof of my displeasure, for I have neither any 'taste for, nor am I used to, disobedience. Your country 'has killed me.' The emperor had been, from misinterpreted reports, induced to believe that the Prince de Ligne had been an actual promoter of the Flemish rebellion, of which he received the news simultaneously with the account of the surrender of Belgrade. This little incident at the same time serves to show how liberal the opinions and instincts of the modern aristocrat were known to be, since his own intimate friend and sovereign could credit the report that he had played the part of a rebel—a more active

revolutionist than Schiller's Marquis Posa—to the master whose attachment to him was so deep.

The answer of Charles de Ligne is too characteristic of the man not to reproduce its last lines: 'I feel more deeply 'kindness than severity,' he replied; 'and I ask pardon for 'not having been more impressed by your anger—I know so 'well what is your sense of justice! . . . I doubted not 'one instant my restoration to your favour.' And he was right. The mistake was cleared up almost at once, and the affection of the emperor for Ligne revived with increased force. A few days before his death, 'Your country has 'killed me,' he said to Charles de Ligne; 'Ghent captured 'sounded my knell, Brussels deserted was the finishing stroke '—what a blow!' he repeated again and again. 'J'en meurs! '. . . God bless you for all you have been to me! Laudon 'has told me all you have done. . . . go to the Provinces 'yourself . . . try to bring them round to their duty . . . 'if you can't succeed, stay there and try to govern them.'

The reconciliation with the emperor was complete on both sides; the one grieving to the heart that he should, even for a moment, have suspected his friend's fidelity, the other forgetting entirely this last weakness of his sovereign. Joseph II. died a lingering death, giving daily proofs of stoicism. 'Were there signs of true regret anywhere when 'it was known I had received the last sacraments?' he inquired of Madame de Chandos, who visited him after the mournful ceremony. 'Many, sire,' was the reply. 'I saw 'the poor Prince de Ligne convulsed with sorrow.' 'Ah!' sighed the dying man, 'I did not think I was worth so much.' And the words were uttered with an accent of deep but unmistakeable rejoicing. Every detail of the funeral rites was arranged by the Emperor Joseph himself, whose firmness never deserted him for one instant. The interment took place in Vienna, and Charles de Ligne was one of the four who carried the imperial coffin to the Kapuziner crypt, where rest the bodies of the Hapsburgers.

'I have seen four monarchs die,' he wrote to Catherine of Russia, 'and what follows on their death is invariably the same. None are immediately missed. Regrets begin at the end of a year, not before; during the first six months the survivors are full of hopes of the new reign; during the last six they begin to grumble and find fault. So it was with Marie Thérèse. There is, at the time, vastly little sense of the loss just incurred; the curious, the indifferent, the *intrigants* and the ungrateful have no thought save for the new *régime*. . . . It is always the same.'

The underlying tone of the letter is a proof of the reliance intuitively placed by Ligne on the firmness of spirit of the csarina; for every circumstance surrounding Catherine—her age and manner of life—pointed to her as the inevitable fifth in succession to the other four; and the phrase, 'So it was with Marie Thérèse,' seemed to call as its unavoidable sequel for that of 'And so it will be with your 'majesty!' When Charles de Ligne, for long years after the death of Joseph, never tired of saying, 'Je suis mort avec 'l'Empereur Joseph,' he merely stated a plain truth.

His active career was ended, and the new current of Austrian political and public life set against not alone his actual occupations, but against his future opportunities. The empire of Germany, still Holy and Roman, was already tending, through the Tuscan Leopold and the bureaucratic Francis, to its illogical transformation into the empire of Austria, and was beginning to prepare for the strange problematical survival which has since constituted its existence. All its chivalry was gone, and Thugut was 'Grand 'Vizir,' to use M. de Ligne's expression, his own kingdom being no longer of this world.

To his Austrian nationality Charles de Ligne, with advancing years, became more and more attached. The original modern aristocrat did not altogether die in him, for the philosopher endured to the end, and also the man of the world; and the genuine worship of intellect never was extinguished. It was this passionate respect for intelligence that won for the Prince de Ligne the admiration and friendship of Madame de Staël, and drew him towards her with such sincere sympathy. But, after the French Revolution had gone to its extremest lengths, and all the demagogical excesses of '93 had proved what lay hidden under the 'contrat social' and the 'rights of man,' Charles de Ligne, renouncing the hopes he had indulged in ten or fifteen years before, denounced the disorder and vulgarity of the century's close in France with the energy and true liberalism of a statesmanlike citizen. To his infinite credit be it said, he never burnt what he had adored, or adored what he had burnt, never condescended to be a reactionary politician, but in spite of the lowness and weakness of his surroundings, of the bloodshed and corruption of the time—leading men to despotism as to their sole refuge—in spite of all temptations to dishonour, he remained true to his own conscience, to his own estimate of public duty; dying as he had lived, a brave, upright, truth-telling, outspoken gentleman; modern-minded

to the last hour; abhorring, from innate independence of mind, any encroachment on the liberty of others.

Long after the crimes of the revolutionary period had brought him to vindicate the doctrines of reasonable conservatism, he resisted all the endeavours of the frightened reactionary crew to establish armed oppression as a system of defence, and at the first congress of Vienna in 1814 was foremost amongst the few far-seeing and free, who laughed to scorn the threadbare devices of the past. 'Le congrès ne 'marche pas, mais il danse,' was one of his speeches that will last for ever; and his concluding words, spoken to Baron Gagern the elder,* 'the web of politics is hidden 'under the embroidery of festivities,' was the truest condemnation of the congress. At this same famous congress, however, the Prince de Ligne was treated with exceptional honours, and though no longer exercising his functions as a military chief, he was the central point of all homage, the object of all admiring observation, the host, after a fashion, of that extraordinary assemblage of kings, princes, ambassadors, and ministers of state, that he himself called *la foire diplomatique*. He died in the same year.

But in all this, let it not be overlooked that, at heart, Charles de Ligne's was a soldier's disappointment. Had Joseph II. lived, what he aspired to, what was his lifelong ambition, the career for which he believed he had been created, was that of a military commander, and those who had seen him in action believed in this too. What lay before him from 1794 was at the utmost the achievement of civil distinction, and for that Ligne had no taste. Civil honours under such men as Franz der Kaiser of Austria, and Metternich or even Kaunitz, excited at most his indifference, not to say his disdain. As a permanent residence he adopted Vienna from the year 1794 till his death in 1814, and when his actual demise took place thirty years later, he was once more in a fit of delirium leading an onslaught of Austrian troops, and with a loud voice, and eyes flaming with passion, shouting 'Forwards! 'on! on! vive Marie Thérèse!' Charles de Ligne was in the most practical sense 'true and faithful to his sovereign unto 'death.'†

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* The Gagern with whom the name of Stein was always associated during the German Freiheits Krieg. He was the father of Henri Gagern, of Frankfort (and its parliament), in 1848; the man whose popular title was Jupiter Tonans.

† There is a strange difference in the date assigned by different

If all the documentary evidence gathered together in the various libraries of Europe, all the diaries, journals, memoirs of contemporaries, with all his own letters and autobiographical details, were consulted in quick succession, the opinion already formed by the majority of readers upon the prince would hardly be modified, though the impression given of the real unity and coherence of his various and what Monsieur de Montrond styled 'miscellaneous' existence might be considerably augmented. Take all the different works the public knows, from the gossiping chronicles of Schönbrunn or Potsdam down to Sainte-Beuve, passing through Ségur's 'Mémoires,' and the prince's own voluminous correspondence, the same general outlines will be visible everywhere, the same evidence be afforded of a career unlike most of those that preceded, and utterly dissimilar from any that have followed it; but perhaps there will scarcely be found anywhere a more satisfactory account than in this relatively small volume of M. du Bled's, of the consistency in the main of his long career.

On one fact this latest work throws a sidelight, that is hardly to be discovered elsewhere. M. du Bled gives a clue to certain hostile impressions provoked by Charles de Ligne, which is interesting from a psychologico-historical point of view. In the unpublished 'Souvenirs of Count Theodore 'Golowkine,' he lighted upon a portrait of Charles de Ligne of a singular description, and from its exaggerated bitterness suggestive of motives of either political jealousy or personal enmity.

'. . . The Prince de Ligne,' says Comte Golowkine, 'Grandee of Spain, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Prince of the Empire, Captain of the Imperial Guard, &c. . . . added to illustrious birth, and an enormous fortune (which he squandered), a pliable disposition, a fund of gaiety, a dubious morality, and a perpetual habit of travel, owing to all of which he had been turned into what is commonly termed a "Grand Seigneur," and greeted by fame as one of those personages who are wanting only in talent and in public consideration. His early youth was spent between the Court of Vienna, whose game was then to favour everything of Belgian origin, and that of Versailles, where, in the intimacy of the king and the princes, he was always called "Charlot." Joseph II., who had a preference for mediocrities,

writers to M. de Ligne's birth and death. Whilst nearly all give for his birth 1735, the memoirs of the Duc d'Escars (just published) state 1755! For his death, the memoirs of the Duc de Broglie would imply him to be active in 1819, and others point to 1821. The real date is December 1814.

employed M. de Ligne, above all in negotiations with Russia, as an agent who could be subsequently disavowed, and with his own army (where he evinced a certain energy and activity) as a general over whom other colleagues (and even superiors) could be promoted, without his making any objections thereto. M. de Ligne was tall and well made, with a face that must have once been handsome, although somewhat effeminate. He had evidently been in youth what in popular parlance is denominated *un bellâtre*. At first sight his manners might be reputed gracious and indicative of high breeding, but the next day would reveal cynicism of a revolting kind. He was apt to say and do things which befitted neither his situation or name, or the rank which had been awarded to him.'

After a great deal more in the same strain, Count Golowkine proceeds to paint the interior of the prince's Vienna abode, and to advert to a 'fallen inkstand,' and to 'piles of 'disorderly looking manuscripts covered with erasures,' as proofs that he occasionally wrote in both prose and verse, and invariably with astounding mediocrity, causing Madame de Staël all but insurmountable trouble in making a possible volume or two out of the ill-digested mass! As the crowning statement this unpleasant chronicler consigns to paper, we find, that in regard to what concerned M. de Ligne with the empress, 'sa personne d'ailleurs déplaisait.' The hostility with which this portrait is painted seems to us to constitute a vast portion of its value, as suggesting the violence of the envy and dislike the successes of M. de Ligne must have evoked. With a Russian politician there were two obvious pretexts for this. In the case of Maria Theresa and her son, jealousy of his undeniable devotion to both of them; and in the case of the csarina herself, the envy of a foreigner, who for so long a period, and with a warmth and a persistence so openly testified, enjoyed the favour and the entire trust of the sovereign ruler. Of the quality of the Prince de Ligne's public activity, of his opinions, of the nature of his policy in the direction of affairs in different European states, contradictory judgements may be entertained by different actors on the political stage, but on his social popularity, on the universally admitted charm he exercised, and the weight of influence he wielded over so many and such various reigning Powers, there was never any discussion, least of all any resistance or denial.

The Prince de Ligne will probably be handed down to posterity by the public opinion of the world as a unique example of what can be brought about by a curious assemblage of intellectual and personal gifts. Without any of the towering genius which forces a man into places of supreme

command, a combination of bright faculties, clear perceptions, above all, a rare instinct of truth, made him, for more than a quarter of a century, one of the leading suggestors, one of the hidden guides of European thought. He was the last partaker of the old world's customs who never rebelled against the new world's views. In no way opposed to the real spirit of the modern age, he induced those to consent to progress whose sole ideal had been the immutable, and those to recognise the virtue of stability whose faith had been riveted to change. Perhaps the best and truest funeral oration uttered over his grave was that pronounced by Gentz, who was by nature no flatterer, and whom the triumphs of other men assuredly never fired with enthusiastic delight. As the sun of a dark winter's day burst forth from a dense bank of cloud, and filtering through the variegated splendour of the painted window cast its dazzling rays full upon the marble beneath which lay buried the Prince de Ligne, 'Look,' said Gentz, 'how the very god of day comes forth to 'salute for the last time this favourite of God and man!'

ART. X.—*History of the Sudan Campaign.* By Colonel H. E. COLVILLE, C.B., Grenadier Guards. Compiled in the Intelligence Division of the War Office. Two vols. 8vo. With case of Maps. London: 1890.

AMONG the least satisfactory of the fashions of the day is the growing tendency to transfer to the political arena matters military in their essence. A victory due to prepondering advantages, or able generalship, is prostituted to mere political purposes. A failure or a defeat is as quickly turned to political account, and Majuba Hill—a purely military disaster—supplies a ready weapon for the needs of the partisan. The evils arising from this process are manifest and widespread. The judgement of the people is misled and drawn aside from real issues. The glamour of successful military operations blinds the public mind to political blunders or crimes. On the other hand, aims that may have been just and wise become discredited by purely military failure; while the stern criticism and inquiry which that failure should have evoked are all forgotten in a storm of political invective. The standard of controversial fairness is thus necessarily lowered; the army may suffer from the veil which is thrown over its real needs, and the General may become a political personage dealing out strength or weakness to a party according to the measure of his ability or good fortune.

Bitterest recrimination has obscured the chapter of history which opened at Alexandria in 1882. Political and military blunders have been inextricably confounded, and it is in all respects advantageous that the official account of the Sudan operations is, at last, forthcoming. A clear light is thrown upon some at least of the many sides of a difficult subject, and a juster distribution of praise and blame is possible, if it is not all too late. For the scenes have shifted; new matters of eager controversy have arisen, and the Sudan—with its lurid pictures of slaughter, redeemed by many lives ungrudgingly sacrificed, by one heroic solitary figure, and by unmeasured toil and privation cheerfully borne—is already half forgotten.

The difficult task entrusted to the original author appears to have been accomplished in some eighteen months; but nearly three years were apparently expended in adapting his manuscript to meet the views of all and several of the many actors concerned; and after the 'much revision' which is

stated to have taken place, he alone can measure the residue of his responsibility. Apart from the mere question of time—the Prussian official narrative of the campaign of 1866, involving at least one great battle and the movements of some 320,000 men, appeared in the following year—this writing of history on the principle of pleasing everyone has its drawbacks, and if ever Great Britain were engaged in a great war would be obviously impossible. In spite of certain defects, however, the official history of what is termed 'The Sudan Campaign' has considerable merit. Within its range, the book is clear and well put together. The tone is correctly pitched throughout, and no rhetorical display is attempted. The official documents which such a record requires are fairly represented, and the all-important question of transport is treated in adequate detail so as to possess definite value for future use. The title is perhaps misleading, and might with advantage have been exchanged for that of 'The Nile Expedition,' by which all semblance of want of proportion would have been avoided. The expedition of 1884 is, however, passed over in a few pages. The sharp and not uninstructive actions at El Teb and Tamai receive each but a short paragraph, thus contrasting strongly with the full array of detail with which the skirmish of Kirbekan is invested; while the operations on the Red Sea in 1885, also not devoid of teaching, are compressed within the limits of a single chapter. All the military proceedings in the Sudan in 1884 and 1885 form part of a whole, and historical justice demands that equality of treatment should have been accorded to them; but it is perhaps natural that the Nile Expedition should have been singled out for special and particular notice. There is nothing in all military history by which this expedition can be paralleled. It is rich in picturesque incident, fascinating alike in the old world associations of the regions traversed, and in the peculiar labours and perils involved. The long and arduous struggle against difficulties almost without precedent, and the unwonted hardships nobly borne, shed a bright light upon the spirit which animates the British army. The hope, ever more and more deferred, as the endless mazes of the treacherous river revealed themselves in quick succession to the toilers, and the crowning tragedy which ended all hope, touch the imagination with strange power. The history of the Nile Expedition records one of the greatest mistakes of the age, and between the lines of these guarded and well-weighed pages the fact stands out in letters of flame.

From first to last, an evil fate has crossed the proceedings of Great Britain in relation to the Sudan. Ignorance of the significance of events, responsibilities entered upon without realisation of their meaning, and shirked when their claims were most imperative, generous impulses misdirected, and the total absence of any defined policy, combine to supply an ample explanation of an almost unexampled course of failure. The precise train of circumstances which, after a long period of vacillation, culminated in the direct intervention of the fleet in the early morning of July 11, 1882, will never be known. From the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts without preparation for an immediate landing, it was a short but costly step to Tel-el-Kebir. With the practical destruction of the Egyptian army, all the responsibilities of the Khedive's Government were at once transferred to that of England. There was no power left in Egypt save that wielded by a British general. But at Sinkat and El Teb near the shores of the Red Sea, at Kassala and Sanheit near the Abyssinian frontier, at Khartum in the angle of the Blue and White Niles, at Senaar on the Blue Nile, at Obeid in Kordofan, and far away up the course of the White Nile nearly to the equator, were Egyptian garrisons—the isolated remnants of an army that had ceased to exist.

Egyptian rule in the Sudan had been neither of long duration nor undisputed. Ismail, with a force of mercenaries, occupied Dongola in the autumn of 1820 and penetrated beyond Khartum; but the power of the pashas in these dim regions can hardly be said to have been consolidated till about 1843, and several local revolts subsequently occurred. Sir Samuel Baker, after tracing the course of the White Nile up to the Albert Nyanza, became, in 1870, governor-general of the Equatorial Provinces, and annexed Gondokoro, returning to Egypt in 1873. From 1874 to 1879 Colonel Gordon laboured and fought to uproot the slave trade and to establish a rule based upon justice and humanity. The following years were marked by aggravated oppression of every kind, and the natural results were not long delayed. All the conditions made for serious and widespread rebellion. Here was a vast territory peopled by fighting races, never thoroughly subjugated, incapable by reason of its deserts of being ever subjugated in any real sense; a wretched peasantry ground down by extortionate taxation; a powerful body of slave traders smarting under the crushing blows inflicted by Gordon and Gessi; and Egyptian rule represented only by scattered garrisons of fellaheen troops weakened by recent

withdrawals. A leader of almost any description could hardly have failed to take advantage of material so inflammable.* Mohammedan fanaticism engrafted upon the emotional nature of the negro demanded a leader with supernatural sanctions, and, in August 1881, Mohammed Ahmed, a fakir of some note, proclaimed himself Mahdi. By the date of the collapse of the Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir, Mohammed Ahmed had won six distinct successes against the wretched troops of Abd-el-Kader, and had captured nearly 6,000 stand of rifles. So greatly had the rebellion prospered already, that Abd-el-Kader 'telegraphed to Cairo for 10,000 'reinforcements, stating that without this force the rebellion 'would spread to all parts of the Sudan.' Great Britain was now paramount in Cairo; and that some small measure of vicarious responsibility in Sudan affairs was felt by the ruling Power is proved by the despatch of Lieutenant-Colonel D. H. Stewart to Khartum 'to make enquiries.' After a short lull, fresh disasters occurred, and the Khedive, practically a puppet in the hands of Great Britain, telegraphed to Khartum on January 23 to suspend further operations pending the arrival of staff officers to be sent from Cairo. From the date of the despatch of Colonel Hicks and 10,000 of 'Arabi Pasha's officers and men,' this country became directly involved in the seething cauldron of the Sudan. How little the significance of the step was realised, and how inadequate was the grasp of the situation, is proved by the facts. After representing his difficulties, asking for 'reinforcements—who, in his own words, could 'only be 'collected by dragging from their homes and fields unwilling men and sending them away in chains'—struggling with insuperable transport difficulties, and clearly misdoubting the policy he was directed to carry out, Hicks with his little band of British officers and a rabble force 10,000 strong, wandered off into almost unknown and waterless regions, courting the tragedy of Kashgil.

Tel-el-Kebir might surely have shown that Egypt could not reconquer a revolted Sudan. The annihilation of Hicks's hapless expedition brought home the fact to the dull imagination of the Foreign Office. 'The disaffected 'provinces . . . could not be reconquered without military 'operations on a scale that the circumstances of the case

* Even in September 1876, General Gordon had stated: 'Things 'have come to such a pass in these Mohammedan countries, that a crisis 'must come about soon.'

'did not permit.' In plain English, Egypt was hopelessly incompetent to undertake the task. 'A policy of with-'drawal was, therefore, decided upon,' and, with singular impolicy, was made public. The fiction of irresponsibility was, however, to be upheld as long as possible, and on November 25, 1883, Lord Granville informed Sir E. Baring that the sole responsibility for operations in the Sudan rested with the Egyptian Government.*

As in Kordofan, so on the shores of the Red Sea, disaster followed disaster. Osman Digna, a Suakinese slave-trader with a grievance, threw in his lot with the Mahdieh, was nominated Emir of the Eastern Sudan, and, raising the tribes, proceeded to threaten Sinkat and Tokar. On October 16, a reinforcement of about 160 Egyptians, proceeding to Sinkat, was almost completely destroyed. On October 5, another force, about five hundred strong, marching from Trinkitat for the relief of Tokar, was cut to pieces by less than 200 Arabs near El Teb. On December 2 an expedition of 700 men, principally black troops, under Kassim Bey, was annihilated near Tamai. 'Under these circumstances it became 'imperative that reinforcements should be despatched from 'Cairo,' and Baker Pasha, with a staff of British officers, proceeded to Suakin under orders signed by the Khedive, but apparently not without the acquiescence of her Majesty's Government.† On February 4, a motley force of 3,500 Egyptian soldiers and gendarmerie, Turks, blacks, and a few European police, ill organised and partly undisciplined, started from bivouac near Trinkitat for the relief of Tokar. Surprised near El Teb by a far inferior body of tribesmen, the single heterogeneous square was broken, and an almost unparalleled slaughter ensued. 'This defeat made it neces-'sary to abandon all hope of relieving Tokar or Sinkat 'with Egyptian troops.' Was there ever any ground for such hope?

Public attention in England had now been drawn to the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat, apparently on the point of perishing almost within sight of her Majesty's ships.

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* On the 3rd of December Sir E. Baring confirmed and emphasised this view.

† The Khedive himself appears to have felt misgivings as to what would probably occur, and in a private letter to Baker Pasha he wrote: 'If, in the event of the situation improving, you should 'consider an action necessary, I rely on your prudence and ability not 'to engage the enemy, except under the most favourable conditions.'

British officers had fallen in the shambles of El Teb, and British honour appeared to be directly involved. A new political force quickly made itself felt. Consistency was flung to the winds, and, for the moment, the fiction of irresponsibility was forgotten. Sinkat had, indeed, fallen, and brave Tewfik Bey, with his staunch garrison weakened by hunger, had been destroyed; but Tokar might still be saved by British bayonets. This decision was reached on February 12, 1884, and by the 28th a field force nearly 4,000 strong, under Major-General Sir G. Graham, was concentrated at Trinkitat. On February 29 at El Teb, and on March 14 at Tamai, actions were fought resulting in a total British loss of 410, and in the slaughter of several thousands of the tribesmen. The brief operations are full of interest, and it is on all accounts to be regretted that they receive no recognition in official history.*

The course of events in the Eastern Sudan found an almost exact parallel elsewhere. The sequence is briefly as follows:—

1. Fighting with existing forces in the Sudan ending in disaster.

2. The despatch of reinforcements under British officers, followed by further fighting, also ending in disaster.

3. Intervention of British troops.

In the Central Sudan, however, an intermediate stage was interpolated between (2) and (3). The tragic fate of Hicks Pasha's hapless force had powerfully affected the public imagination, and the popular voice demanded something more definite than reports and 'inquiries.' The suggestion that one man might still solve the enigma of the Sudan was eagerly caught up, and on February 18, 1884, General Gordon arrived at Khartum bearing instructions from her Majesty's Government, amplified by Sir E. Baring, to withdraw the imperilled garrisons. † A grave step was thus taken, the full significance of which was little realised. Hicks Pasha, himself half unwilling, might, under an impulse from Cairo, march by painful stages to destruction in the far deserts of Kordofan, although a British official controlled the conscience

* 'The Egyptian Campaigns of 1882 to 1885,' by Mr. Charles Royle, fortunately fills up this official lacuna, and supplements the work under review in other important respects.

† 'You will bear in mind that the main end to be pursued is the 'evacuation of the Sudan. This policy was adopted, after very full 'discussion, by the Egyptian Government, on the advice of her 'Majesty's Government. It meets with the fullest approval of his 'Highness the Khedive, and of the present Egyptian Ministry.'

of the Khedive;* but the plea of British irresponsibility could still be set up. The game of bo-peep, so frequently played in connexion with Anglo-Egyptian politics, has evident advantages; but General Gordon carried a British mandate, and could not in honour be altogether disavowed or abandoned.

Arrived at Khartum, General Gordon found himself in the midst of forces which he, with all his wide experience and the prestige of successful governorship, was wholly powerless to control. In a despatch of February 27 he stated to Sir E. Baring: 'Of course my duty is evacuation, and to do the 'best I can for establishing a quiet government. The first 'I hope to accomplish. The second is a more difficult task, 'and with care and time can be accomplished.' It was soon evident that either task had become impossible, although General Gordon himself, ill supplied with information from the outside, appears for some time to have underrated the extent and strength of the revolt with which he was confronted. On February 27 he telegraphed: 'Should you wish 'to intervene, send 200 British troops to Wady Halfa and 'adjutants to inspect Dongola, and then open Suakin-Berber 'road by Indian Moslem troops.' Major-General Graham, after his successful actions, had pressed for the despatch of two squadrons to Berber, and General Gordon again, on March 7, telegraphed: 'I think it, therefore, most important to follow 'up the success near Suakin by sending a small force up to 'Berber.' This course was not recommended by Sir E. Baring, who, however, telegraphed shortly afterwards: 'It 'has now become of the utmost importance not merely to 'open the road between Suakin and Berber, but to come to 'terms with the tribes between Berber and Khartum.' No steps were taken, and about the middle of April a cloud, never to be wholly lifted, settled down upon the doomed garrison of Khartum.

The best sympathies of the nation were, however, quickly aroused on behalf of General Gordon and Colonel Stewart, who had alone and unquestioning gone straight into the teeth of great dangers on an impossible errand. Sir Henry

* On the 4th of January, 1884, only four months after the departure of Hicks Pasha from Khartum, Sir E. Baring was informed that 'it should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and 'governors of provinces, that the responsibility, which for the time 'rested on England, obliged her Majesty's Government to insist on 'the adoption of the policy which they recommended.' ('The Egyptian Campaigns.')

Gordon, who up to the end of July had opposed the sending of Zobair* as likely to imperil his brother's life, was for some time of opinion that Khartum was in no danger; but the certainty that a rescue must be attempted quickly grew, and it was necessary to decide upon a definite plan of campaign. Early in April, therefore, an era of academic discussion and promiscuous memoranda began, which incidentally give a curious insight into the existing system of administration. In the light of events, it would probably have been wiser for the official historian to have passed over this period in silence, merely giving a summary of the plan which was ultimately adopted. He has, however, taken another course, and his critics must follow him. On April 8, 1884, the Adjutant-General—the principal officer of the staff of the Commander-in-Chief—addressed a memorandum to the Secretary of State for War, detailing the measures required for placing 6,500 British troops 'in the neighbourhood of Shendi.' The battle of the routes had, however, begun some time before this, and continued for several months.

Practically the contest lay between the following routes (see map) :—

a. The Nile throughout (1,750 miles).

b. The Nile to Korosko (760 miles); thence across the desert to Abu Hamed (230 miles); thence the Nile valley to Khartum (330 miles). Total, 1,320 miles.

c. The Nile to Korti (1,220 miles); across the desert to Metemmeh (175 miles); the Nile to Khartum (96 miles). Total, 1,491 miles.

d. The desert route from Suakin to Berber (245 miles); the Nile valley to Khartum (210 miles). Total, 455 miles.

Of these (*b*) (*c*) and (*d*) were recognised trade routes, while (*a*) had never been so used; (*b*) involved the passage of one of the worst deserts in the Sudan, with little water, and that at two points only; (*c*) has a good water supply at two points, and an indifferent supply at two more; (*d*) has water at eleven points at least, and an excellent central station (Ariab), up to which place, proceeding from Suakin, there is fair water supply capable of great developement; beyond Ariab there is water only at Obak (52 miles), and at Bir Mahobeh, seven miles from the Nile. In the case of (*b*) the desert journey

* General Gordon had at an early period pressed for the despatch of Zobair to Khartum, which her Majesty's Government declined to sanction.

begins at 760 miles from the sea; in that of (*c*) at 1,220 miles; (*d*) alone starts from a sea base.

The Adjutant-General's proposal was to adopt (*a*), conveying the dismounted troops in boats, by which 'the 'difficulty of transport is reduced to very narrow limits.' Steamers were to be employed on such reaches as might chance to prove navigable, at an uncertain date. The Wady Halfa railway, 33 miles long, was to be extended to 100* miles, in order to turn a difficult portion of the river. The mounted portion of the force was to consist of 400 men on native horses, and 450 more on native horses or camels. The river for about 140 miles, between Korti and Abu Hamed, was practically unknown, and Lord Hartington pertinently asked: 'Is there no point on the Nile between the 'southern end of the Wady Halfa railroad and Berber where 'further progress in boats becomes impossible?' The progress of boats can, however, rarely be said to be impossible, since they admit of portaging, and *the only necessary condition is time.*

The Adjutant-General considered that Khartum could not hold out beyond November 15, and that it was therefore necessary for the expedition to be at Berber by October 20. The date at which he advised that the start should be made in order to achieve this result by way of the Nile is, unfortunately, not given; although, should the Government adopt the route *viâ* Suakin, he estimated that the relieving force must be assembled there on September 1. On May 5, Lieutenant-General Stephenson, then commanding in Egypt, and possessing full access to the best local opinion, forwarded a report, in which, after clearly indicating the enormous difficulties of the Nile route, he unhesitatingly pronounced in favour of a movement from Suakin. 'The 'whole march to Khartum by this route might be traversed 'in nine weeks,' an estimate which practically coincides with that of the Adjutant-General. The immense advantages of the comparatively short distance to be traversed,† and of a sea base within four days of Suez, were clearly pointed out. Next in order of the published statements in this probably unique discussion, is that of Lieutenant-

* The Wady Halfa line 'was levelled for a further distance of '22 miles, leaving 45 miles to be entirely constructed, and 67 miles 'of rails and sleepers to be transported up the Nile.'

† The distance from Suakin to Berber is approximately the same as that from London to Plymouth by the Great Western Railway.

Colonel Maurice, written on the hypothesis of the fall of Berber. 'Prior to the fall of Berber the route from Suakin 'upon Berber might have been possible.' This was now, however, 'impossible,' apparently, because no force coming from Suakin could hope to capture Berber, for which operation boats seem to have been regarded as essential. 'A 'demonstration not in large force' from Suakin on Berber 'would be of the greatest advantage,' since 'the route could 'be securely prepared for the first 140 miles of the route.' * The despatch of 'bodies of 1,000 men at a time on camels,' across the 200 miles of desert from Korosko to Abu Hamed by the aid of water 'depôt-d' along the route, was also advocated; but what precise plan of action this memorandum was intended to recommend is by no means clear.

On June 14, her Majesty's Government determined to make preparations at Suakin for the construction of a railway to Berber. This was the first definite step taken towards the despatch of an expedition to Khartum, and it is remarkable that the official history is completely silent as to the reasoning by which the Government was induced to take action, the intended scope of the railway, and its bearing upon the Suakin-Berber route as a line of military operations. A veil is drawn over this period of the discussion.

Meanwhile, the Admiralty had despatched an officer † to report on the Nile, and on August 3 Admiral Lord John Hay stated his 'opinion that the 400-boat proposal' was not 'practicable,' and expressed his 'regret' at 'having been 'compelled to report unfavourably on a proposed operation 'which, if practicable, would have been most interesting to 'carry out.' Communications with the Admiralty appear to have previously taken place, and Captain Hall, R.N., the

* The military dangers along this route had formed the principal objection to it in the view of the Adjutant-General. It was now admitted, however, that the first 140 miles could be 'securely 'prepared,' as was obviously the case. The remaining 105 miles of desert presented no military danger whatever until the last well, seven miles from Berber, was reached. This well is curiously ignored by the official history, which alludes to O-Bak as the last water on the route. Yet the Intelligence Department Report of July 1884 refers to Bir Mahobeh as 'a large deep revetted well, with good water. Two 'hours' march to the Nile. Cultivation (and therefore water) on both 'sides of the road.'

† Commander Hammill's careful examination extended only as far as Dongola, leaving 610 miles unsurveyed.

head of the Naval Intelligence Department, prepared an 'estimate of the time in which, according to his views, an 'expedition working in boats could mount the Nile from 'Wady Halfa . . . . to Dongola.' Captain Hall's 'views,' which do not, however, appear in the official history, were rejected by a committee of three officers who had taken part in the Red River Expedition of 1870. The question of routes had thus, after three and a half months, reached the committee stage. The resulting report shows an entire want of grasp of the problem. A force of about 1,200 men had in 1870

'proceeded from Thunder Bay on Lake Superior to Fort Garry on the Red River, a distance of over 600 miles, through a wilderness practically destitute of supplies, and where no labour was obtainable. Remembering this, we believe that a brigade can easily be conveyed in small boats from Cairo to Dongola in the time [what time?] stated by Lord Wolseley, and further, that should it be necessary to send a still larger force by water to Khartoum, that operation will present no insuperable difficulties.'

These words were written on July 29, and, so far as was known, Khartum could at the most hold out until the end of the year. Only five months remained, therefore, and something more than the absence of 'insuperable difficulties' was surely needed to recommend this plunge into the unknown. The committee, however, made no attempt to frame an estimate of time based on any reasoning,* and they never even alluded to the military aspects of the matter.† With them one river was much like another. 'The situations, 'look you, is both alike,' says the sage Fluellen. 'There is a

* The Report merely states:—'From all we can learn about the 'Nile, and the difficulties of desert journeys . . . we are convinced 'that if it is necessary to take a fighting force to Khartum *before the end* '*of the year, or the end of January*, the Nile will be found the easiest, 'the safest, and immensely the cheapest line to adopt.' In view of the known state of Khartum, the vagueness of the words italicised seems sufficiently remarkable.

† The most remarkable feature in the Report is the abrupt announcement at this very late hour that 'the question has been 'regarded by the naval and military departments from two entirely 'different points of view.' The Admiralty had apparently been contemplating an expedition in 'steamers of considerable size, and boats 'of from ten to forty tons burden;' while 'the military proposal has in 'view the employment of small boats.' In other words, the Admiralty and War Office had been playing at cross purposes, and the former Department does not appear to have known what the proposed plan really was. The proposal of the War Office was, however, fully understood by Admiral Lord John Hay and Commander Hammill.

'river in Macedon; and there is also moreover a river at 'Monmouth: it is called Wye at Monmouth; but it is 'out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but ''tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and 'there is salmons [rapids] in both.'

Unfortunately, no two 'situations' could well have been more dissimilar from the military point of view. In the one case, a little rebellion of a few half-breeds, who could not have stood for a moment before a half battalion, had to be put down. A distance of but 600 miles from Thunder Bay, accessible by steamers from Collingwood on Lake Huron, which is ninety-four miles by rail from Toronto, had to be traversed. The route had been surveyed as a 'highway for 'emigration.'* An English climate at its best favoured the force. Of military danger during the advance there was none, and Fort Garry is but thirty-five miles from Lake Winnipeg; while the settlers on the banks of the Red River provided horses for mounted scouts. Finally, only some 1,200 troops with sixty days' rations were to be transported, and, within broad limits, time was of little account.

In the other case, the objective was a besieged town in the heart of a region peopled by tens of thousands of one of the fighting races of the world in wild revolt, fired by fanaticism and flushed with a long series of victories in which British officers had fallen. For 400 miles at least there was every reason to believe that the advance would be disputed; while Berber, Shendi, and Metemmeh were known to be held by the Mahdieh. Sarras (see map), must be compared with Thunder Bay; Portsmouth with Toronto. The one was about 870 miles by river from Khartum, and a portion of this distance held difficulties quite unknown. The other involved 3,000 miles of sea to Alexandria, 350 miles of indifferent railway to Assiut, 318 miles of steamer passage to Assouan, 9 miles of badly equipped railway † and a complete break of bulk, 210 miles more of steamer transit, and finally a second break of bulk, and 33 miles of railway badly built and ill found.‡ The real difficulties then began—at a distance of

* 'The Red River Expedition,' by Captain G. L. Huyshe.

† 'The chief difficulty in connexion with it was owing to the 'scarcity of repairing material.'

‡ 'A strange, difficult and, at first, dangerous road.' 'Old and 'broken-down engines rendered unsteady by the removal of their 'coupling-rods, with wheels dangerously worn.' By the middle of November the working of this line had been so far improved that an average of three trains per day each way was possible.

870 miles from Khartum. Again, the climate of the Nile Valley was necessarily trying to Europeans; while, in place of the small Red River force, some 5,000 men with 100 days' rations were to be transported along this vast, varied, and partly unknown line of communications. Finally, the element of time was of vital importance.

The period of academic discussion had now ended. Whether her Majesty's Government ever had the full facts before them, ever weighed the evidence, or cross-examined the witnesses, cannot be stated. Within ten days of the date of the utterly inconclusive report of the committee, the Secretary of State for War informed Lieutenant-General Stephenson that a vote of credit* for 300,000*l.*—surely a figure of speech—had been taken 'in order to enable her Majesty's 'Government to undertake operations for the relief of General 'Gordon, should they become necessary.' The Suakin-Berber route was not as yet abandoned. 'Subsequent information 'may still make it appear desirable to adopt this route;' but 'the most recent information as to the existing state of 'affairs, imperfect as it is, appears to point in a different direc-'tion,' and 'no advance would probably take place from 'Suakin without the renewal of some fighting, which, 'except in the case of absolute necessity, her Majesty's 'Government would desire to avoid.' It is almost inconceivable that the Government could have been persuaded that Khartum might be relieved without fighting; otherwise, the passage quoted may serve to explain their decision. Meanwhile, 'the provision of the means by which a force 'could be despatched to Dongola, and as circumstances at 'the time render expedient, to Berber or Khartum,' was determined upon. The above despatch is the authoritative basis on which the Nile operations appear to rest, and curious reflections on the administration of the business of the country are suggested by the fact that the official history quotes no authority for any expedition to Khartum, the full preparations for which at once began. The die was cast, and General Gordon and Khartum were lost.

On August 26, Lieutenant-General Stephenson, who had again protested that the 'small boats proposed were not suit-'able,' was informed that he had been superseded, and on September 9 Lord Wolseley arrived at Cairo as Commander-in-Chief. An altered plan of operations was at once prepared. The total rank and file of the 'fighting force to be placed in

* The vote was taken on August 7.

'line somewhere about the neighbourhood of Shendi' was fixed at 5,400, and the mounted portion was increased from 850 to 1,900, including a camel corps of 1,100 to be composed of volunteers from no less than twenty-eight regiments at home—cavalry, guards and rifles. It was estimated that this strange aggregate of soldiers—a 'corps' in name only—might arrive at Alexandria 'on the 20th or 21st of October;' but such earnestness was shown in complying with the wishes of the general, that the whole force actually reached Egypt a fortnight earlier. While it was the original intention to convey in boats 'the whole of the infantry . . . . and 100 'rations per man (these rations remaining intact till the 'fighting base was reached) and to march the mounted troops 'along the banks,' the possibility of 'delays occurring by 'the river route' or of being driven to undertake a desert march, was not lost sight of. Hence arose the necessity for the camel corps, 'which nevertheless added considerably to 'the already great difficulties of supply.' If, however, these possibilities were 'always in view,' the camel corps must have appeared absolutely essential from the first, and any difficulties it may have involved were inherent in the original scheme.*

The construction of the whale boats began on August 12, but the first batch did not arrive at Wady Halfa till October 14, after being delayed by some unfortunate misunderstanding, owing to which 'boats and gear were 'separated at Alexandria,' and 'only brought together 'again after a great expenditure of time and labour.' The complex arrangements required for moving men and stores in trains, steamers, nuggers, broad arrow boats, and whalers, are well explained, and the delicate organisation required for adjusting men to stores, and distributing both to meet the requirements of the task in view, are lucidly described. 'In an expedition whose 'fighting base was to be 1,400 miles from the sea, the inter-'mediate country being almost wholly destitute of supplies,' duties of most exceptional difficulty devolved upon the 'General of Communications.'

On September 20, the 1st battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment arrived at Dongola, having made the passage from Sarras in nuggers; but not till October 25 was

* The total number of camels actually employed for the purposes of an expedition in boats was more than 8,000; and the cost of these essential auxiliaries was 106,637*l.*

the first whale boat hauled through the 'great gate' of the second cataract. The embarkation of the leading half-battalion (South Staffordshire Regiment) took place on November 5, and the boat expedition may then be said to have commenced. Between the starting point Gemai and the objective Khartum lay 870 miles of the Nile, with its endless rapids, changing each day as the water rapidly fell. Of the management of boats under conditions so difficult, the vast majority of the men knew nothing. They had to begin to learn to row—on November 5. 'Voyageurs' borrowed from Canada, 'whose skill in work-'ing boats in bad water was very remarkable,' acted as pilots. The official history does well to refer to the 'pluck, 'determination, and endurance' with which the unparalleled struggle was fought. There was none of the excitement which causes toil to be forgotten. The majority of the troops never saw anything more formidable than a river-side cultivator. For them it was one long dreary period of unremitting toil, varied only by towing, portaging, or repairing damages, as ever fresh difficulties presented themselves, or small accidents occurred. Well might the Commander-in-Chief write: 'The labour of working up this 'river is immense.' Half the comforts which the soldier campaigning in modern Europe secures from his attendant baggage trains were denied to these British troops, working from dawn to sunset under a pitiless African sun, and finding their clothes and boots quickly fail them.* Military history cannot record such things; but it is well to remember the bright example of unwonted labours and privations cheerfully accepted, and the British army has a right to look back with pride on the achievements of the toilers of the river, foredoomed through no fault of theirs to failure.†

Korti (see map) having been selected as 'the advanced 'depôt,' the mounted infantry was pushed on to this point, and the main body of troops slowly and painfully worked their way, in a straggling procession, through the mazes of the third cataract, the average time occupied in the

* 'According to one account, "there was literally not a sound '"garment in the whole column, and the men resembled Falstaff's '"ragged regiment rather than a body of British troops."'—'The Egyptian Campaigns, 1882 to 1885.'

† The diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, which forms an appendix of the official history, gives a vivid picture of the difficulties and the labours required to cover this short distance.

journey of 380 miles from Gemai being about forty-eight days, and the last detachment arriving on the 27th of January.

Meanwhile, such news as had been received from under the dark cloud which lay over Khartum was eminently disquieting in view of the slow progress of the relieving force. On October 8, a letter from M. Herbin, the French consul, dated July 29, reached Cairo, in which the writer stated, 'We are in a strong position at Khartum. No 'need for alarm, unless it be the want of provisions. In 'two months our provisions will be exhausted.' On November 1, Sir E. Baring received a despatch from General Gordon, dated July 13, stating that the town was 'all right and could hold out for four months.' It was probably impossible to ascertain exactly the resources of the place, and a cipher letter, dated September 19, addressed to the Khedive and received at Dongola on November 28, began by stating, 'There is money and provision in Khar- 'tum for four months, after which we shall be embarrassed.' This letter announced the departure of Colonel Stewart with the French and English consuls for Dongola 'to com- 'municate concerning the Soudan.' On November 2 the first news of the loss of the *Abbas* and the murder of Colonel Stewart's party reached Ambukol, to be quickly confirmed. On December 16, the headquarters staff reached Korti, and an important decision was taken. The information received by the Commander-in-Chief 'made it 'advisable to gain touch of General Gordon with the least 'possible delay. He therefore felt that this emergency— 'the possibility of which he had foreseen from the first— 'had now arrived, and that he must arrange for the 'despatch of a mounted column across the desert to 'Metemmeh.' The operations were about to enter upon a new and critical phase.

The concentration at Korti was not nearly complete. On December 25 the total force assembled there was 2,220, of which little more than one-third had been transported in boats. More than four and a half months had elapsed since the decision of the Government had been taken, and now, after unparalleled efforts, the whalers had conveyed barely 800 men to Korti. Between Korti and Metemmeh, where General Gordon's steamers were to await the arrival of the relieving force, lay a desert route of 176 miles, shorter, therefore, by about 70 miles than that between Suakin and Berber (see map); but into Suakin the resources of England, Egypt,

Aden, and India could have been rapidly poured.* Of men, horses, and camels, any number could have been transported to the shores of the Red Sea, thence to start fresh upon the route before them. Vessels carrying every requisite of a field army could easily steam from Portsmouth to Suakin in about one-third of the time required for the whalers in mounting the Nile from Gemai to Korti. While one force prepared for the start for Berber, equipped in every detail, another could have acted against Osman Digna, and, after fighting a single action, would have been ready to follow. Berber was little, if at all, more formidable than Metemmeh, which was not taken. The advanced guard, having fought an action on the level plain at Bir Mahobeh, could have struck the Nile above Berber, and either moved up at once to Khartoum, or awaited reinforcements which limitless resources in camels made certain. The estimate of the Adjutant-General would, doubtless, have proved correct.

On December 30, a native arrived at Merowi with the historic postage stamp, bearing the words 'Khartum all 'right. 14. 12. 84. C. G. Gordon.' But the accompanying verbal message showed too plainly that the end was not far off:—

'Do not scatter your troops, enemy are numerous. Bring plenty of troops if you can.† . . . Our troops in Khartoum are suffering from lack of provisions. The food we still have is little. . . . We want you to come quickly. You should come by Metemmeh or Berber. Make by these two roads. Do not leave Berber in your rear.'

'Gordon's message' (telegraphed the Commander-in-Chief) 'compels measures that will postpone my arrival at Khartoum. He warns me not to leave Berber in my rear, so I must move by water and take it, before I march upon Khartoum. Meanwhile I shall have established post at Metemmeh, by men and stores sent across the desert. I shall be able to communicate with Gordon by steamer, learn his exact position, and, if he is *in extremis* before infantry arrive by river, to push forward by camel corps and help him at all hazards.'

To commence a long desert march from a base 1250 miles

* On February 12, 1884, the order to relieve Tokar was issued, and on the afternoon of the 28th a field force nearly 4,000 strong, with camel transport, left Trinkitat to accomplish the mission.

† Assuming these words to be correct as transmitted, and Arabs are wonderfully accurate message carriers, they are remarkable as being almost the first indication that General Gordon was, at length, fully informed as to the weight of the forces arrayed against him.

from the sea, not equipped and without resources, was a desperate undertaking; but there was not a day to lose. Every generous effort was to be made, and no military risk was too great to be accepted.

The terrible mistake of the initial decision was now to make itself felt. The force was not only deficient in camels, since the supply expected from the Kababish tribe was not forthcoming, but the available animals were in poor condition after their long march, and forage was 'very deficient.' The insufficiency of transport made it necessary to form a depôt at Jakdul (see map) before the advance to Metemmeh could be begun. On December 30, Colonel Sir H. Stewart started with a force 1,107 strong, and 2,206 camels, to form an intermediate station at Jakdul, accomplishing the distance of 98 miles in sixty-four hours, and returning to Korti on January 5.* On January 8, Sir H. Stewart started again, with orders to establish a post at Abu Klea, and then 'attack and occupy Metemmeh.' The force detailed for this forlorn hope numbered but 1,800 British troops, with 2,888 camels—'most of them . . . in low condition'—and 153 horses. One of the last letters ever written by Sir H. Stewart was addressed to the Commander-in-Chief from Jakdul, on the 14th. 'Everything is going on swimmingly, 'except as to time . . . a considerable amount of Nile 'stores are useless. . . . The more I see of this road and 'its work, the more convinced I am that you will have 'largely to supplement the supply of camels.' The march was accomplished without incident till January 16, when the Arabs were reported in force, barring the route to the wells of Abu Klea, and the troops bivouacked for the night in the presence of the enemy. On the morning of the 17th, after breakfasting 'under a warm fire,' the column was formed in square, and, leaving its sick and baggage in a zeriba, advanced slowly towards the wells.

The story of the short but sharp fighting which ensued is well known. The square was not fully formed; its sides were unequal; † fire was masked by the skirmishers in their

* This first march of 196 miles told 'very severely on the camels 'generally. . . . Many returned to Korti with large sores, and were 'incapacitated for service for the remainder of the campaign.'

† The two side faces of the square differed in length by thirty-six files, or about 30 yards, the significance of which will be understood by infantry officers. It was the rear angle of the shorter side, formed by dismounted troopers only, which was broken. 'The Mahdieh 'recognised instinctively' that this was 'the weak point.' The left

retirement. The cavalry, volunteers from some sixteen different regiments possessing no cohesion, were almost wholly untrained in infantry tactics, and there is little doubt that, true to their natural instincts as horsemen, they charged outwards to meet the rush of Arabs. The square was broken at the left rear corner; but, in the wild mêlée which ensued, all the best characteristics of the British soldier, manifested on a hundred fields, shone forth once more with brilliance undimmed. The living wall of camels in the centre of the square, upon which the troops were driven back, broke the weight of the rush of spearmen, and a desperate hand to hand fight ensued, in which the Arabs proved no match for 'the pluck and muscle' opposed to them. In five minutes the square was cleared, the ranks were reformed, all danger was over, and 'a ringing cheer broke forth from the little 'band of British troops.' The losses, amounting to 176 killed and wounded, must be attributed mainly to the breaking of the square, for which the radically defective composition of the force is primarily responsible. All the conditions demanded a compact body of well-trained infantry with a defined regimental organisation. No conceivable military object could be served by placing cavalry men on camels, nor could they be reasonably expected to suddenly acquire the instincts implanted by long training in the infantry soldier. The history of Abu Klea is a striking testimony to the individual fighting capacity of the troops with whom an experiment so dangerous could be tried without disaster.

The actual cavalry force which had accompanied the desert column was very small (127 sabres), and much stress had been thrown upon the horses in reconnoitring, so that the shattered Arab spearmen could not be pursued. The column halted at the wells and passed 'a very miserable 'night, without food, coats, or blankets.' The camels and stores having been brought up from the zeriba in the morning of the 18th, a defensive post was formed, and soon after 4 P.M. the column started for Metemmeh. The official history gives a striking picture of the long dark night march which followed. The wrong route appears to have been taken under the leadership of Ali Loda the robber.

The men were wearied out and the camels crushed through the ranks, 'lagged behind,' or 'ravenous with hunger turned

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front angle, *which was guarded by infantry alone*, was the front originally threatened; but the Arabs were prevented from closing by the heavy fire developed.

'aside to graze.' The native camel drivers fell asleep on their saddles. Words of command could not be passed from front to rear, and all semblance of order was lost for the time. It is terrible to think what might have occurred if the column had been attacked before the open ground gave it the means of re-forming.

The welcome dawn found the worn-out troops within five miles of the Nile, but 'crowds of Arabs were seen to be 'streaming' out of Metemmeh, and a force stood ready to dispute the advance. A rough fort was formed of biscuit boxes and camel saddles for the protection of the transport, under a hot fire from the long grass in which the enemy lay hid. Colonel Sir H. Stewart, who had so well commanded the desert column, received the wound which cost the army and the country a gallant life, and a great future cavalry leader. At 3 P.M. the force started in square formation under a galling fire, to which the enemy's rush soon to follow was a palpable relief. 'Running down hill as 'they were, the Arabs probably charged with even 'greater impetus than at Abu Klea;' but no skirmishers masked the deadly hail of bullets, and the lesson of two days previously had been learned by the force as a year's drill would not have taught it; 'the seething mass of 'fanatics' became 'a heap of lifeless bodies,' and the square swept down to the river.

The casualties on the 19th were 121, and the force, which had been 'under fire, or marching, or working, since the 'evening of the 16th,' was nearly worn out. On the 20th, the village of Gubat, on a gravel ridge bordering the hill, was occupied, and the stores and wounded from the zeriba were conveyed there. On the 21st, the force moved to the attack of Metemmeh; but shells produced 'little effect on 'the mud walls,' artillery ammunition appeared likely to run short, 'considerable loss'* occurred, and the retirement was ordered. Meanwhile, the four steamers had arrived,† bearing a letter from General Gordon, written on December 13, and containing the words: 'If some effort is not 'made before ten days' time, the town will fall.' Twenty-nine days had elapsed since the fulfilment of this prediction

* So far as can be ascertained from the official history, the total casualties on the 20th and 21st amounted to four.

† These steamers had been waiting for the expeditionary force for nearly four months, and their crews had been constantly fighting, besides suffering great privations.

was due, but the desert column was in no state for an advance upon Khartum. The position was one of much difficulty and some danger. Nearly 300 men had been killed or wounded, and the whole of the sorely-harassed force was in great need of rest. The few cavalry horses were unfit for any serious reconnaisance work, supplies were short, transport shattered, and reinforcements far distant. A body of Arabs from Omdurman had already arrived and taken part in the fighting of the 19th. A further body had been seen on the march northwards, and it was reported that yet another force was moving up from Berber. Metemmeh, only two miles distant from the position at Gubat, was held by the enemy. Under these circumstances, Colonel Sir C. Wilson, on whom the command devolved, decided, before proceeding to Khartum, to reconnoitre the river to the north.

On the morning of the 24th, Sir C. Wilson, with two steamers, carrying 20 men of the Royal Sussex Regiment and about 240 Sudanese, started for Khartum. A nugger was taken in tow laden with dhura for the relief of the starving town containing more than 30,000 mouths.

After five and a half months of strenuous effort, this was the practical outcome. From the small force at Gubat, itself completely *en l'air*, a mere squad of British troops, dressed in the red coats specially brought across the desert for the purpose, was the utmost succour that could be sent to Khartum, which had been starving for a month.* The fictions of success all but attained, of failure in time to be counted by hours, and of preventible delays on the 22nd and 23rd by which Khartum was lost, could never have taken shape but for General Gordon's steamers and the sorely tried fidelity of their crews. Failing the steamers, how could the handful of troops at Gubat have made even the show of an advance upon Khartum?

The adventurous up-stream voyage of the little flotilla, the arrival before Khartum only to find that the Egyptian flag was no longer flying, and that Government House was 'completely wrecked,' the many dangers of the return journey ending in the loss of both the steamers, and the final rescue of the party, have been well told by Sir C. Wilson himself.†

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* 'I hear that the soldiers waylay the women to whom I have given biscuit and rob them,' wrote General Gordon, on November 29.—*Journal.*

† 'From Korti to Khartum.'

The long struggle against enemies without and within, the torture of hopes gradually fading, the pressure of ever-increasing want—all had ended. There is no more striking picture in history than that of the lonely soldier, who for months held Khartum by the force of his single steadfast will. A life of rarely disinterested devotion to duty had fitly closed, leaving the world richer by a great example.

The fact that the end occurred two days before the arrival of Sir C. Wilson's steamers inspired the false belief that Khartum was all but saved.* If the little party of red-coats had started from Gubat on the morning of January 22, which was practically impossible, it would still have arrived too late. But in any case, it is inconceivable that the tragedy could have been averted. General Gordon himself believed that the town could not be held after December 23, seven days before the first convoy left Korti for the wells of Jakdul, and there is no doubt that the Mahdieh could have taken the place at any time during the last month of the siege, even if not before. There is no reason to credit Mohammed Ahmed with any profound strategic plan; but this delay, which drew the camel corps across the Bayûda desert, was well calculated to give him an advantage over the expeditionary force. Whatever may have been the situation in October and November, much more than moral support was needed long before the end of January, and twenty British soldiers, with a nugger laden with dhura, could scarcely have saved the starving town. Had Sir C. Wilson and his party arrived sooner, they must either have returned at once or would inevitably have shared its fate. The original plan of operations contem-

* The danger to the steamers was pointed out by General Gordon as early as November 28. 'He considered that it would be very 'hazardous for any steamer to attempt to come up to Khartum.' (Sir H. Gordon.) 'I hope the officer in command will clear out Halfeyeh 'before he pushes on to this. . . . I do not like to risk sending the 'Bordein down to give warning. . . . The proper thing to do would 'be to clear Halfeyeh camp of the Arabs before coming on here. You 'could then communicate with Khartum by land, and avoid running the 'risk of Arab guns in passing steamboats.'—(*Journal.*) 'Now, if 'General Gordon so expressed himself on the 28th November, two months 'before Sir C. Wilson got to Khartum, and when the fort at Omdur-'man and the island of Tuti were both in the General's hands, what 'must have been the state of affairs when both these positions had 'fallen?' (Sir H. Gordon.) How could the twenty men of the Royal Sussex Regiment clear Halfeyeh?

plated sending on the desert column to Khartum only if General Gordon was *in extremis*, and that column, short of provisions and ammunition, encumbered with sick and wounded, and without adequate transport, could not have made the attempt without incurring unjustifiable risk. No real succour could have been given to Khartum till the arrival of the main body of the expedition in the whalers, still about 500 miles distant, and then only after the capture of Berber, and probably Shendi. At a moderate estimate, six weeks from January 26 would have been required before Khartum could have been reached by any relieving force, and General Gordon had been in hourly danger since the end of December. The expedition was, therefore, more than ten weeks too late.

Although the fall of Khartum within two days of the arrival of Sir C. Wilson's party had the effect of misleading public opinion as to the real measure of the failure, the immediate result was of another kind. It was at once apparent that the military position of the desert column was gravely compromised. On January 23, the force at Gubat had been reduced to a total strength of 985, by the departure of a convoy to Jakdul to bring up supplies, and as soon as the news of the fighting at Abu Klea reached Korti, the Royal Irish Regiment* started to march across the desert and arrived at Jakdul on February 4. Major-General Sir R. Buller had at the same time been ordered to take over the command at Gubat. The fall of Khartum was not known at Korti till the 4th, and orders were immediately sent to Sir R. Buller to remain at Jakdul, but were changed the same evening. The new orders had in view an early evacuation of Gubat. 'Every arrangement must be made at 'Gubat for suddenly leaving that place with all troops now 'in it and returning to Jakdul, picking up *en route* the men 'stationed at Abu Klea;' but discretion was left with the general. On February 12, Sir R. Buller, who had meanwhile reached Gubat, announced his decision. The steamers were not 'of the slightest use for offensive purposes,' and could only move a short distance up or down stream till the rising of the Nile.

'Our camels are emaciated, and their carrying power is small. Indeed, I do not think we have enough camels to get the force out at

* This regiment proved its excellent marching capabilities, and covered the greater portion of the distance at the rate of twenty miles a day.

one go. . . . I have about twelve days' supply here and twelve more at Abu Klea, and to keep up supply should have to send all my camels at once to Jakdul,' the double journey requiring ten days. 'Consequently, I have concluded that it is my duty to take action at once, and shall withdraw to Abu Klea and Jakdul.'

This prompt decision was all the more praiseworthy in that it must have been specially galling to order the retirement of the gallant force which had fought so well and suffered such great privations; but there was practically no alternative. The troops at Gubat could not have been supplied with certainty owing to the lack of camels, even if the military risk had been less. Khartum having fallen, the Mahdieh would inevitably cut the slender line of communications with Korti within a few days, and the position would have become desperate. A despatch of February 12 from the chief of the staff at Korti, shows that the idea of moving the desert column down the Nile to Berber, leaving behind a garrison 'at or near Metemmeh,' was still contemplated at headquarters; but the most sanguine estimate placed the arrival of the river column before Berber at March 14, and this column was itself depending for supplies on a convoy to be sent across the Nubian desert. Gubat had been already evacuated before this despatch reached Sir R. Buller, and the whole of the desert column was then marching back on foot to Abu Klea. The complete breakdown of the camels had not been fully understood. 'I do 'not think the debilitated state of our transport is realised at 'Korti,' wrote Major-General Sir E. Wood, on February 20. 'The heavy Camel Regiment has now 22 riding and 10 bag-'gage camels only. The Guards have 223, but they are in a 'wretched state.' This was, however, not the only difficulty which had arisen. Private letters from Sir R. Buller stated that 'the boots of the men were thoroughly worn out, and 'that many of them were almost shoeless.' Finally, the calculation as to the movements and supplies of the river column had proved to be fallacious, and the Commander-in-Chief 'was forced reluctantly to abandon all hope of taking' Berber 'before the autumn.' The full retirement was now ordered, and the last detachment of the desert column marched into Korti on March 16.

Thus ended an exploit which well merits a place of honour in the annals of the British army. The force had responded to all demands made upon it. Privation of every kind, incessant toil, some sharp fighting—all had been met with equal fortitude and endurance. No finer body of

troops ever went into action, and none was ever so impossibly organised. Successful under exceptional difficulties, the desert column was nevertheless obliged to retire, having been placed in a position strategically false in the first instance, and ultimately dangerous. A force of equal strength, advancing from Korti with an adequate transport of camels in good condition, could unquestionably have fought its way through to the relief of a Khartum which was not already starving, and these conditions might easily have been fulfilled by starting from Suakin early in October. The date at which her Majesty's Government determined to take steps for the relief of General Gordon, August 7, allowed time to brush aside Osman Digna, give heart to the large number of tribesmen who had never accepted his yoke, make the Suakin-Berber route as safe as the Great Western road, take Berber, and pass up the right bank of the Nile to Khartum.

The orders for the forward movement of the whalers were issued on December 27, by which date the provisions in Khartum were exhausted. The force was to be concentrated at Abu Hamdab, fifty miles above Korti, and starting as soon as a hundred rations per man had been accumulated, it was to 'occupy Abu Hamed and Berber,' and 'to 'use every endeavour to forward as many supplies as pos-'sible to the force which will have proceeded by land to 'Khartum.'* It was to be regarded as 'above all things 'of the first importance' to 'place 75,000 rations at Shendi 'at the disposal of the force which has operated by land.' In order to be able to effect this, however, it was necessary to depend upon a second desert route of more than two hundred miles from Korosko to Abu Hamed, across which it was necessary to transport on camels '200,000 rations of 'groceries, 100,000 rations of biscuit, and 50,000 rations of 'preserved meat.' All idea of relying upon boats, by which 'the difficulty of transport is reduced to very narrow limits,' had thus absolutely broken down.

The start of the river column from Hamdab was inevitably delayed till January 24, Major-General Earle representing

* These orders show that the despatch of the desert column to Khartum as an independent force was contemplated. The orders given to Colonel Sir H. Stewart afford no indication of any such intention, while those delivered to Colonel Sir C. Wilson empowered him merely to march his twenty men 'through the city, to show the people that 'British troops were near at hand,' after which he was to return to Metemmeh, without even sleeping at Khartum.

with much reason that it would be unwise 'to advance in 'boats through an unknown and hostile country without his 'small force of cavalry, and that his cavalry could not move 'without camels to carry their forage.' Even then the concentration was not complete.

'The country beyond Hamdab was practically a *terra* '*incognita*,' and the force was about to prove the disadvantages of moving over a portion of the river known only from the vague reports of natives. The official history, in the disproportionate space which it accords to the proceedings of the river column, throws a strong light upon the extreme difficulty encountered, and fully establishes the impossibility of the Nile as a military route to Khartum. Although the men had by this time gained experience in rowing and managing the boats, and 'were in admirable condition for 'performing severe and continuous labour, the constant 'succession of rapids and the intricate channels of rushing 'water through a wilderness of rocks, taxed their capabilities 'and their endurance to the utmost.' Every effort was cheerfully made, but the progress was slow, and reports of intended resistance on the left bank made it necessary to close up the straggling flotilla, and concentrate at Berti.

Meanwhile the news of the fall of Khartum arrived, and the river column was halted on February 4, while much telegraphing took place between Korti and London. The Commander-in-Chief asked further instructions in view of the change in the situation. 'If you wish, I could still 'advance on Khartum and could defeat Mahdi, but operation 'under present conditions is much more difficult than before. '. . . I could not possibly reach Khartum with sufficient 'force to attack Mahdi for six weeks from this date.' To this telegram the Secretary of State for War replied, on February 6, that the objects now to be aimed at were the safety of General Gordon, if alive, and to check the advance of the Mahdi in districts then undisturbed. No decision as to an advance on Khartum was given, but 'a hazardous 'operation at this season' was not regarded as essential to the above objects. The 'fullest discretion' was left to the General, and assistance of any kind, including the despatch of a force to Suakin, was promised. In reply, the General stated: 'Your telegram gives me no information as to the 'policy, with respect to the Sudan, you mean to pursue,' and pointed out that any movement on Berber would be 'unwise from a military point of view,' unless it was intended to crush the Mahdi at Khartum. On February 7, the

Secretary of State replied that the Government recognised the 'necessity' of overthrowing 'the power of the Mahdi 'at Khartum,' and requested a statement of the reinforcements required. Judging by the telegram of February 4, the full significance of the fall of Khartum does not appear to have been at first realised at Korti; but four days later the Commander-in-Chief pointed out that the 'siege and capture' of the town 'would be an impossible 'operation' for the available force. 'Khartum in the 'hands of the enemy cannot be retaken until the force under 'my command has been largely augmented in numbers and 'artillery.'

The announcement that the Government proposed to crush the Mahdi at Khartum caused orders to be sent to the desert column to take Metemmeh and combine with the river column for an attack on Berber; but Major-General Sir R. Buller, rightly estimating the grave risks of his position, had already withdrawn from Gubat. Meanwhile the whalers, halted at Berti, were ordered to continue their advance, and the river column had a brush with a greatly inferior force of the enemy at Kirbekan on February 10, in which Major-General Earle was most unfortunately killed. The column then proceeded up stream and reached its furthest point, 'about twenty-six miles from Abu Hamed,' on February 24, having accomplished less than one hundred miles in thirty-one days, in spite of every effort.

It was now apparent that even the taking of Berber must be abandoned. The desert column had perforce been withdrawn, its transport being practically destroyed; while the river column, 'even after replenishing supplies' from the camels which were to cross the Nubian desert, 'probably 'would not be in a position to leave sixty days' rations for 'the Berber garrison as had been hoped.' Major-General Brackenbury, who had succeeded to the command of the river column, further reported on February 17, that he would require a second convoy from Korosko, for which it would have been difficult to make provision. 'He stated 'that he could fix no dates, the rate of progress being 'dependent upon unknown conditions.' On February 24, therefore, the whalers were ordered to return, and the expeditionary force proceeded to take up summer quarters echeloned from Dongola to Korti.

Thus ended the Nile enterprise, and the failure had been absolute. In spite of the untiring labour of all ranks, only a portion of the whalers had accomplished 500 miles in six-

teen weeks, and was still 350 miles below Khartum. Berber, 245 miles only from the Red Sea, could not be taken, even with the assistance of a convoy, to be despatched across 230 miles of one of the worst deserts in the Sudan. Khartum had, indeed, been reached, thanks to General Gordon's steamers; but by a small party, whose presence would not have been of the smallest use unless it had arrived two months earlier. The expedition was planned, as the official history points out, with a view to relieve—not to capture—Khartum; and, as the resources of the town were known to be strictly limited, the risks of adopting the longest and least known line of operations were obvious. The available time being short, experiments in transport were necessarily dangerous. By means that will never be fully understood, General Gordon, alone in a vast crowd of starving Egyptians and Sudanese, had wonderfully succeeded in holding Khartum for a month beyond the maximum estimate of its endurance, and for nearly two and a half months beyond the date at which it was apparently intended that the relieving force should arrive. But this unexampled endurance was of no avail, and the fall of the town instantly revealed to the most ordinary understanding the false strategic position in which the force was placed. By the prompt action of Major-General Sir R. Buller the desert column was skilfully extricated and disaster averted.

The failure of the Nile expedition, the immense difficulties of the line of operation, and the necessity for a second campaign if Khartum was to be reached, quickly brought the Suakin-Berber route into new prominence. It was originally intended that a detachment from the force which had relieved Khartum should return 'by way of Berber to 'Suakin' and crush Osman Digna. Any independent operations on the Red Sea, although their possible moral effect was admitted, were, therefore, regarded as 'an expensive 'luxury.' Her Majesty's Government, however, appear from the first to have had in view the advantages of opening this short cut to the sea, and were 'in constant communica-'tion' with the General on the subject. On the receipt of the verbal message from General Gordon on December 30, 1884, clearly intimating his danger, Sir E. Baring suggested a demonstration from Suakin. The General considered, however, that it was only necessary to 'send all available 'men-of-war' to the port, and that 'the men, and especially 'marines in red coats, should be frequently landed and exer-'cised.' To this proposal the Secretary of State demurred,

but stated that he was prepared to make a 'real demon-'stration.' The fall of Khartum, and the total change of plan involved, again led Lord Hartington to offer 'the im-'mediate despatch of a force to attack Osman Digna,' which was now accepted, and on February 11, 1884, three days later, the Government were even requested to proceed with the long-projected railway.

'By all means make railway by contract to Berber, or as far as you can, during summer. It will be invaluable as a means of supply, and I recommend it being begun immediately. Contract to be, if possible, for so much per ton military stores and supplies, and men carried, per mile.'

Every effort was promptly made, and before the end of March, a force 13,000 strong, including a complete brigade from India and a battalion and field battery from New South Wales, with a transport of nearly 7,000 camels and 1,000 mules, were assembled at Suakin, Lieutenant-General Sir G. Graham, appointed to the command, arriving on the 12th of March.

Regarded from any point of view this achievement is remarkable, and well illustrates the potential strength and resources of the Empire. A telegram from London sufficed to bring from India a force of 3,000 men, 'complete with 'three months' supplies and all camp equipment and regi-'mental transport.' India furnished also camels, ponies, muleteers, bhistis, dhooly bearers, and a corps of 900 labourers, of whom a large number were specially fitted for railway work. Remote New South Wales telegraphed her patriotic offer of troops on February 15, and on March 29 the contingent landed at Suakin, no single arrangement having to be made at home. Sixty-two large steamers conveyed the force, and the railway plant required forty in addition, yet no difficulty of any kind was experienced, nor was the trade of the Empire in the least disarranged. Even excluding the railway ships, the whole sea-going steam mercantile marine of Russia would not nearly have sufficed for the purposes of the expedition, which would have required much more than one-third of the total sea-going steam tonnage of France. Not one of the great powers of Europe could have transported such a force to the shores of the Red Sea in so short a time. Great Britain could have trebled that force without great effort, and this fact serves to illustrate the great power which the Empire will wield if ever it is organised for war.

The operations at Suakin are briefly epitomised in the

official history. A single short and sharp action was inevitable, and it is only to be regretted that on March 22 the force which marched out into the bush to form a halfway zeriba *en route* to Tamai was surprised, and compelled to fight under great disadvantages. Again, as on so many fields, the sterling qualities of the British soldier were amply proved, while native Indian troops, whose steadiness under an Arab charge had been doubted,* acquitted themselves with equal honour. Tofrik, like Inkerman, was purely a soldiers' fight, and the issue was the same. On April 3, a force 6,300 strong, with a transport of 1,885 animals, reached Tamai, fourteen miles from Suakin, only to find Osman Digna's huts abandoned. The railway was now pushed forward along the Berber route without interruption. Handub was occupied on April 8, Otao on the 16th, and Tambuk on the 19th. These posts were roughly entrenched, and the water supply proved capable of great developement, although the season was nearly at its driest. The railway line followed the troops, and reached Otao on April 30. Already, however, on April 13 the Secretary of State had telegraphed, 'Construction of railway for any considerable 'distance to be suspended pending further consideration'; and the knowledge that a policy of abandonment was in contemplation must have inspired the entire force with a vivid sense of the unreality of the proceedings. The tribes who 'appeared to be anxious to come in' naturally wished for some guarantee 'that we should not go away as 'we had done in the previous year,' before compromising themselves. Had a real advance along the Berber route been undertaken, the whole country side would have been at the disposal of the General, and all hostility would have quickly disappeared. By the Arabs of the Red Sea, Englishmen were never viewed with dislike, and it was only by representing that British troops came to restore Egyptian oppression that Osman Digna had secured a following. Discredited as a leader and as a prophet by successive defeats, he would have been killed or captured, but for the doubt whether the policy of scuttle adopted in 1884 was not to be repeated. Sir G. Graham was, however, precluded from entering into any engagements or forming any treaties with

* 'It is very doubtful if even the very best of our Indian regiments 'could stand the charge of the Arabs, such as those which our troops 'had recently to encounter near Suakin.'—*Memorandum of April* 8, 1884.

the tribes, who only required them to become willing and fast allies. Beyond Korti, on the Nile route, native assistance was not forthcoming, and could never have been counted on. From Suakin to O-Bak native alliances were certain, once Osman Digna had been defeated, and the force which might have operated against Berber would have carried with it a political prestige which would have proved a factor of great importance. Each successive step in advance of the Suakin force would have given confidence to the tribesmen and lessened some of the difficulties of the line of communication.

Whether her Majesty's Government would have carried through the policy determined upon; whether the country would not have wearied of the Sudan before the autumn campaign, cannot be known. A cloud had arisen on the frontier of Afghanistan, and on April 13 the Secretary of State telegraphed, 'that in the then condition of imperial 'affairs it was probable that the expedition to Khartum 'might have to be abandoned.' On May 11, the withdrawal was definitely ordered. A change of Government then occurred, and it was pointed out to the new Secretary of State for War that, 'if the then policy of retreat were 'persisted in, the Mahdi would steadily become stronger and 'stronger, and we should have . . . eventually to fight him 'for our position in Egypt with a population around us 'ready to rise against us at the slightest reverse.' Sir R. Buller, however, reported that 'the difficulties of 're-occupation were so great that it would be better not 'to go back, but to continue the retirement as far as 'Akasheh,' and that in the event of a change of policy 'a new expedition would have to be organised.' On July 2, Mr. Smith stated that her Majesty's Government 'were not prepared to reverse the orders given by their pre-'decessors by countermanding the retreat of the force of 'Dongola,' but that the completion of the railway from Wady Halfa to Ferkeh—an extension of forty-seven miles—was to be carried out. The Commander-in-Chief had quitted the Upper Nile three months previously, and arrived at Suakin on May 2, in order to give directions for the withdrawal of Sir G. Graham's force.

Thus ended a chapter of history full of picturesque interest, and strangely illustrating alike the national strength and weakness. On the one hand, the vigour with which the operations were undertaken, the individual energy everywhere displayed and the admirable behaviour of the troops under

trials of many kinds, combine to impress the mind with a sense of power. Immediately the decision had been taken, the rapidity with which the preparations were made and the ease with which a considerable force was transported suggest the wealth of resource at the disposal of the Empire. Again, it is satisfactory to note that support in every possible form was afforded—even pressed upon—the selected Commander-in-Chief, and that there was no attempt to fetter his action or interfere with his plans. On the other hand, much political weakness was shown from the first in the handling of the Egyptian question. The proceedings which culminated in the action of the fleet at Alexandria in 1882 were marked by indecision, and definite action was permitted too late or too soon. An earlier interference would have saved the operations which ended at Tel-el-Kebir; while, in any case, the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts, without waiting for the ample landing force close at hand, was a grave error. Having crushed the Egyptian army, a heavy responsibility at once devolved upon Great Britain, the measure of which was never adequately grasped. The Khedive became practically a puppet whose strings were pulled by his English adviser, backed by an army of occupation; yet the fiction of irresponsibility was sedulously maintained, and still survives. The abandonment of the Sudan was inevitable, for with the break-up of the Egyptian army the slight and insecure hold over this vast region was lost; but to proclaim that abandonment without any clear idea of what was to be done with the scattered garrisons spread over hundreds of miles of desert was a terrible mistake. The full significance of the Mahdist movement—one of those strange upheavals of religious fanaticism which baffle the imagination of the Western world—was naturally unrealised; but no plea of irresponsibility in regard to the despatch of Hicks Pasha to Kordofan, or of General Baker's wretched force to Tokar, can be admitted. Did the British adviser of the Khedive acquiesce in these fatal mistakes? If he protested against them, how could he have been overruled? The administrative machinery of the country provides no proper means for dealing with politico-military questions, and irregular correspondence between the Foreign Office and War Office magnates absorbed in all the petty details of army management, is little calculated to promote wise decisions. It is possible, therefore, that the risks involved, as well as the inevitable results which must have followed disaster to Hicks Pasha's force, were never taken into consideration.

The tragedy of Kashgil at once placed the danger of Khartum in the clearest light, and in the absence of any other guiding motives the clamour of the *vox populi* for the despatch of General Gordon was readily acceded to. Military operations in these vague regions were naturally abhorrent; here was the semblance of a chance of escaping them. But General Gordon, plunged at the bidding of England into the vortex of wild forces which he was powerless to control, could not be entirely abandoned. The necessity for military intervention turned upon his success or failure, and for months the balance trembled. It was difficult indeed to gauge the situation at Khartum, and General Gordon up to a late date appears to have deprecated the despatch of a relieving force. Until the end of July, Sir Henry Gordon, with whom Mr. Gladstone was in communication, opposed even the sending of Zobair to Khartum; and the decision to prepare an expedition was not taken till August 7. The battle of the routes had then been in progress for five months, and the revelations of the official history in regard to the handling of such matters are appalling. A most important decision was arrived at in opposition to all the best local opinion and to the strongly expressed views of the Admiralty, apparently because a committee of officers, who had never seen any portion of the 870 miles of river which the whalers were to navigate, considered that the conditions bore some chance resemblance to those of the Red River Expedition. This fatal fancy caused the loss of Khartum.

The official historians, in opening with the statement that 'the only practicable road . . . from a military point of view 'lies in the narrow valley of the Nile,' can hardly have realised the impression which their pages must inevitably convey. No troops, no regular merchandise, had ever made use of this 'only practicable road,' of which a considerable portion is now officially described as 'a *terra incognita*.' The reinforcements sent to Hicks Pasha marched from Suakin to Berber, as did most of the garrisons sent into the Sudan. Guns had even passed over this route on their carriages, and wheeled transport could have been employed along it. Fatally slow, uncertain, and infinitely laborious as the Nile route had proved, its strategic disadvantages do not appear to have been realised till Khartum had fallen. It was then manifest that the desert column was in the air, could not be supported for many months, and must be withdrawn at once. At first the taking of Berber was still regarded as possible; but even this had to be quickly abandoned, notwithstanding

that arrangements were made to send convoys across 230 miles of desert. The Suakin-Berber railway project, which on January 8 'could have no influence in any way' on the operations, became by March 6 a line whose 'strategic import-'ance cannot be over-estimated.' When her Majesty's Government were informed that, in order to undertake any operations against Khartum, twelve additional battalions would have to be sent up the Nile, and that 'without the extension 'of the Halfa line the the autumn campaign cannot proceed,' the congratulations offered them on their choice of routes must have appeared somewhat ironical.

Although by the final withdrawal from the Sudan after the failure to reach Khartum with a relieving force British prestige in the East received a blow the effects of which cannot be accurately gauged, the decision must not be altogether blamed. Judging from experience, the autumn campaign would have involved a very heavy expenditure and the loss of many valuable lives. Of real danger to Egypt there was practically none, so long as the line of the river was held as far as Wady Halfa; and although the small Arab force which was easily routed at Ginnis, in December 1885, may have had 'Cairo for its objective,' that objective might as well have been London. Invasion of Egypt from the south could only take place along the Nile valley, and would be impossible in face of armed steamers commanding the 450 miles of river from Assiut to the second cataract. General Gordon himself wrote: 'The Expeditionary Force will per-'haps think it necessary to retake it (Khartum); but that 'will be of no use, and will cause loss of life uselessly on both 'sides.' There was, in fact, only one condition on which the autumn campaign could have been justified—the completion of the railway from Suakin to the Nile, and the retention by Great Britain of Khartum and Berber. The Sudan slave trade would then be destroyed. The produce of the vast regions watered by the White and Blue Niles, extending up to the Albert Nyanza and the frontiers of Abyssinia, would flow to the sea, and, by the tranquillising agency of legitimate trade, peace and prosperity would spread far and wide. It may well be doubted, however, whether so great a scheme would have received the sanction of the country, and failing this an advance on Khartum would have meant eventual retirement after much slaughter. An insubstantial prestige would have been dearly bought; and the abortive Nile Expedition at least proved to the world that, under proper strategic conditions, a British force could have easily fought

its way to Khartum or further. The enigma of the Sudan has yet to be solved, and in the eager scramble for Africa which is now taking place the solution cannot be long deferred. It is inconceivable that the advantages of tapping the great basin of the Nile—advantages more promising and more easily obtained than those of which the East African Company is now in quest—will not, before long, attract attention.

The impression conveyed by a study of the official history is necessarily painful. The toil and sacrifice were so great, the failure and the final tragedy so complete. Yet, from the soldier's point of view, flashes of light relieve the gloom of the picture. The men who composed the desert column were capable of any military achievement. Those, less fortunate, who for long days struggled against the rushing torrents of the Monasir cataracts showed a spirit of unconquerable determination worthy of the noble traditions of the British army. But above all towers the lonely figure of the hero of Khartum, faithful to his charge, inspiring confidence in the motley crowds of which he was the one guiding force, teaching them to fight and to endure, dying gladly with them and for them. 'I am quite happy,' he wrote in his last letter, 'and, like Lawrence, have tried to do my duty.' In an age of eager self-seeking, the nation and the army may well cherish the memory of such a life, so ended.

Art. XI.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates for the Present Session.* 1890.

The session which is now drawing to a close, though the least successful, has been in some respects the most important of the present Parliament. It will, it is true, leave little mark upon the statute book, yet it can hardly be doubted that its career has deeply affected the political prospects of the future.

The Government have failed to pass the measures they recommended to Parliament in the Queen's Speech. They have not, it is true, suffered actual defeat in the House of Commons, though their majorities during the trying period of the Ascot week were reduced very nearly to the vanishing point. The licensing clauses of the Local Taxation Bill, which had been largely modified in deference to the supposed wishes of the House of Commons, were only ultimately abandoned in consequence of an important

Longmans & Co., London & New York.
F. S. Weller lith.

intimation from the Chair to the effect that they were inconsistent with the provisions of the Budget Bill already passed into law. The licensing provisions of the Local Taxation Bill were, however, in themselves, and as compared with the great work which the Government had in hand, of very secondary importance; yet they were within an ace of bringing about a ministerial crisis in which the most vital principles for which Unionists have struggled for the last four years would have been jeopardised. When the Speaker intervened it was well known that the Government had reached the limit of their concessions, and that those who still pressed for more would have had to reckon at the very least with the resignation of the two Ministers more immediately connected with the Local Taxation Bill. It was further generally believed that the Prime Minister would not have accepted the resignation of two of his most important colleagues on a question of policy in which the whole Ministry were in full accord. In the event, therefore, of a very possible defeat in the House of Commons a Ministerial crisis of the utmost gravity would have ensued; which again would have been followed (whatever intermediate steps might have preceded it) by a dissolution much earlier than had hitherto been contemplated.

The Government licensing proposals were as follows: To forbid the issue of new licenses unless, under special circumstances and in the public interest, the new license was recommended by the County Council; and to put into the hands of County Councils an annual sum raised by a special tax on spirits and beer for the purchase of the goodwill of public houses whose licenses they wished to extinguish. The power of the magistrates to grant or refuse licences as at present was expressly reserved, and a special declaration was made that the license-holder was to acquire under the Bill no rights beyond those he at present enjoyed by law. The Bill, no doubt, would have reduced the number of public houses to a certain extent, but the sums at the disposal of the County Councils would have been inadequate to making anything more than a small experiment in the old temperance policy of reduction. These proposals, undeniably an advance in the temperance direction, were denounced by temperance fanatics, to whom a publican is *hostis humani generis*, and by the whole Gladstonian party. Mr. Gladstone described the measure as a Public House Endowment Bill! And against an imaginary measure of this kind, which was to fill the pockets of publicans out of the proceeds of local taxes, an agitation,

undoubtedly in many quarters perfectly genuine, arose, to the immense delight of politicians whose supporters, heartily sick of Home Rule, were languishing for want of a popular cry.

Here then was the very existence of a Government, which has proved itself capable of doing excellent work in every branch of the public service, jeopardised by a wretched dispute over a question which might have been settled either way, without any perceptible effect upon the public interest. Lord Salisbury's management of foreign affairs has been eminently successful, and is undoubtedly popular. It indeed contrasts most favourably with the uncertain and vacillating policy of too many of his predecessors in the Foreign Office. His removal from the control of our foreign relations at such a time would have been felt to be a public disaster. The Chief Secretary's administration has restored peace, maintained law, and increased individual liberty in Ireland; and he has on hand the most far-reaching project ever proposed for establishing in that country an occupying proprietary. There are few loyal men in Ireland who would not have seen with the utmost dismay Mr. Balfour's departure from office. The Ministry have been throughout cordially and heartily supported by the great majority of the House of Commons on the fundamental political principle upon which they came into power. Yet this very principle, the maintenance of a single supreme Parliament and executive for the United Kingdom, was actually endangered by a popular agitation as to the so-called 'compensation of Bung'! Had a Unionist Government been replaced for such a cause by a Cabinet constructed out of the heterogeneous following of Messrs. Gladstone and Parnell, one could hardly have imagined a more complete *reductio ad absurdum* of our parliamentary methods of government.

It is to our parliamentary methods, especially to the astounding helplessness of the House of Commons, rather than to the party aspects of the moment, that we wish to invite the attention of our readers. The Ministry has had the support of a large majority of the Commons. Yet it fails to carry its measures. If the majority is not to govern, what is to take its place? The present condition of public business in Parliament, and the state of impotence to which the House of Commons has been reduced, are matters of far more than mere party or passing interest. The nation at last is beginning to ask how long a state of affairs is to be allowed to continue which threatens to destroy altogether the efficiency of our main instrument of government.

For some years past unhealthy symptoms have been developed in various parts of the political organism, accompanied from the first with great discomfort and irritation to all who have been practically engaged or interested in the work of government and the progress of legislation. All-night sittings of the House of Commons, sessions prolonged into September, or adjourned to November, much time wasted with little work done, have wearied our Ministers, and lowered the reputation of the representative chamber in the eyes of the people. Unfortunately, the disease has proved to be more deeply seated than was at first supposed. It has survived through several Parliaments; it has sapped the vigour of several administrations. It has obstinately resisted the remedies prescribed as cures by the most eminent advisers of both parties in the State. Yet, as time has passed, discomfort in Parliament has been succeeded by evident loss of power, and now diminution of power seems to be but the precursor of something little short of absolute paralysis. It is time that the public should realise the gravity of the danger which threatens the very existence of parliamentary government. It is natural that the British people, having for some six centuries lived and flourished under parliamentary institutions, should be slow to admit that the popular branch of the Legislature, their own House of Commons, now that it has become more popular in its constitution, has become less capable of carrying into effect the popular will. In the present day the power of Parliament is, of course, almost wholly centred in the House of Commons. If then the House of Commons, if Parliament is to fail the nation, in what direction can we turn? The growing powerlessness during the last ten years of the House of Commons to govern itself, and to do its proper business, has been a public scandal. It is now a national danger. Long ago Lord Burleigh said that 'England can never be ruined but 'by a Parliament;' and the saying testified at all events to the power that belonged to the great council of the nation, a power which, like every other power, might be used for evil as well as for good. It is only lately that it has begun to dawn upon Englishmen that it is in the want of power—power to do the very work which Parliament exists to do—that lies the danger to parliamentary institutions, the hindrance to the carrying into effect of the will of the people.

A few years ago members of Mr. Parnell's party used in the House of Commons frankly to admit that it was their

object and policy to destroy the efficiency of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, of which, against their will, they formed a part. They would get a separate and independent Parliament and Government in Ireland by proving the Parliament of the United Kingdom to be a hopeless failure, so long as they, the Irish members, remained at Westminster. The Irish Home Rule parliamentary party was then a band of some twenty or thirty members; and their obstructive tactics were condemned by the responsible leaders of the Opposition no less strongly than by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues on the Ministerial bench. There were, however, irresponsible members of the Conservative party (to their shame be it said) who thought that tactics, discreditable though they were to the House of Commons as a whole, might yet serve their own party interests, inasmuch as they told in the first instance and mainly against the Government of the day. In the present Parliament we have passed far beyond all former precedents, and obstruction has come to be treated as a lawful weapon to be employed in party warfare by the recognised leaders of the Opposition. To oppose a particular measure out of genuine dislike to its provisions, vigorously, persistently, even at every stage, is one thing. To oppose almost every Government measure, to discuss at interminable length almost every motion put from the chair, to argue hour after hour over almost every vote in supply, to move over and over again adjournments of the House, to insist on meaningless divisions, to fill the notice paper with questions, to make arrangements by which member after member rises to repeat precisely the same arguments to a House of Commons which is far too wise to listen to them; and all this with the object of discrediting Government by proving it to be incapable of doing the work of the country, is a very different thing. That is obstruction. It consists in the endeavour by the party out of power to paralyse the House of Commons for effective business. It is an injury not merely to the party which supports the Government of the day, but to the House of Commons itself; and, as such, the friends of parliamentary government must suppress it with a strong hand. It has been said, and said with truth, that free criticism by an Opposition is the very life-blood of parliamentary government. But, on the other hand, a deliberate endeavour to break down the parliamentary machine is something very like treason to parliamentary institutions.

Just before the last general election a few English Home

Rulers, in their new-born zeal, were not ashamed to argue that Home Rule would soon be a necessity, because the presence of ninety Irish obstructives, aided by a large number of English and Scottish members, would quickly show that no Parliament of the United Kingdom could do its work. 'If those are to be the tactics of our opponents,' the Unionist leader declared in his address to the electors of Rossendale, 'the Home Rule question is not one of argu-'ment or of negotiation, but of simple surrender.' . . . 'A manifest determination to destroy and to cripple par-'liamentary institutions would be as clearly rebellion against 'our Constitution as open resistance to the Crown; and it 'would be our duty to defend the authority of Parliament 'against internal attacks, as our predecessors have defended 'it in former times from the external aggressions of arbitrary 'power.' Lord Hartington, *more suo*, here goes to the very root of the matter. Parliament is king; it is the modern embodiment of the power of the nation; internal attempts to deprive it of its strength are aimed against that very sovereignty of the people which it is the boast of our reformers to have at last established on a truly democratic basis.

The fundamental principle upon which parliamentary government rests is that the majority must rule. If this principle be seriously and permanently impaired, the very perdition of parliamentary government is in view. Unfortunately, during the present session, the majority has not ruled. The Opposition have never been able, with reference to the great measures or the main policy of the Government, to rally round them anything approaching to half the House of Commons. The Opposition has always been outvoted, and outvoted by overwhelming majorities, except on a single subject, and on a special occasion, when by a snap division, resulting from a rather shabby trick, their numbers almost equalled the supporters of the Government. It is not by means of outvoting the Ministry, it is not by superiority in debate and in argument, that the present Opposition sets itself to defeat the measures submitted to the House of Commons by the Cabinet of its choice. Delay is their great weapon. It is one that can be wielded by men possessing no great parliamentary gifts. Eloquence is not required; knowledge is unnecessary. The qualities needed are persistence, disregard of the general public opinion of the House, an exaggerated sense of self-importance, and an absence of all respect for the dignities of debate. A

wrangle helps their cause. Every 'scene' gives them assistance. Quiet discussion and the continuous order of business are what they dread. At all times, doubtless, there have been in opposition irresponsible and factious men; but formerly such men were largely held in check by leaders who felt the responsibility of leadership almost as strongly as the Ministers opposite to them. An Opposition used to fight with vigour; but it fought as a regular army, not as a band of Cossacks. A minority, an Opposition, has its rights no less than the majority. Though the latter must of necessity govern—that is, must make its will prevail—the parliamentary system requires that the former should enjoy full liberty of debate, however unpleasant the exercise of that right may be to the Government. But when opposition is not confined to *bonâ fide* debate—when a minority, which cannot itself govern, endeavours by the most barefaced abuse of its rights to prevent the majority governing—it is proceeding on principles which, if carried out, can only land us in anarchy.

It is worth while to glance for an instant at the great functions which the House of Commons of the present day exists to perform. By the bestowal or withdrawal of its confidence, it virtually has to decide the question, to whom is to be entrusted the executive government of the country, and upon what main principles that government is to be carried on. It thus possesses an authority infinitely greater than that enjoyed in the United States by Congress, where the executive government is represented by the President, elected for a fixed term of years, drawing his strength from sources extraneous to Congress, and who therefore does not depend on Congress for support. The second great function of the House of Commons is the voting of such supplies as it may think necessary for the purposes of the State. In so doing it is its duty to consider departmental efficiency, and the action of responsible Ministers of the Crown. By the system of voting supplies the whole business of the nation is brought under review in the House. The third great function is legislation.

How during the present session have these great functions been performed? We do not think it can be fairly said that there has been anything in the special circumstances of the time to account for the complete triumph achieved during the present session by the forces of obstruction over the working energies of the House of Commons. The Ministry met Parliament on February 11 with a majority but slightly

impaired by the wear and tear of three years and a half. Again and again the House has shown its confidence in the Government, which it had placed in power four years ago with the two-fold object of maintaining the Union and forwarding throughout the United Kingdom measures of considered and beneficial reform. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Ritchie have in their various departments achieved work which would reflect the highest honour on any administration; and the Ministry enjoy the hearty support of the representatives of the people.

The times have, on the whole, been quiet both at home and abroad. During the last five months there has reigned at least a fair average of peace and prosperity. In short, there is no reason whatever why, if the tactics pursued by the Opposition during the present session have been rewarded with success, similar tactics should not be pursued with equal success in any ordinary session of the future by an Opposition bent only on preventing legislation and hampering Government. If in quiet times a Government enjoying the full support of Parliament is not to be able to carry forward the legislation which it believes the country needs, and which Parliament approves, we are evidently arrived at a state of deadlock which it is impossible the people should long tolerate.

The Queen's Speech promised (1) an Irish Land Purchase Bill, (2) an Irish Local Government Bill, (3) a Tithes Bill, (4) a Transfer of Land Bill, (5) a Private Bill Legislation Bill for Scotland, (6) an Employers' Liability Bill, (7) a Companies' Winding-up Bill, (8) a Working Class Dwellings Bill, and (9) a Savings Banks Bill; of which only the two first could be considered likely to raise keen party contention upon their merits; though, of course, if the great object of the Opposition is to prevent the Government passing any legislation at all, every proposal of the Ministry becomes a party question, which it behoves the minority violently to resist. To say that these measures have not been passed gives a very inadequate idea of the state of the case. For the most part they have hardly been under the consideration of Parliament at all. No. 1 has been read a second time, and is to go no further this session. No. 2 has never been introduced. No. 3 has been read a second time, and is in the same plight as No. 1. No. 4 has not seen the light. Nos. 5, 6 and 9 have not been read a second time. No. 7 has passed the ordeal of a standing committee, and we may safely predict that it is the only one of the list of measures promised by the

Ministry last February which will receive the Royal assent this year. As to most of them, their principle has not yet been discussed. What, then, has the House of Commons been about during these many months of long sittings, when, moreover, most of the time of the House has been taken for Government business? It is abundantly clear that it has not been devoting itself specially to the business of legislation. But Supply is also greatly in arrear. In the name of wonder, then, what have honourable members been doing so energetically if they have neither been legislating nor voting supplies?

A glance over the past session supplies the answer. It has been the deliberate policy, not merely the action of individuals and of free lances, but of the mass of the Opposition, to obstruct the business of the House.

Already, on the meeting of Parliament, even before the Queen's Speech was read by the Speaker, Sir William Harcourt had intervened between the House and its business with the preposterous suggestion that the proprietor and printer of the *Times* should be summoned to its bar for having committed a breach of privilege, *three years before*, in publishing the famous 'fac-simile 'letter' of Mr. Parnell! The *Times* had withdrawn the letter, and had paid to Mr. Parnell 5,000*l.* damages. The case had been disposed of in the courts of law; and it is clear that, were the House of Commons to undertake to defend the 'honour of its members' by summoning to its bar those who libelled them, not only would it have no time for its proper business, but Mr. Parnell himself and his most intimate colleagues would be the first to need the indulgence of the House. The proposal was, of course, not a serious one. Its real object was two-fold—first, to fix the public eye on the case of the fac-simile letter to the exclusion of other charges destructive to the characters of Sir William Harcourt's allies; and, secondly, to waste time. Owing to these tactics, the Queen's Speech was not read to the House of Commons till the day after it had been delivered in the House of Lords—an occurrence, we believe, absolutely without precedent, yet certainly well suited to inaugurate a session in which obstruction was from the beginning to the end to reign supreme.

The debate on the Address lasted for a fortnight. A few years ago one, or, at the best, two nights sufficed for a debate, which, unless it is intended as a vote of censure on the Government for its policy during the prorogation of Par-

liament, has little meaning. Nowadays the occasion is used by members as a fit one for discussing not merely the past recent action of the Government, but also the measures it is about to introduce, and any other measures which ought, in the opinion of any individual member, to have found a place in the Ministerial programme for the session. Thus, in the debate on the address, every member enjoys a glorious ride on his own hobby. To discuss a matter mentioned in the Queen's Speech is in order; to complain that a subject is not mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and to explain why it should have been mentioned, is no less so; and thus the whole field of politics is opened on the very first day of the session to every faddist, every obstructive, and every bore in the House of Commons. Even after Sir William Harcourt and his privilege motion had been disposed of, the debate on the Address did not continue without interruption. The conduct of the authorities in Ireland with regard to some recent evictions was alleged to be a 'definite matter of 'urgent public importance'; the Opposition, on that ground, almost *en masse* supported a motion to adjourn the House, and a working day of the session was given up in order that Irish members might utter their worn-out denunciations of the Irish Secretary. Of course, there was no reality in the proceeding, but, like the motion of privilege, it helped to waste time. During the debate on the Address, an English Conservative discussed the subject of tithes, a matter he should, of course, have deferred till the introduction of the Tithes Bill; a Scotch member moved an amendment declaring for a Scottish Parliament; and was even surpassed in absurdity by a Welsh member, who attacked the policy pursued by a foreign government towards his country 'ever since the an-'nexation of Wales to England' . . . 'in Anglicising the 'Welsh people'!! One would almost think that the honourable member regards the relation between Wales and England as resembling that between Lorraine and Germany. The Welshman, however, is a man of modest claims, and instead of demanding an independent parliament for his nation, he contents himself with moving an amendment to the Address declaring for 'a separate Welsh department, 'presided over by a minister acquainted with the national 'characteristics of the Welsh people.' Mr. Cuninghame Graham wishes to restrict the hours of labour; another member advocates the cause of free education, and is supported by the front Opposition bench; and so the game goes on till a whole fortnight has elapsed. The Government shortly

afterwards is compelled to ask for a vote on account; on which occasion a whole day is consumed in the discussion of an outrageous and unfounded charge brought by Mr. Labouchere against ministers of conniving at the escape from justice of suspected criminals—a debate marked with the now not unusual 'scene,' and the suspension of the honourable member who brought the charge. So ends the month of February; the first seven working days of March are occupied with the discussion of the Report of the Parnell Commission, for which three days would have amply sufficed. Two days are occupied with the discussion preliminary to voting the Army and Navy estimates; the Wednesdays devoted to private members are practically wasted, and on March 21 the House, on the invitation of Mr. Labouchere, considers the serious evils under which the country suffers, not from its own incompetence to do its business, which is a real grievance; but from the existence of the hereditary principle in 'another place,' which is a purely imaginary one. An end of this trifling is at last reached, for three days later Mr. Arthur Balfour unfolds to the House his great scheme for the establishment of an occupying proprietary in Ireland, and appoints a day for its second reading after Easter. On April 1 the House adjourns for a fortnight's holidays. So much for the first two months of the session.

We have no desire to go into the tedious detail of the various methods by which the due progress of business has been made impossible, yet a word must be said of the gross abuse of the right of questioning Ministers which is now habitually indulged in. On June 16 and subsequent days every nerve was being strained by the Opposition to delay the Local Taxation Bill. On that day there were on the notice paper of the House 70 printed questions; on the 17th, 53; on the 19th, 89; on the 20th, 63; on the 23rd, 65. On some of these days the supplementary questions put by members were as numerous as those appearing on the paper. It is now the most ordinary experience that an hour and a half should be consumed in this way before the business on the paper is reached. When questions are over, that is to say, when all the questions which any member may have cared to put to any minister have been answered, it is in the power of any member to move the adjournment of the House on any matter which he chooses to declare is one of urgent public importance, if only he can persuade forty members to rise in their places in support of the motion.

The whole Opposition, with the exception (to save appearances) of the front bench, usually rise in support of any such motion. Having thus secured the waste of a few hours, members from both sides show their sense of the urgency of the debate by trooping out of the House as soon as it begins, to spend their time in the tea-room and smoking-room till real business is reached. With such a system, and with the entire absence of responsibility amongst Opposition leaders, perhaps we should rather marvel that it is possible to bring even the essential business of Parliament to an end.

There is no doubt that the true function of the House of Commons, its true place in the Constitution, is misunderstood by a large number of its own members, as well as by a considerable section of the public. It should never be forgotten that although it is the duty of the representatives of the people *to control the executive*, it is absolutely impossible for an assembly of nearly 700 gentlemen to take upon itself the functions of an executive government. Such a body can only judge satisfactorily of broad lines of policy, or of cases of flagrant mismanagement. Details of departmental administration are outside the proper scope of its action. Yet the House of Commons has in the last few years been invited to over-rule the Secretary of State for War, as to the size of the force to be despatched on a particular expedition; members have been appealed to to bring political pressure to bear on the Home Secretary to induce him to exercise in a particular direction the Royal prerogative of mercy; and on more than one occasion the House of Commons has behaved as if it were a court of appeal from the decision of a magistrate in a criminal case. It is evident that if the House of Commons is to take administrative responsibility upon its own shoulders, there is an end of ministerial responsibility to Parliament. The House itself can no more direct an expedition than it can write a despatch, or exercise judicial functions. It is curious to observe in these days of foolish chatter about Home Rule Parliaments and Local Governments and Legislatures that the steady stream of the times sets so determinedly in the direction of centralising at Westminster all *real* power. In the popular mind, the House of Commons is king, and can and must remedy whatever is supposed to be wrong anywhere. The public is very impatient of the exercise of authority, or of independent action, or even of the free use of their own discretion on the part of local bodies. The

House of Commons itself now seems so near to the door of the humblest citizen that it is to that assembly, rather than to any provincial authority, that he instinctively turns for protection or redress. The British elector who follows the flag of Mr. Gladstone has not yet realised that his leader's schemes involve the dethroning of that very king whom the democracy believe to be so absolute and so securely seated. Should Irish Home Rule be carried, experience will read a sharp lesson to those who have been deaf to reason; and the most heated of partisans will learn that even party victories may be bought too dearly. When within this little kingdom 'two authorities are up, and neither supreme,' how long do they think it will be before 'confusion enters twixt 'the gap of both, and takes the one by the other'? 'Confusion' can only end, of course, as it has ended before, in the establishment of the rule of a single government over the whole United Kingdom.

There is nowadays a tendency positively to invert the old order of the Constitution. The Cabinet (i.e. the Executive), which proposes and shapes the principal measures of the Session, tends to become the legislature; whilst, as we have seen, the legislature is constantly trenching on the province of the executive. There are many who almost despair at the present condition of the House of Commons. What can a new procedure do if it is the spirit animating members which is at fault? What are laws without conduct? Can any reform of the standing orders give efficiency to an assembly which has largely lost respect for itself, its own sense of dignity?

For our part, we think there is no need to abandon ourselves to these doctrines of despair. As the House of Commons is our only possible king, we must make the best of him. Moreover, we believe that there is as much patriotism and ability amongst the members of to-day as at any time in our previous history. The great majority are, however, at the mercy of a minority which includes the least meritorious members in the House; and the temporary absence, in one great party, of serious responsible leadership, has a demoralising effect upon the House as a whole. If bitter partisanship and reckless rivalry for the moment prevail in places where we have been accustomed to look for higher qualities, we must remember that party arrangements and leaderships are in a state of transition, that it is amongst members on the Opposition side of the House that the deepest political differences exist, and that, till the Opposi-

tion has exchanged the character of a loose alliance between bands of politicians seeking different ends under different soldiers of fortune, for that of a consolidated party led by responsible leaders, it is almost hopeless to expect the machinery of the House of Commons to be in a condition of perfect working order.

The effort which is now being made to enable the House of Commons, when dealing with important measures, to carry over an unfinished Bill from one session to another of the same parliament deserved support. The Government attempted to carry into effect this reform in the right way. They referred their proposal to a committee, and endeavoured to attain for it the assent of the House as a whole, rather than to force its adoption by the mere weight of a party majority. But the Select Committee showed the same violence of party spirit which is displayed in the House. The members of the Opposition refused to consider a measure which had been proposed for the convenience of all parties and of the House itself. They divided against it on strict party lines, and the proposal, which ought to have commanded unanimous assent, fell to the ground. If these conciliatory efforts have failed, other methods must be found for giving effect to a change which the general sense of men unhesitatingly approves. The whole system of procedure, however, before many sessions are over, must be thoroughly overhauled.

The present arrangements of the House of Commons positively lend themselves to the arts of obstruction. Reference has already been made to questions. The practice of examining and cross-examining Ministers at question time is a modern practice; it can hardly be pretended that it is essential to the usefulness of the House of Commons; and it is certain that, if it continues to extend and develope, as it has done for the last few years, there will soon be little time left for anything else. Up to ten years ago, question time did not usually last ten minutes. Now it frequently lasts for an hour and a half. During the last year or two, again, the Chair has permitted, to a degree not hitherto allowed, supplementary questions, supposed to arise out of the question printed on the paper. Hence the daily cross-examining and badgering of Ministers tends every session to consume more and more time. There are times and occasions when the severest criticisms of the action of individual Ministers, and the most determined attempts to call them to account for the alleged misdeeds of themselves

and their subordinates, find their proper place. If it is a matter of Irish administration, the conduct of the police, or of 'the Castle,' can be fitly considered when the Irish estimates are before the House. There is no pretence for saying that these topics must be discussed every day before other business can be taken. Nine questions out of ten are asked in order to discredit the policy or the action of a Minister, or out of considerations entirely personal to the member putting them, as, for instance, from a desire to show zeal in some matter affecting the interests of his constituents. We have already seen that motions for the adjournment of the House, after questions but before the orders of the day are reached, are frequently, indeed generally, resorted to for the sole purpose of preventing the taking up of the business on the paper. Both these abuses might be swept away, and yet everything that is valuable in the privileges allowed to private members might be preserved. A quarter of an hour would be sufficient for the putting and answering of all questions which it is really desirable in the public interest should be addressed and answered in the House. The rest should be addressed in writing to the departments, and should be answered by them in writing. The House at a specified hour should proceed to the orders of the day. Motions for the adjournment of the House before the orders of the day are reached should only be permitted when in the opinion of some independent authority it is desirable in the public interest that the course of business should be interrupted for the discussion of a specified subject of pressing importance. The power of closure should be exercised by the House itself, without its being necessary to invoke the permission of the Chair. There is much to be said in favour of forbidding the making by the same member of repeated speeches on the same motion in Committee of the House. Another cause of delay is found in the practice of fixing, by agreement between the leaders and whips of the various sections, some distant day for the taking of important divisions. This doubtless proves eminently convenient to members who only care to attend the House when the division bell is ringing; but it has a very bad effect on the attendance at debates; and we are satisfied often tends greatly to prolong them. There is occasionally great difficulty in finding members to keep such debates alive in their earlier stages, the more distinguished men hanging back to have the last word. In various ways which need not here be specified, we are convinced that very much might be done to render

more business-like the everyday conduct of House of Commons business. There is, however, one important point which should be mentioned, and which deserves more attention than it has yet received, viz., What is the true function of 'the Chair'? Should the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees be considered each in the light of a judge, whose duty it is to keep the balance even between two contending rivals? or should he be regarded rather in the aspect of the chairman of a meeting in great measure responsible for the due conduct of the business which it has been called upon to transact. We believe that Speaker Brand never acted more worthily than when he, so to speak, 'off his own bat,' closed the debate in the year 1881. He had no precedents to justify him. No rule then authorised the closure. He acted out of a sense of his true duty to the House, and he put forward no other justification for his conduct. His action has frequently been described as a *coup d'état*. It was nothing of the kind. Mr. Brand on that occasion acted within the authority with which by the necessities of the case the Speaker is invested. The Speaker is responsible to the House which placed him in the Chair, and which can remove him from it. In the future it is probable that opinion inside and outside the House, as well as new rules of procedure, will demand much more frequent intervention, especially in committee, on the part of the Chair. Members must be kept to the point; and the power of taking repeated and useless divisions must be withdrawn. General authority must be given to the Chair in the interest of the House of Commons itself to prevent its capacity for business being sacrificed to the so-called privileges of individual members.

However, when all is said and done, the House of Commons, to show at its best, will always require to be strongly and vigorously led. Mr. Smith's transparent straightness of character, and the general estimation in which he is held by all parties, have enabled him in a very difficult time to fill with success a position in which it is very possible that a more brilliant leader might have failed. Mr. Smith, it is no secret, feels the strain on his strength to be almost more than his health can bear; and the time is approaching when the Unionist majority of the House of Commons will have to look to a new chief. Whenever the present Government is in a difficulty, whenever a Ministerial crisis seems imminent, there is one statesman to whom the public instinctively turn. Lord Hartington's position on the stage of politics

is a unique one. Probably there has been no statesman since the days of Lord Althorp so universally credited by all parties with the sole desire, untainted by selfish considerations, of serving the true interests of his country. It was due to circumstances that in a period of terrible crisis the defence of the Union fell mainly to Liberal statesmen. Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bright and Sir Henry James have fought, and for our part we believe have won, the greatest political battle of our times. Their object was not a party one. It was not their aim or object to ensure that the country should be governed for an indefinite period by one party or by one set of statesmen. It was their aim and object to defeat in its principle and its details Mr. Gladstone's separatist policy of creating in the two British Islands distinct and independent Parliaments and Governments. We believe that a large part of Mr. Gladstone's own following would be only too happy that that policy should be buried and forgotten; but as a party they are bound to Mr. Parnell's chariot wheels, and Mr. Parnell has just reminded them that 'Ireland' is to be 'a nation' and 'to take her place amongst the nations of the earth.'* This is a policy which no British Government will be permitted by the British people to carry into effect, but which nevertheless the Gladstonian party, should it gain a majority at a general election, would be bound to undertake; doubtless to its own ultimate overthrow after endless confusion and strife. Between the break up of the present Ministry and public confusion stands Lord Hartington. There is no need to anticipate the future. For the last four years the independent position of the Liberal Unionist party has been of signal service to the nation. It has enabled them, and still enables them, to serve the Union and the cause of national progress more effectually than would have been possible by means of a closer alliance with the Conservative party. Still, we should regret to see permanently established a third party in British politics, and if the maintenance or repeal of the Union is to remain the battle-field of parties, it is inevitable that sooner or later Unionists should close their ranks. Persons contemplating politics from a distance talk of 'fusion,' as if it could be brought about by the mere wishes or acts of three or four leading statesmen. 'Fusion' can only result from the circumstances of the time, and from the pressure of necessity making itself felt on the

* Mr. Parnell at Westminster Palace Hotel, June 28, 1890.

masses of the two parties proposed to be 'fused.' It is a process which cannot but cause for a time some amount of discomfort and irritation. It is the greatness of the occasion that alone could render it successful. The next general election, which, at the earliest, is hardly likely to be before the autumn of 1891, will be a time of national crisis, in which men will have to lay aside, in the common interest, as they did in 1886, many of their old predilections and prejudices. It is certain that no statesmen have ever had a greater right to invite their fellow-citizens to dismiss from their minds every consideration but that of the public good than have the Prime Minister and the leader of the Liberal Unionist party. Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington have shown that each is capable of the highest sacrifice for the public good; and when the time comes it will be seen that their example has not been lost upon their followers.

It must be admitted that in the present session the House of Commons has been completely foiled; and it will require in the future the hearty co-operation of our ablest and most trusted statesmen to vindicate and re-establish the fundamental principle upon which parliamentary government is based. It is out of the question that the representatives of the people should long suffer their wishes to be despised, and their authority to be set at naught.

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No. CCCLII.

ART. I.—1. *The Poetical Works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Poet Laureate.* 'Early Poems,' 1830—'Demeter, and Other Poems,' 1889.

2. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* 'Bells and Pomegranates,' 1841; 'Asolando,' 1889.

BY a coincidence singular in literary history, the two most eminent British poets of the later years of the nineteenth century have been contemporaries, whose lives, happily prolonged beyond the common limits of human existence, present many marked features of resemblance. Alfred Tennyson was born in 1809, Robert Browning in 1812; both of them continued for nearly sixty years to cultivate their art with an amount of power and success on which the touch of time produced no material decline. 'Demeter' and 'Asolando,' published last autumn, were not inferior to some of their earlier works, and the touching lines which end each of these volumes, cast off, as it were, by a simultaneous effort, are no feeble farewell to the Muse, but an outburst of undying faith and strength not unworthy of lasting fame. Both of them were prosperous English gentlemen, born in the most cultivated classes of our society. Few men have had the good fortune to retain life longer or to enjoy it more. The century to them has been an age of increasing fame and popularity, and, save one or two of those bereavements from which none are exempt, we are not aware that any cloud has darkened their luminous career. Unlike the ordinary lot of poets, 'who learn by 'suffering what they teach in song,' it has been their happier fate to live exempt from the passions and excesses

which have harassed the agitated lives of so many sons of genius. Their reputation has been unblemished, their morals pure, their existence simple and regular, whilst their works placed them in a high social position, and, it may be added, brought to them the most ample return of fortune ever vouchsafed to poets. Their marriages were happy, and no men ever filled more entirely the charmed circle of domestic life: the one united to a woman of remarkable genius, for whom his passionate attachment broke forth to the last hour of his life, since it was beyond the power of death to quench it; the other to a lady of exquisite taste and refinement, the worthy partner of his honours and his fame. In both cases the extreme delicacy and physical debility of these ladies seemed only to call forth a more tender devotion from their energetic and powerful husbands. Nor must it be omitted that both these men enjoyed during their long lives almost unbroken health; there was nothing morbid about them in body or mind. On the contrary, they retained for this long stretch of years the uninterrupted exercise of their faculties; even the gift of inspiration—if the poetic faculty be an inspiration—was not enfeebled, and sometimes broke out in their latest years with as much strength as in the days of youthful enthusiasm, tinged with something more of maturity of thought.

But the noblest type of their resemblance is this—that being both of them keenly sensitive to the spirit of the age in which they lived—a transformed and transforming age, sceptical, scientific, mechanical, money-getting, and material—they stooped to none of these things. They held fast and taught the great spiritual truths of existence; and if they plunged a penetrating gaze into the mystery of the mind and the world, they looked upwards ever to the immortal destinies of humanity and the human soul. The last words of Browning were:

> 'One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward;
> Never doubted clouds would break;
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph;
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.'

The latest words of Tennyson are in those pathetic lines which sink deep into the heart of the reader—'Crossing the 'bar.'

It has not been given to either of these poets to win the ear of Europe, or to rekindle the enthusiasm with which the works of Scott, Byron, Moore, and Shelley were received

on the Continent. A rare and intimate acquaintance with the English language is required to appreciate the exquisite precision of Tennyson and to unravel the luxuriant irregularity of Browning; and, like their great predecessor, Wordsworth, whatever passion and sensibility they possess lies embedded in severer language and in deeper veins of thought than in the poetry of Byron and Scott. But meanwhile, and in the course of their own lives, another world sprang into being. The English-speaking race doubled in numbers and advanced rapidly in culture and in taste. The literature of these islands became the literature of the American and Australian continents. Thus, amongst a new people, these seers of the latest time found an enthusiastic audience, and it is no mean addition to the glory of their lives that they became the favourite poets of the countless descendants of an ancient race, because they were hailed as the poets of the future even more than of the past.

It is not our intention on the present occasion to attempt any review of the literary works which we have placed at the head of this article, as they are, in fact, but the shields or ensigns of their respective authors. Their poems have been largely discussed here and elsewhere at different times, and will continue to be discussed wherever the English language is spoken, under very various conditions of taste and sentiment. It is the glory of the poet that he utters his thoughts in a form that attracts and binds time and the world. Something of the same interest attaches itself to the person of the author of works we love. The character, even the manners and habits and tastes or pursuits, of the poet excite curiosity and sympathy, and become subjects of endless speculation. It has, therefore, occurred to us that a few traits of these two eminent persons, who were at once so similar in their position, and so unlike in the creations of their genius, from the hand of a contemporary, not unacquainted with them during a long period of time, might have some interest to the reader. We have hitherto adverted to the points which are common to both of them, but the force of contrast is far stronger than the attraction of comparison, and it might be said that never were two men—living in the same age, pursuing the same divine craft, animated in some respects by the same faith in the progress of the world, and each conscious of the merit of the other without a tinge of envy—more entirely dissimilar.

Nature herself had cast them in a different mould. No

one can have been in the presence of Alfred Tennyson without being struck by the dignity and strength of his person. All his frame is large, his very joints massive, his stature tall, his head indicative of thought and power. His deep-set voice has the tones of an organ; his speech is somewhat slow and reserved, even his jests weighty. There hangs about him, one may venture to say, a majestic consciousness of his own greatness, not unnatural or unbecoming in the Laureate of the Queen and the nation in the eightieth year of a life of uninterrupted labour and success, as the voice and poet of the English people. He has lived apart, not only not seeking, but carefully avoiding, mere social success or popular applause. The curiosity which draws strangers to his door is abhorrent to him, and he values the personal compliments paid to his fame at something less than nothing, for in the language of his own Pallas to the Shepherd of Ida,

> 'Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control.
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power;
> And because right is right, to follow right
> Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.'

His friendships have been firm, well chosen, but few; in them alone, and not in the broad multitude, he has sought and found personal sympathy. But he has taken no place in society, and even in the House of Lords his seat remains vacant. Between the Isle of Wight, where the long rollers break beneath cliffs, and on the breezy heights of Aldworth overlooking the weald of Sussex, he has spent all the later years of life, as if the freedom of air and sea were essential to his existence. In London he has been almost as complete a stranger as Wordsworth. Hence he has taken no part in the fugitive contentions of the hour, save now and then by some resounding line more expressive of scorn than of party feeling. Yet no man ever breathed a loftier patriotism or a more passionate love of England—

> 'Grave mother of majestic works,
> From her isle-altar gazing down,
> Who, god-like, grasps the triple forks,
> And, king-like, wears the crown.'

The magnificent lines, beginning 'Love thou the land,' embody in imperishable verse the wisest precepts and the most farseeing prospects of political philosophy.

To these personal characteristics those of Robert Browning were entirely opposed. Nothing in his outward appear-

ance or manners disclosed the deep and varied resources of his mind. The man and the poet seemed to be two different beings—the man was volatile and versatile, with an unwearied love of society, free and genial in every company, an inexhaustible talker though his voice was harsh and discordant, a mighty *raconteur* of curiously involved anecdotes which were the amusement of every dinner-table in London, with a taste for all the humours of the time in which he shared, a good deal of innocent vanity, and some little irritability when the wrong chord was touched. It is amazing that in a life interspersed and broken with so many engagements he should have found time to leave behind him some seventeen volumes of poetry. But all his movements were rapid and impetuous. His most intimate friends appear to have been women in preference to men, for he was devoted to female society, and we take it that the fervent language in which he addresses them meant no more than the expression of those 'amitiés amoureuses' in which he delighted. He had but little dignity, but a high sense of honour; and one of the last incidents in his life was his refusal to prostitute his pen by a eulogy of a statesman whose conduct he condemned. He related the incident himself with great vivacity and glee. He was of a kindly sympathetic nature, less centred in himself than his illustrious contemporary, who courted solitude more than society. And amongst the numerous amiable traits of his life it must be remembered that he befriended Walter Savage Landor like a son, when that eminent and intemperate man was driven from house and home, scarce master of himself, the Lear of poetry.

Upon Alfred Tennyson the University of Cambridge, and especially Trinity College, set an indelible seal, and shaped his habits, his tastes, his friendships, and the course of his literary life. What he was sixty years ago at Cambridge he is to this day, though grown to a gigantic stature. There it was that he obtained his first success in a prize poem or two, and many of his earlier works of great merit were written before he left the university. Thence he derived his exquisite sense of classical language, and we think it may be said that no English poet since Milton has approached so nearly to the spirit of antiquity as Tennyson has done in his 'Œnone,' the 'Lotus Eaters,' the marvellous fragments of translation from the eighth Iliad, and the

> 'Tiny poem
> All composed in a metre of Catullus','

With no pretensions to pedantic scholarship, he owes to the classics that extraordinary nicety, purity, and beauty of expression which few modern poets have aimed at, and none have attained. If Keats be quoted as an exception, we should reply that, although Keats had to a marvellous degree the feeling of classical art, derived chiefly from the pages of Lemprière, he was not always equally felicitous and correct in his diction, or in the harmony of his verses.

Cambridge, too, gave to Tennyson the friendships of his life. It was his good fortune to meet at the university a band of men whom no succeeding year has, we think, surpassed or equalled. Amongst the undergraduates of that day were Arthur Hallam, the object of Tennyson's fondest affection, who has found in the pathetic elegies of 'In Memoriam' an undying celebrity which conquers early death. There, too, was John Mitchell Kemble, no unworthy son of a family of genius, to whom (as he then intended to take orders) was addressed the powerful sonnet known by the initials J. M. K. There, too, was John Sterling, another son of light, whose too brief career has been recorded by Hare and by Carlyle; Monckton Milnes, who enjoyed life and the society of his friend to its close; the wit of Fitzgerald and William Brookfield, the masculine vigour of George Venables, Thackeray for a short interval, and some others whom it is needless to recall. These formed the choice circle in which the college life of Tennyson was spent. They were men animated by a lofty conception of the duties and power of life; some perished by the way, some achieved a useful and honourable career. They were called 'the 'Apostles,' and in after-life they kept alive their youthful society under the name of the Sterling Club. But of these by far the greatest name is that of Alfred Tennyson.

The horizon of this remarkable group of young men may have been, at the time, somewhat limited, for they were as yet but little acquainted with foreign countries, foreign literature, and the monuments of the outer world. Their centre was Cambridge, and their home was England; and if some of them aspired in after-life to a cosmopolitan reputation, Tennyson retained through life the absolute and undivided stamp of his English birth and education. To transplant him to a foreign country would have been impossible.

Of Robert Browning the reverse may be said. His most striking characteristic is the amazing extent and variety of his knowledge and experience of life. He seemed to know

all languages, to reflect the sunshine or the shade of every clime, to have read a myriad books, to be more or less familiar with all the arts, and to read (or thought he read) the secrets of all hearts, even when they had least in common with his own. If we trace the source of the cultivated genius of Tennyson to Cambridge, we must seek the spring-head of the romantic, irregular, and discursive productions of Browning in Italy. He said himself, 'Italy was my 'university.' Italy was the country of his predilection. There was something in the Italian character, and even in the dark annals of Italian treachery and crime, which fascinated him. At Asola one of his first dramatic works is laid, and 'Asolando' was laid upon his deathbed. The brightest years of his life were spent in Italy, his best works were written on Italian subjects, and in Italy he died. The English element, in spite of some occasional expressions of pride in his own country, was weak in him. He had travelled in many lands, as restless as a bird, and, after his wife's death, a bird without a nest.

For Browning had never enjoyed the natural advantages which rooted Tennyson so firmly in the British soil. He was born in the mercantile class, and was, we think, originally intended for a mercantile life; but his father had the good sense to perceive that his poetical gift was a gift of genius; his literary tastes were not thwarted, and he was left to follow the bent of them, with sufficient means for leisure, travel, and independence. But, as far as we know, he did not receive an English college education, though he was at one time a student of the London University. His parents, being Nonconformists, took a sectarian view of life; perhaps it was this very circumstance that made him a cosmopolitan. Hence he did not contract in early years those ennobling intimacies with men of power and promise, which have so great an influence on the formation of character. The literary society into which he was drawn was that which gathered round such amiable hosts as Bryan Procter and John Kenyon. He grew up singularly untouched by any external authority, which was in some respects his misfortune, in others his gain. His scholarship was imperfect, and he was insensible to the niceties of language and composition, which are the essential qualities of a great poet. To use his own peculiar expressions:—

> 'Our penman scratched
> Away perforce: the itch that knows no cure
> But daily paper-friction.'

A writer who is a master of language strikes at once on the most lucid and appropriate word, without having recourse to involved parentheses and obscure periphrases; a poet who seeks to win the world, and to be cherished by posterity, must have the sense of accuracy, rhythm, and beauty. These are the qualities in which Browning was most deficient. At any rate he willingly sacrificed them to whimsical experiments in metre and extravagant combinations of rhyme. No one denies his originality, for no poet ever tortured the language so much. Even 'Hudibras' is a classic in comparison. But in justice it must be said that there is evidence in his works that, when he chose, he was perfectly able to master the difficulties of metre. For instance, the poem of 'Ixion,' though unpleasing and painful in its treatment, is a fair sample of that unpopular measure, English hexameter and pentameter verse. Even in the strange capriccio of 'Pietro of Abano' ('not sung, 'but *lilted*,' to use the author's phrase), there is as much artifice and contrivance as might have been more worthily bestowed. What is the *lilt*? Four bars of music. Surely this is poetry in conundrums. Some of our readers may require to be told that 'to lilt' is Scotch for 'to sing cheer-'fully'—so,

> I've heard a lilting at our ewes' milking;
> Lasses a-lilting before the break of day.

Mr. Browning was never at a loss. He had a cosmopolitan vocabulary. Perhaps the influence of his wife, who was a far better classical scholar than himself, led him to turn his attention to the Greeks, but he was entirely devoid of the perception of classical art, as may be seen especially in his cruel treatment of the 'Alcestis' and the 'Agamemnon.' A few of his earlier lyrics have a brilliancy and spirit which is wanting in his later works, but even these failed to catch the ear of the public to any great extent, and for many years the success of Mr. Browning's compositions was extremely slow and doubtful. To a large class of intelligent persons, even among those most friendly to him personally, the form of his writings was repulsive, and the meaning obscure or unintelligible. But here he showed great force of character. He believed in himself. He worked on with indefatigable energy, and though not indifferent to adverse criticism, he stood up manfully against it. His position resembled in some degree that of his illustrious contemporary, Turner; both were doomed to be

neglected or condemned by contemporaries who misunderstood them, and to be interred by the succeeding generation, with national honours, in the vaults of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's.

In point of style and mastery of poetical language, Tennyson reached, by infinite labour, the very highest pitch of literary art. Nothing is careless, nothing out of place; and those hidden laws of prosody, which are felt more than they are known, rule the choice of every word and its position in every line. His earlier lyrics have a melodious tone that lingers on the ear like notes of music, and no modern poet has given to the language so many touching and graceful expressions which have passed unconsciously into the familiar speech of our people. The greatest test of a supreme poetical power in an English poet is the mastery of blank verse, which derives its strength and beauty from metrical structure without the aid of rhyme, and in this respect resembles the great measures of antiquity. To that art Shakespeare owes his most admirable passages, Milton his superlative grandeur, Wordsworth the long-drawn charm of his greatest works, not, however, unmingled with chasms and breaks of prosaic dulness. But no greater master of blank verse has ever used it than Alfred Tennyson. It flows in the Idylls with the even pace of a large stream — always full, never overflowing, clear, correct, and musical throughout.

It seems never to have occurred to Mr. Browning that there was any mystery or art in the matter. His lines run on in so many syllables as the fancy takes him, without a thought whether they scan at all. Prosody and grammar are, no doubt, very humble slaves to great poets, but they cannot be treated with absolute indifference. It would be easy to quote passages in some of his narratives which would, with here and there the addition of a preposition or an article, become at once indifferent prose. They are broken and interspersed with a thousand metaphors, ellipses, and allusions, which distract the attention and destroy the current of the work; but this entire failure of scientific skill is disguised, for the most part, by a rare ingenuity of rhyme. In rhyme nothing daunts him. There are rhymes for every imaginable word, not natural, not self-sought, but often grotesque and wild. The rhyme being found in some improbable place, carries off the poet to a new order of ideas, and leads, instead of following, the course of thought. The result is crude, vague, and diffuse; for, as all Tennyson's

writings are marked by an intense concentration of thought, and convey within a very few lines—sometimes within a single line—all he wishes to say, Browning dilutes and inundates his subject with an incontinence of words, wanting, sometimes, in symmetry and sense. The one makes a lasting impression on the memory, and is quoted evermore; the other is read with a sort of amazed curiosity, which leaves no permanent mark upon the mind.

The tendency and the spirit of Tennyson's poetry is to ennoble every subject he touches. Most of those subjects were taken from English homely life; they are drawn from the heart of England in all its ranks, from the simplicity of 'Dora' and 'The Miller's Daughter,' the sturdy independence of the 'Northern Farmer,' the joy of a 'May Morning,' the plaint of 'Locksley Hall,' looking beyond the times—

> 'For I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns:'—

up to the real language of afflicted love, torn by the early death of one we knew, and who lives in everlasting memory with Lycidas and Adonais. In these poems all is serene and pure. And when the poet aimed at greater things, he chose for his epic theme the visionary realm of British chivalry; he drew in Arthur the ideal knight 'who 'reverenced his conscience as his king,' surrounded him with noble comrades, fought against all that was barbarous, vicious, and vile without and within the camp, and remained unspotted by the wiles of Vivien and the frailty of Guinevere. The spirit of duty and self-sacrifice, the spirit of honour and truth, breathe throughout these pages. The poet disdains to touch the vulgar, the guilty, the false. He breathes no vain complaints, he seeks to fling abroad the winged shafts of truth, for, to use his own language—

> The poet in a golden clime was born,
> With golden stars above,
> Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
> The love of love.

Not such was the influence of Italy on Mr. Browning and on his works. His was not the Italy of the fourteenth century, when the great luminaries of faith and philosophy rose on the horizon; not the Italy of the magnificent court of Lorenzo, surrounded by the splendour of renovated art; nor the Italy of Tasso and Ariosto, with the passion and chivalry of a gallant age. Unhappily it was the Italy of the

seventeenth century, when the land had sunk in hideous profligacy and corruption to the lowest depths of crime, and when the annals of the public tribunals record a series of abominable examples of treachery, impurity, and guilt, unparalleled in any other country. It has been said that Mr. Browning's attention was first directed to these revolting chronicles by M. Beyle (Stendhal), a Frenchman of much wit, well versed in them. We know not if this be true, but the very first scene in 'Pippa Passes,' one of his earliest published works, is a tale of diabolical villainy, which the peasant-maiden of Asola passes by with a song. Certain it is that these revolting records exerted a sort of fascination on Mr. Browning; he pored over the yellow leaves of forgotten manuscripts with unceasing interest; and he extracted from them pictures, drawn with much force and infinite minuteness, to represent all that is worst in human nature. Such was the origin of his most important work, 'The Ring and the Book,' which relates, in a series of soliloquies, and in various forms, the selfsame tale of falsehood, cruelty, avarice, jealousy, and murder. The novelettes entitled 'A Forgiveness,' 'Cenciaja,' with many others, spring from the same impure source. Mr. Browning was gifted with amazing powers of observation. Not a detail is spared us which can heighten the tragic colouring of the picture. One of his most studied passages is the minute description of a dagger of Eastern workmanship :—

> No asp
> Is diapered more delicate round throat
> Than this below the handle. These denote—
> These mazy lines meandering to end
> Only in flesh they open—what intend
> They else but water-purlings—pale contrast
> With the life-crimson where they blend at last.

Enough of such passages. We will quote no more. The dagger is poisoned, and it is used by the speaker to murder his wife. These horrible actions degrade humanity. We do not find that there is much to set against them in such poems as 'Bishop Blougram's Apology' or 'Mr. Sludge, the 'Medium.' For Mr. Browning's comic Muse is not sufficiently witty and refined to counterbalance the ghastly impression of his tragic scenes, or to clear away the (to us) impenetrable mysticism and obscurity of his philosophy. It is not our intention to attempt any criticism of these works, which those who understand them admire. Our object in referring to them is simply to throw some light on the

remarkable idiosyncrasies of the writer, and to point out the vivid contrast between a poet who seeks to draw his inspiration from a lofty conception of humanity and of the destiny of man, and one who sounds the lowest depths of our nature. With scarcely an exception, all the personages who figure in Lord Tennyson's poetry have a noble and elevating character; we lament to say that Mr. Browning's characters are for the most part branded with depravity and guilt.

To what, then, are we to attribute this perversion of the gift of genius? Mr. Browning was an amiable, virtuous, and plain-spoken man in daily life, with none of the misanthropy of Byron or the wild enthusiasm of Shelley. What sympathy had he with vice or crime? None at all; his interest was the same that the surgeon feels in a case of foul disease. He was essentially an analytical poet, moved by the passion of his art to dissect to the last fibre vile and corrupted hearts—the worse the case, the deeper his interest in it. And he was a casuist of the most subtle intelligence, who loved to trace the motives and secret causes of the phenomena he observed, even when they were loathsome. Sometimes he created an entire combination of persons and circumstances for the purpose of noting how they would act and react on each other, as, for example, in the 'Inn 'Album,' a powerful tale of excessive depravity, leaving the chief miscreant in it, by strict induction, to the appropriate termination of blowing out his brains. His faculty of minute observation and microscopic description, when he chose to exercise it, was the instrument by which he marked the process of unravelling these intricate skeins of thought and action, and brought every film of the web before the reader's eye. To some this is his principal charm; it undoubtedly is his chief merit, and few men have surpassed him in it. But it is also the cause of his obscurity, for it becomes extremely difficult to follow an analysis so minute, and even to distinguish the shifting hues and shades of right and wrong in such perplexing combinations. To sum up this portion of our comparison, it may be said that the strength of Tennyson lies in his broad and generous survey of human life, brought to a bright and burning focus of truth by some example that lives in imperishable verse; in Browning the example itself is dissolved into its elements, it presents no whole to the mind, and as we close the page we are left in doubt whether the poet himself knew clearly and accurately what he intended to convey to the reader.

But great as the influence of Italy was on a considerable portion of Mr. Browning's life and works, it would be unjust not to acknowledge the extraordinary variety and versatility of his acquirements and his compositions; and these qualities are even more conspicuous in his earlier lyrics than in his later productions. The spirited ballads of 'The Pied 'Piper of Hamelin' and 'The Good News from Ghent,' the 'Flight of the Duchess,' and the magnificent poem of 'Saul,' published in 'Bells and Pomegranates' in 1842-45, were remarkable alike for poetic feeling, and even rhythmical elegance—*si sic omnia!* But even at that early age, some fifty years ago, the poet showed the strange propensity for oddity of incident and language which grew with his years. He appears to have thought it witty, or at least humorous, whereas it is simply grotesque. Neither Tennyson nor Browning has the gift of wit, though they indulge in pleasantry—the former rarely, the latter habitually—as in the familiarity of exuberant conversation. Both have passion: in 'Maud' passion is carried to the furnace heat of madness; in the 'Inn Album' to the perpetration of crime. Yet with all these elements of dramatic power, they failed to succeed as dramatists, in the proper sense of the term.

Lord Tennyson approached the drama in his later years; he founded his plays chiefly on historical traditions, which appeal to national sentiments. It cannot be said that these works were well fitted to the stage, or that they materially increased his reputation, which, in some other departments of his art, was and still is unrivalled. Mr. Browning applied himself much earlier and more seriously to the stage, and it is evident that success as a dramatist was his first ambition. He gave the term 'dramatic romances' even to his lyrics, and says that 'they come under the head of '"dramatic pieces," being, though for the most part lyric 'in expression, always "dramatic" in principle, and so 'many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine.' But to all these compositions, and also to the more finished dramas which were meant for the stage, the same criticism applies; these utterances of so many people are soliloquies of Mr. Browning, and the all-essential quality of *action* is deficient. Hence they had small success at the theatre, although three of them were put on the stage by Mr. Macready. Of these dramas 'The Blot on the Scutcheon' is perhaps the best adapted to representation, but of this the plot is extremely feeble, and the *dénouement* foolish and

odious. There is a taint of Italian villainy over such a picture of English life.

The first condition of dramatic excellence is its objective character—the personages must be full, complete, living men and women; the dramatist who sets them in motion must altogether disappear and vanish. He ceases to exist; he exists only in the forms he creates. Lord Tennyson and Mr. Browning are poets of a highly subjective character. He who reads and admires their lines is always in their company; he touches and feels the pulsation of their own hearts. Even when they speak in borrowed masks, we know the voice, and we listen, not to hear what the fictitious personage says, but what the poet says in the guise of his imaginary personages. The whole of the 'Ring and the 'Book,' which Mr. Browning would describe as a sort of drama, consists of a series of soliloquies of the actors, but their utterances are in fact what the poet has to plead on their behalf. The result is not a tragedy, though tragic enough in its effects, but a judicial inquest on an atrocious crime.

This faculty of personation Mr. Browning possessed in a high degree. He could transport himself from Italy to Greece, from Flanders and the Rhine to the sands of the Syrian deserts, from the age of the patriarchs to the Court of France or the scenes of revolutionary Paris. Lord Tennyson never aspired to it at all. But under all latitudes, and in all ages, we are perfectly aware that our cosmopolitan companion is the same we have known for half a century.

Mr. Browning denounced with energy, in a little poem called 'House,' those who would 'unlock the heart of the 'poet with a sonnet key: '—

> No: thanking the public I must decline,
> A peep through the window, if folks prefer;
> But, please you, no foot over threshold of mine!
> Outside should suffice for evidence,
> And whoso desires to penetrate
> Deeper, must dive by the spirit sense—
> No optic like yours at any rate.

Thus warned off, we think it idle to speculate on what were the innermost convictions and beliefs of the author of 'Paracelsus' and 'Sordello.' Some people think them prodigiously deep; others that they are impenetrably dark. We are unable to 'dive by the spirit sense' into mysteries we are not meant to understand. At any rate, it is clear that the poet never wished the world to know more than

he cared to tell them. It is certain that his gay and genial superficial life was not darkened by the horrors of Italian crime, or much affected by speculative philosophy or religious controversy. He pours forth his love-verses to a score of Ediths, and Lauras, and what not; but that, too, is a joke. Browning was no Lothario, and the only real passion he ever felt was his admiration of his wife.

To sum up these few remarks on two men who have interested the present century, and will interest posterity, it may be said that the poetry of Tennyson is essentially ideal; it aspires to the glory of a pure and noble life, somewhat above the range of ordinary mortality, and it contains not a line or a personage animated by any low or guilty passion. Even the love passages of Queen Guinevere and Sir Lancelot are faintly touched upon and left to the imagination of the reader, though they form the dark background of the Arthurian romance. Browning, on the other hand, is above all things analytical and a realist; he seizes and depicts details with photographic minuteness, and, like the modern school of French novelists, he recoils from no scene of depravity and crime; and, even in his language, he descends to eccentricity and sometimes to doggerel. In the one, all is sustained at the highest pitch of thought and feeling; in the other, the poet ranges from the lofty mysteries of philosophy, in which he loses himself and his reader, to the vulgar familiarity of common life, and to a still lower level. The reputation of Mr. Browning would stand far higher if a considerable portion of his random verses had never been written, and if it rested on a few of his highly finished works, into which he undoubtedly threw a large amount of power and feeling. His own careless facility was his worst enemy. Of Lord Tennyson we scarcely know a line that could be abandoned without regret.

A volume might be written on the fallacies of critics, to show how often they have misjudged their contemporaries and misconceived the future fate of authors. There are fashions in poetry, as in the sister arts, and it is rash to predict what may be the taste of future generations. Few, indeed, are the poets who have reached that inaccessible height of fame, from which they look down, changeless on the changes of the world. In our own time the lustre of Scott, Byron, and Moore has considerably waned; the influence and admiration of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley have increased. Lord Tennyson and Mr. Browning have been exposed to the rare test of the criti-

cism of three generations in their lifetime, and they have gained by it, year by year, a higher position. No one has yet appeared to rival or contest their fame. But it is premature to speculate on the future. The qualities which are most essential to the permanence of poetic fame are, first, the perfection of form, for without beauty and grace of expression no poet can live; and, secondly, the power of expressing, in words that strike their mark, sentiments which are not ephemeral but perennial. The works of Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Shakespeare are immortal, because, although they speak of ages and races long gone by, they utter, in language that does not pass away, the common sentiments of mankind. It is scarcely a paradox to say that the more closely a poet touches his own generation, the less likely he is to command the sympathy of future ages. If there be any truth in these remarks, we are led to the conclusion that Lord Tennyson, from the exquisite finish and melody of his style, and from the breadth and elevation of his thoughts, not only stands upon a far higher pinnacle than Mr. Browning ever reached, but also will take a more permanent place hereafter amongst the greatest of English poets.

Art. II.—*Organic Evolution as the Result of the Inheritance of Acquired Characters.* By Dr. G. H. Theodor Eimer. Translated by J. T. Cunningham, M.A., F.R.S.E. London: 1890.

Could 'the Father of Experimental Philosophy,' with his 'Novum Organum' under his arm, once more visit the scenes of his earthly pilgrimage, he would certainly view with a qualified approbation the present aspect of some physical science. He would, no doubt, feel great delight at the wonderful progress which has, in so many directions, been achieved. He could hardly fail to be gratified by the tributes to his method, and still more to his spirit, which he would everywhere meet with. Nevertheless, when he came to understand what the current scientific conceptions of our day are, and what the nature of the questions most keenly debated by the men who have caught the popular ear, his surprise would not be an altogether pleasurable one. His keen disapprobation would certainly be called forth by the extent to which he would find that mere speculation had passed beyond the safe and modest bounds of either direct obser-

vation and experiment, or of sure and valid inference. In the first half of the present century the speculative dreams of our Teutonic neighbours were trite subjects of ridicule. We laughed, not without reason, at the farthing's worth of fact on which such an unconscionable quantity of theory was too often based. But the century's second half finds not a few Englishmen following suit, although, we rejoice to say, without the fantastic extravagances which are now to be found at Tübingen or Jena, as others were at Göttingen in the days of our fathers.

This craze has come over us since 1859, when a system of accounting for facts, by conjectures supported on appeals to our ignorance, first gained acceptance. Our readers need not fear that we are again going to enter upon any consideration of the Darwinian hypothesis. We have lately fully and freely expressed* our final judgement concerning it, and the subject is henceforth a closed one for us. But a new and different dispute has arisen, and excited a quite extraordinary amount of interest, both in this country and on the Continent; so that we deem it necessary that it should be noticed in these pages. Both parties to this dispute appeal to, and quote, the departed naturalist of Down; but by him they would both have been alike repudiated and discarded, so that his name need have no place in the present controversy.

We are singularly fortunate in that we have now provided for us the best means of estimating the arguments of the great champions of the two contending schools. These are Professor Eimer and Professor Weismann, who, in our judgement, in spite of the great ability of each, outrage common sense in opposite directions, so that a gain to the cause of truth may reasonably be anticipated from the vigorous conflict they have entered upon. Opportunity of assisting at this combat has just been afforded us by the work referred to at the head of this article. The excellent translation of Professor Eimer's speculations, for which we are indebted to Mr. Cunningham, follows very appropriately on the translation of Professor Weismann's Essays which was published the year before by the Clarendon Press.

No one now holds a more conspicuous position in the world of biological science than does Professor Weismann of Freiburg, who has startled the world by some very strange doctrines. Thus he teaches us that there is really no such

* See Edinburgh Review for April, 1888, p. 407.

thing as a distinction of sex; such seeming difference as we do find having been developed in order to introduce a little pleasing variety into a too monotonous world. He also tells us that no animal, whether a hyena or a tapeworm, lives for itself, but for the benefit of posterity, each creature only dying in order to benefit its race; so that every organism, from a wheel-animalcule to a whale, is, unknowingly, a sort of zoological Marcus Curtius.

But this state of things is, according to him, a modern improvement, seeing that the first organisms were all potentially immortal. They were creatures which each consisted of only one cell, which multiplied by dividing into two equal halves, whereof each moiety had an equal right to declare itself to be the continuation of the original undivided whole. As countless myriads of such unicellular organisms still exist, we still dwell amidst immortals. Thus, according to Weismann, the life of the whole human race has no appreciable duration compared with that of the simplest animalcule of the nearest pond. Such an animalcule had already lived for a practical eternity at a time when Labyrinthodonts first began to wallow in the swamps of those primæval forests which now constitute our coal-beds. The animalcule is the Wandering Jew of biology, and even more; for he almost saw the dawn of life on this planet, and will continue his course in restless activity through the twilight of its close.

The professor then speculates as to how death first arose by the spontaneous joining together of many such unicellular organisms to form a complex whole, followed by the voluntary starvation of some such constituents, resulting in the death of such whole. Natural death having thus once appeared, he teaches us that it was hailed with enthusiasm by Nature as a cause of life. That organisms should live long enough to breed is, of course, absolutely essential for the race; but Weismann tells us that Nature has been too good to allow them to live any longer, save when they could redeem themselves by some extraordinary service. Death, he tells us, has become as universal and inevitable as it now has, simply on account of the advantage accruing to those races which were relieved by it from the bane of 'useless 'mouths'—that is, of parents which continued to exist after their progeny had begun to breed.

Species which still continued to have many immortal individuals of such a useless kind—like the Struldbrugs of Swift—had to give way, in the struggle for existence, to

races entirely mortal, and endowed, by death, with greater health and vigour. Those conservative 'immortals' who were so unreasonable as to decline the acquisition of a natural death, were forced, by degrees, to succumb to a violent one.

But the most distinctive characteristic of Weismann's teaching is his absolute denial that any acquired characters can be inherited. No skill of hand, no activity of brain, which has been acquired through use and wont, can ever pass from sire to son. We may do much to educate the boy, but when he has grown a man, his offspring will have to begin *de novo* as entirely as if their parent had never opened a book or learned a line by heart.

Yet it is notorious that parental and ancestral characters are transmitted. How is this? He tells us it is due to the fact that every creature which consists of more than one cell has a body made up of two parts: one constituting the bulk of the body (called by him the *soma*); the other a minute portion of matter termed by him 'germplasm,' and supposed to retain the immortality which once belonged to the unicellular ancestor. Thus we each and all bear within us an immortal part, living in eternal unconsciousness, and unconsciously served by fool and philosopher, peer and peasant; none of whom dreams that such service is, as it is according to Weismann, his being's one real end and aim.

But seeing that, in addition to our parents, we all have an unimaginable quantity of ancestors, how are we to explain the fact that only the characteristics of a very few of them seem to be transmitted? This he explains by a most amusing piece of pure and gratuitous assumption.

The eggs of most animals successively expel from their substance two particles, known as the first and second 'polar 'bodies.' These he finds, in the depth of his own consciousness, to be of quite different natures. The first, he tells us, is superfluous material, fit for building up the egg itself. The second he affirms to be a, similarly superfluous, quantity of ancestral germplasm. We learn from him that, as generation succeeds to generation, an ever-increasing competition takes place between such ancestral germplasms, the most ancient becoming gradually 'crowded out.' Thus we may imagine that, with the extrusion of a second polar body to-day, there may be excluded the germplasm of a contemporary of Boadicea, or of one who fought at Hastings or Agincourt, Worcester or Waterloo, as the case may be. We may imagine this and a great deal more; but when we ask

for any evidence on which such hypotheses may be seen to securely repose, we ask what we most certainly do not get. There is, no doubt, a method in the professor's madness, but it is madness all the same.

It is time for us now to turn from the dreamer of Freiburg to consider the teaching of the visionary of Tübingen, whose work it is the purpose of this paper to review. It has been necessary to give some account here of Weismann's views, because without a knowledge of them we could not appreciate, or even really understand, the drift and meaning of Professor Eimer's book. Its avowed purpose is to review the newest evolutionary theories, and especially to deal with the laws of growth and the question whether or not any acquired characters can, under any circumstances, be inherited.

But before considering the words of Professor Eimer himself, we desire to call attention to some noteworthy remarks of his translator on the same subject.

According to Weismann, every character possessed by every animal is due to the preservation in the struggle for life of minute accidental variations in the molecular structure of germplasm, which alone has adapted every being to its environment. But Mr. Cunningham is prepared to maintain not only that many structural features can be pointed out which are *not* useful to their possessors, but also that all adaptations are due to the inheritance of acquired characters.

'What,' he asks, 'is the use of the coiling of the shell and the torsion of the organs in the greater number of Gasteropods? Professor Lankester has admitted recently, in the pages of "Nature," that he has been teaching for many years that this torsion was due to a mechanical cause, namely, the weight of the shell over to one side, without realising that the explanation was Lamarckian.* Now that it has been pointed out to him that such an explanation is inconsistent with the theory of natural selection, he admits that he can find no explanation of the phenomenon which would be consistent with that theory.'

We may, indeed, ask with him what is the use of that scrotal character whereby various mammalia differ from all other animals? What is the use of phosphorescence to pelagic animals? What is the use of that fragility of

* Lamarck taught that new powers and structures were due to the inheritance of modifications induced by circumstances in parent organisms. This is, of course, deadly heresy in the eyes of Weismann, while in those of Eimer it is the first article of the orthodox faith.

Ophiurid star-fishes which has gained them the name of brittle-stars? A great deal has been said about the utility of the colour of flat fishes; but the soles in aquaria are nearly always buried in the sand on which they live: they come out mostly at night, when, to our eyes at least, no colours can be distinguished; and when they move about by day, they are almost always covered with a thin layer of sand sprinkled over their upper sides, by which their colour is concealed. But what can be the good of the white colour of the lower side? This is usually concealed, and when by their rising to feed it is displayed, they thereby become conspicuous to their enemies. A powerful argument against Weismann's view may be drawn from the phenomena presented by the eyes of flat fishes, and this is brought forward by Mr. Cunningham in support of his, and Eimer's, Neo-Lamarckism. The very same argument was, indeed, brought forward twenty years ago.* Flat fishes (that is, such fishes as the sole, flounder, brill, turbot, &c.) when young, have the eyes situated as usual, i.e. one on each side. As they become adult, however, one passes over, so that both eyes are upon one side (right or left) of the head. This could not have been brought about by the minute changes of natural selection, since the mere transit of the eye for a small fraction of its ultimate journey could never have been the means of saving a life. This is the more evident since in the young turbot and brill the metamorphosis is very nearly or quite completed long before the little fish have retired to the sea-bottom.

Mr. Cunningham well observes:

'Nothing can test better the claims of the two theories—the Neo-Lamarckian and the Neo-Darwinian †—to be accepted in explanation of the origin of adaptations than the case of the woodpecker. This bird lives entirely on insects, and only catches insects in one way—a very peculiar way. It probes the holes in the bark of trees made by insects, or makes holes itself, and then inserts its long, pointed tongue, whose tip is provided with recurved papillæ, like a narrow bottle-brush, and with this extracts the maggots. The rapid protrusion of the tongue to a considerable distance, and its sudden retraction, are rendered possible by the elongation of the processes of the hyoid bone,

* See 'The Genesis of Species' (by St. Geo. Mivart), p. 41.

† The term 'Neo-Darwinian' is applied to Professor Weismann and to each of his supporters, in spite of the fact that he to whom they appeal would have repudiated them. The epithet 'Neo-Lamarckian' is given to those who sympathise with Professor Eimer.

to which the tongue is attached. These processes are bent upwards and forwards over the back of the skull, and inserted near the orbits. Now, in all birds the tongue is attached to the hyoid bone, and moved by the muscles connected with it; in nearly all birds the tongue is muscular and mobile. It is admitted even by Weismann's adherents that the size and shape of bones, the size and shape of muscles, are in the individual modified by the use which is made of them. It will also probably be admitted that the modification is such as to facilitate the operations in which they are used. Therefore, in every generation of woodpeckers—which birds, in the struggle for existence, had to be content to pick up a living on tree-trunks, or starve—the constant use of the tongue in extracting insects from holes in trees must have elongated the tongue and hyoid bone, and increased the power of protrusion of the organ in each individual. The Neo-Lamarckians believe that these individual modifications were inherited in some degree, so that a greater modification in the same direction was produced in the offspring, and in this way it is easy to understand how the degree of specialisation we now see was produced.

'The Neo-Darwinians say that it is quite true that such modifications were produced by functional activity in the individuals, but these modifications were never inherited; other modifications of the same kind arose by congenital [purely accidental] variation in some of the same individuals, and the individuals that had these survived; and then the favoured individuals pairing together, some of their offspring, inheriting from both parents, had the modification in a greater degree, and so on; which is very much like the argument that the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" were not written by Homer, but by another man of the same name who lived at the same time. . . . Selection, whether natural or artificial, is perfectly analogous to the process of denudation in geology. It explains the extinction of innumerable forms and the consequent gaps and intervals which separate species, families, orders, &c., just as denudation explains the want of continuity in the stratified rocks. But geologists have never been blind enough to suppose that the evolution of the structure of a given rock was due to denudation; they have always believed that the structure of each rock was due to the effects of the forces which have acted upon it since its formation, and they have devoted their energies to tracing by observation and experiment the effects of the various forces.' (P. xvi.)

The fact is, both the Neo-Lamarckian and Neo-Darwinian theories are potent in attack, but impotent in defence. In order to have a rational conception of nature we need a *tertium quid* to give solidity to the elements of truth they each contain: this it will be our business, later on, to endeavour to point out.

It is most true, as Mr. Cunningham says, that Professor Weismann's view of heredity is not, as he seems to think, in any sense an explanation. Whether the reappearance in offspring of characteristics possessed by parents be due to

any influence of a parental organism, or merely to a fixed tendency in germplasm, it remains in either case equally and absolutely unexplained. The use made of the word 'heredity' often shows that our contemporaries are as ready as were any of their forefathers to rest content with more words and phrases. The term 'heredity' merely serves to denote the fact that characters remain constant, within narrow limits, through succeeding generations.

The persistence of characters implied by heredity is as mysterious as, and no more so than, the process of change which external conditions may induce.

'Everybody knows that in a given district, even on a given farm, certain varieties of animals and plants cannot be produced in perfection. Individuals may be procured, the most perfect in existence, but in a particular district or on a particular farm they do not "thrive;" that is to say, the qualities for which they are valued disappear in the individuals, or, as is more often the case, in a few generations, in spite of all care and selection, . . . there is evidence that physiological change precedes morphological. There is a climbing kangaroo in Papua which shows so little adaptation of structure to the climbing habit that no naturalist would believe from the mere study of its body that it lived in trees. But, as a matter of fact, it does live entirely in trees.'

Professor Eimer's work consists of eight chapters, referring respectively to the following subjects. In the first we have a brief exposition of the newest theories concerning evolution. The second treats of 'the organic growth of 'the living world.' The third deals with the 'influence of 'adaptation in the formation of species.' The fourth is devoted to a consideration of acquired characters. The fifth describes what the author believes to be the effects of the disuse of organs and of indiscriminate breeding. In the sixth, 'mental faculties as acquired and inherited characters' are considered. The seventh chapter treats of the 'evolu-'tion of the living world as the result of function;' and in the eighth and last, an examination of 'the idea of Organic 'Growth' leads to his conclusion.

Before examining these chapters *seriatim* it may be well—in order to make plain what is the mental standpoint from which he has set forth to contemplate the living world about him—if we begin with an examination of his 'conclusion.' We shall thus also be enabled to gain a fuller knowledge of this 'standpoint' if we likewise briefly review a popular lecture of his, here given as an appendix, and entitled 'On 'the Idea of the Individual in the Animal Kingdom.'

The conclusion at which he arrives may be thus summarised. One principle of unity runs through the whole organic world, and is essentially the same in the vital manifestations of the lowest alga and the highest reflexions of the mind of man. Anyone, he tells us, who completely renders allegiance to his doctrine and

> 'rejects everything which contradicts this principle, cannot help admitting that in truth, as I [Eimer] assert, the ultimate origin of the various kinships in the animal and vegetable kingdom is to be traced to individual differences, and that the differences between the former, like the latter, must be essentially determined by external conditions, by the modifications of organic growth.' (P. 409.)

Thus we have given us the keynote of the symphony to which we will shortly give an ear. One expression of Professor Eimer's, however, must by no means be passed over. He tells us it is a 'self-evident truth' that 'if 'species are only a collection of *individuals*, and genera a 'collection of *species*, families only a collection of genera, 'and so on, . . . then . . . the causes which modify an '*individual* within the boundaries of a *species*, must be the 'same as those which modify it beyond these boundaries.'

Here is, indeed, a sentence worthy of being long pondered over and carefully analysed. Truly it is a most precious morsel; for it shows clearly what is the real value of much seemingly profound teaching both of the Neo-Lamarckian and Neo-Darwinian schools. The unfortunate general public, who take a ready and laudable interest in natural history, are seized upon by erudite professors, who, with solemn admonition or playful banter, discourse to them on subjects of which they, the said professors, are profoundly ignorant. Yet they are believed to know all about it on the strength of their unquestionable proficiency in physical science. On this subject it is time to speak plainly: Physical science is admirable and useful, and men of physical science fully deserve our respect and recognition. Nevertheless, a great deal too much fuss is now made about it. Men of science themselves know well enough that to dissect, to become familiar with the different bodily structures, to use the microscope dexterously, &c., require a certain readiness and perseverance. But they also know quite well that these are, after all, mechanical arts, and no more. Men of science themselves also know well enough that to obtain a wide and firm grasp of their subject; to be well aware of what has been done by their predecessors and is now being elaborated by their contem-

poraries; to reason accurately from facts observed to the probabilities concerning other facts as yet unobserved; they know that these things need a certain quickness and flexibility of mind and a considerable power of memory. But they also know quite well that such quickness, flexibility, and power need be in no way exceptional, and that the very same qualities must be possessed by any true classical scholar, and certainly by any successful statesman. As Cicero wondered how two augurs could ever meet without laughing, so we wonder how experts in merely physical science can sit with grave faces and listen to the exaggerated praises and unmerited professions of exceptional veneration, which are now so commonly uttered in their presence on festive occasions—too often by timid churchmen who little know their own strength and the real feebleness of those before whom they tremble.

But to return to the sentence which called forth these remarks. Eimer says: 'Species are only a collection of 'individuals, and genera a collection of species.' But certainly he would not (no naturalist *could*) deny that in-'dividuals' are really existing things—substantial, material entities *in rerum natura*. Yet no less certainly he must deny that 'species' are anything of the kind. He may have in his cabinet few or many 'individuals' of any given 'species,' but we utterly defy him to place there a 'species' either impaled with an insect-pin or preserved in a bottle of alcohol. Species, genera, families, &c., are ideal entities; real in so far as their essential characters may be exemplified in really subsisting things, but in themselves they are mental conceptions—essential, ideal, and immaterial. We claim to be very earnest realists ourselves, but most certainly we should never think of locking up the 'species' horse in our stable or trusting ourselves to its guidance over moor and field.

In this passage Eimer has hopelessly and most obtusely confounded not only two distinct things, but two things of quite opposite natures. A man who has given forth such a statement has thereby proclaimed himself to be one who is absolutely unfit to teach.

With this clue to the intellectual calibre of our professor, we may be enabled to estimate the value of his 'idea of the 'individual in the animal kingdom,' as portrayed in his address delivered at the Fifth Congress of German Naturalists.

It is but too probable that very many of those naturalists were not in the habit of frequenting any place of worship, and thus a discourse smacking so strongly of the language

of the conventicle may have had enough charm of novelty for them to enable them to sit it out.

The discourse is, indeed, brimfull of unction, and begins with a solemnity distant but 'one step' from the sublime:—

'Man loves to isolate himself from Nature.

'He is reluctant to confess his kinship with beings which he thinks beneath him.

'He alone will be lord, alone wise; he the crown of creation.

'But who gives him the right to assume this pre-eminence?

'How small is his power!

'Man the mighty is powerless against the infinitesimal organisms which seek to enter his blood and destroy him.

'A wave kills him, while the ocean is teeming with life that mocks his sovereignty,' &c., &c.

We can only speak for ourselves, and we only claim to be one of the crowd—the man in the next street—but we are quite sure do not love to 'isolate ourselves.' Nor are we in the least ashamed of what we have in common with the beasts and birds, insects and creeping things about us. Nevertheless we are firmly convinced that we possess an intellectual power which such things have not. Nor do we see how the chance of our being poisoned by a parasite, or knocked down by a wave, in the least militates against our mental superiority to the parasite or to any living thing which may be within the wave which buffets us.

He then proceeds to carry out his purpose, which, he tells us, is 'to attack the apparent independence of the animal 'organism which is implied in the word individual,' and 'to prove that the conception of an indivisible entity is 'unable to withstand a more exact investigation.' (P. 415.)

In support of his proof he begins by affirming that animals have been declared to differ from plants in that no part can be separated without injury to the whole—a belief he affirms to have been connected with, and to be indispensable to, the doctrine 'that the animal as distinguished 'from the plant possesses an indivisible soul.' We do not know anyone who has 'declared' this; certainly no such declaration has, so far as we know, been made by any writer of authority or reputation.

The old doctrine of Aristotle and the schoolmen, to which we suppose Professor Eimer refers, was that every plant, like every animal, has indeed a 'soul' (by which was meant what we should call a dynamic principle of individuation), but that the divisibility or non-divisibility of such plant or animal depended on the material organism informed by

that soul, which is simple common sense. The experiments of Trembley, Bonnet, and others no doubt excited astonishment in the last century; but that was because the men of that age had left far behind them and ignorantly despised that Aristotelian teaching with which the most recent advances of physiology have so fully concurred. We recollect that, when quite a youth, Sir Richard Owen once said to us at the College of Surgeons, 'I do not think that, in matters 'of philosophy, the human mind will ever get much beyond 'Aristotle.' We have grown to be very much of his opinion.

Now there is no reason whatever why ordinary men should trouble themselves with the study of philosophy. There are, indeed, wide fields for the intellect to do good work in, without that, especially within the domain of physical science. But when a devotee of physical science, merely on the strength of his physical knowledge, goes on to preach metaphysical doctrines, he is stultifying himself, and runs a risk of stultifying his hearers also. But this is just what such men as Eimer, Weissmann, Haeckel, &c., are always doing, and the lecture which terminates Professor Eimer's book is a forcible example of the kind. He objects strongly enough to Nägel's attempt to confine biological speculation to 'physiologists by profession.' We sympathise with him in his protest against 'such a close corporation,' and we have no wish to confine speculation to 'philosophers 'by profession;' but what we do affirm is that some preliminary knowledge of philosophy is necessary for anyone who would not only speculate, but also teach it.

On the strength of the familiar facts that all animals feed and get rid of effete material, and that they can, in varying degrees, endure a certain amount of mutilation, he argues that there are really no individuals at all, and that the entire animal world forms one whole, wherein what are commonly regarded as individuals are but so many 'organs.' On the very same system it is quite possible to maintain that animals and vegetables together form one being, or that such is the case with the whole mass of our planet, or of the solar system, or of the whole sidereal universe.

Dreams such as these are possible enough, and visionary professors may go about preaching them, but plain men will remain quite as certain as before, that their individual existence is unaffected by the fact that they can have their hair cut with impunity. Nor will they be persuaded that they, together with their dogs and horses, are but so many mere

organs of another individual, and they will be as certain of this as they are sure that they are individually distinct from the plants in their conservatory, or the stars over their heads.

But Professor Eimer's real end and aim is shown by his conclusion. He is one of those whose great object it is to try and persuade themselves and others that they are not what we mean by 'men,' but mere 'irrational animals,' free from the rule of any Higher Being here, and free also from any responsibility for their actions hereafter. It would be wonderful and inexplicable that anyone should be animated by such a passion for self-degradation, did we not know how strongly many a man may be tempted to feel 'Lord of himself, that heritage of woe.' Few things seem unwelcome to such persons, if only they can escape the dreaded need of being called on to *adore*, *obey*, and *serve*.

'Good,' Eimer tells us, 'is not something prescribed from without; we call only this the good which is serviceable to the common well-being, and because it has become serviceable to the common well-being.' (P. 434.)

This amounts to a denial that there is such a thing as 'goodness' at all.

Of course, concomitantly with the degradation of his own species, he treats us to that exaggeration of the psychical powers of mere animals, which is a characteristic of the school to which he belongs, and which, as we shall see, has a tendency as fatal to freedom as to intellectual life.

Thus as to the 'Mental Life of a Bee,' he affirms

'that it shows reason in a high degree. The animals act throughout according to the requirements of a well-organised State in various directions. They act in complete accordance with the common interest of all the single members of the State, and with the requirements of the future. It is true that it seems to the observer as if this action was in many cases mechanical, as if the animals' conduct was in particular instances not the direct result of mental reasoning, but as if they performed reasonable actions mechanically. But in other instances we are compelled to admit that, *after fully considering the particular circumstances*, they do what is best for the future and for the common weal. If we suppose, for example, that the collection of honey has become mechanical, that the bees no longer reason consciously in performing this labour, yet we must assume that originally they began to collect honey from reflection and reasoning; for otherwise they would never have come to do so mechanically.' (P. 424.)

The application of his principles speedily follows. He lays it down that the system he advocates—his ideal—

'is the most uncompromising opponent of that confused *idea of freedom* so injurious to the common good which claims unlimited independence for the individual.' (P. 434.)

'Unlimited independence' is, of course, absurd and impossible, but his ideal is in reality no less hostile to limited freedom also, and would reduce the rational human being to a mere animated machine. He continues :

'It [his ideal] takes in some sense the social life of the bees for its model, in which the work of the individual for the community has become automatic action.'

This would indeed be a glorious prospect for mankind—a truly noble goal to strive after : to become a crowd of automata, utterly devoid of both intelligence and goodwill ; but co-operating and interacting so as to nourish and breed most effectively. The last rudiments of intelligence or benevolence having been annihilated by an ever-increasing complexity of mere reflex-action, the social machine working with continually increasing efficiency may persist till the inevitable annihilation, to be produced by the gradual dissipation of energy, puts a final end (none too soon) to the whole mass of most, efficiently co-operating idiots.

We have so recently considered the question of the essential difference of kind which exists between the mind of man and the highest faculties of any other animal, that we forbear to say more upon that subject now. Assuming that our readers have grasped the profound distinction which exists between our own higher and lower faculties (a distinction which well enables us to understand the so-called intelligence of animals, and especially the difference between intellectual sign-making—whether by sounds or gestures—and merely emotional language), we will now proceed to make the few remarks which seem to us necessary upon the different chapters of Professor Eimer's book.

His first chapter is devoted to a statement of those doctrines of Weismann which have been described by us in the beginning of this article, with an account of the speculations of another theorist—Nägeli—whose notion is that the whole organic world developes and grows by an internal force, as does an ordinary tree. To this innate power he ascribes the different directions in which organisms vary, and the first commencements of new structures, matters for which Darwinism is, as was long ago pointed out, impotent

to account. The action of natural selection can, according to Nägeli, be no more than that of a gardener's pruning-knife—an illustration before made use of amongst ourselves.

In his second chapter, on 'The Organic Growth of the 'Living World,' Eimer states his somewhat singular theory as to the true cause of the origin of species, which he attributes to the lagging behind of certain individuals in that rate of organic change which surrounding influences impress upon their fellows.

'We have before us,' he says, 'a graduated evolution, and the essential cause of the separation of species is seen to be the persistence of a number of individuals at a definite lower grade of this evolution while the rest advance further in modification. This mode of origin of varieties or species, as the case may be, I have named Genepistasis (γένος, race, ἐπίστασις, standstill).' (P. 31.)

He strongly combats the idea that mere utility will account for the characters of organisms, and pertinently remarks:

'There can be nothing indeed more splendid in colour than the iridescence of Labradorite, and is this useful to the stone and are colour and brightness useful to gold and countless other minerals? Are they useful to the soap-bubble?' (P. 34.)

In stating his views as to the influence of fathers and mothers, respectively, on their families, he makes some interesting remarks concerning what he believes to be the gradual extension of dark hair and eyes amongst the Germanic races. He says—

'Dark and fair parents together do not usually produce children which in colour are intermediate between them, but fair and dark again. Dark, however, according to my observations, has a preponderance over fair. When it is once there, it is not easily eradicated from the blood. . . . The length of time for which the dark and the blond type can constantly recur separately in the children of light and dark complexioned parents is particularly well shown by several South German villages, like those in the immediate neighbourhood of Tübingen, where a thoroughly dark, almost Romance, and a purely Germanic race of people appear often enough sharply distinguished in the children of one and the same family—notwithstanding the fact that in these little villages, intermixture is continually taking place, for the people usually marry among one another, and seldom outside the village. . . . That darkness of hair and eyes is, among us, something newly ingrafted and is on the increase is proved by the universally known fact that the children of dark German parents, are as a rule, in the earlier years of life, fair, and have blue or grey eyes; here also characters which were domi-

nant in the ancestors are repeated in youth. This biogenetic fact struck me first, and very forcibly, in the Upper Engadine, where obviously an intermixture of blonde Germans with dark Romans has taken place, and where it is the more surprising because the climate in that region would favour rather lightness of colour. For example, in the neighbourhood of Sils-Maria, in villages where the adults are all perfectly Romance in darkness of complexion, one sees children of such dark parents with quite fair flaxen hair and blue eyes.' (P. 36.)

Professor Eimer is a strong believer in the predominant influence of the male parent. He regards this as at once the cause of, and proved by, the fact that we are often able to recognise family characteristics in pictures of the earliest male ancestors to be found in galleries of family portraits.

'If this prepotency of the male did not exist, if the female element in all unions had exactly the same value as the male, then, after comparatively few generations, all similarity to ancestors, excluding cases of one-sided reversion, would be completely effaced.'

He adduces as palpable evidence of the truth of his view the long persistence of the well-known Habsburg lip.

'Portraits of Rudolf I. of Habsburg,' he tells us, 'already show it. It was inherited by his descendants up till the last of them, the Emperor Charles VI. (1740), that is for 500 years. With Charles VI. the male line of the Habsburgers became extinct. Its place was supplied by the Thuringian line, derived from the marriage of Francis of Thuringia with the Habsburger Maria Theresa. In the male descendants of this couple the great under lip appeared again, and has been transmitted up to the present day, although the wives of the Habsburgers, coming from various families, could not possibly have possessed it by chance, and did not possess it.' (P. 40.)

These remarks about parental influences lead on to a criticism of Kölliker's theory of evolution. According to that naturalist it is the egg, and not the adult organism, which produces new forms of life. He conceives that the seminal principles of creatures thus give rise to new varieties and species through the stimulus of external conditions acting upon internal causes. These internal causes, however, he regards as being nothing essentially vital, but as the merely physical and chemical conditions in which any organisms—or, rather, the reproductive parts of organisms—happen to find themselves. Kölliker's view is judged by Eimer to be no more supported by facts than some other propositions of his, and to rest, in fact, upon nothing but assumptions concerning mere possibilities. To us, however, it appears clear that every one of the various

hypotheses hitherto proposed is manifestly insufficient to account for the facts. For Kölliker's theory, as for Eimer's, Weismann's and Nägeli's, there is required, besides some actual evidence, a further intellectual conception to make it even thinkable—a matter we shall have occasion to indicate more fully in the course of this review.

In his third section he brings out his own views more distinctly, corroborating the view of Weismann that every structure is a useful adaptation which has been brought about by natural selection acting in accidental infinitesimal changes in germ plasm. At first sight it would seem that he advocates the action of some distinctive vital power, but this he categorically denies.

'I repudiate,' he declares, 'any special internal force of evolution. According to my view, everything in evolution is due to . . . material, physical causes . . . . a "crystallisation," resulting from the physical and chemical action of external agents on the material of the organism subjected to them.' (P. 64.)

This idea we will consider presently; for the present we will limit our attention to his opposition to Weismann's views as to the distinction between unicellular and multicellular animals with respect to immortality. He would place some limits to the immortality of the former on account of their 'metabolism'—that is the constant minute changes in their structure which are inseparable from life. As to multicellular organisms, he admits the mortality of the general substance of their body—their soma—because 'the 'latter is not really an end in itself.' But, as his translator, Mr. Cunningham, very pertinently observes: 'It would 'be just as true to say that the germ cells are not an end in 'themselves, but serve only to produce the soma.' In spite of this obvious slip, Professor Eimer has good reason on his side when he says that we have as much right to predicate immortality of many of the multicellular animals as of those which are unicellular. It often happens that sea-anemones which have been well fed will spontaneously bisect themselves. This process will occur again and again, and seeing that some of them can live at least sixty years without it, it is quite impossible to deny immortality to them if, on similar grounds, we attribute it to the lowest organisms.

As an example of characters which have been developed independently of any 'natural or sexual selection,' Eimer adduces the markings of certain garden snails.

'The striping,' he observes, 'might be regarded as an ornament which acted as an advantage in sexual selection, but such an assumption

is inconsistent with the following facts. I have observed for years in my garden that striped and unstriped individuals of *Helix hortensis* unite without any selection, and what makes this case particularly noteworthy as a support for my view of the comparatively slight effect of sexual crossing in the production of intermediate forms (one-sided heredity) is this, that the offspring of these striped and unstriped parents are again striped or unstriped—in spite of constant crossing (panmixis) these two forms appear everywhere side by side with no connecting forms between them.' (P. 75.)

That some kind of internal force—though not 'a special 'force of evolution'—regulates the efflorescence of new characters is fully affirmed by Eimer, and this conclusion he deems supported by phenomena to be observed in caterpillars which have not only a tendency to repeat the same markings in their successive segments, but to exhibit them at an earlier and earlier age, although no advantage to them appears thence to arise. He also cites an earlier utterance of Weismann himself in the same seuse, and yet the position they both assume is avowedly antagonistic. Truly we may urge on the attention of both these naturalists the Tübingen professor's own words: '*If we philosophise about nature at 'all, the naturalist who desires to be thorough must not halt 'half way.*' (P. 76.)

In his fourth chapter our author applies himself to the main question—that of the transmission of characters acquired by parents. Very curious effects on organisms may sometimes be produced, which cannot be considered as resulting from any inherited capacity; since structures are developed which the parent organisms never possessed. The following is one example:—

'Very pretty experiments in relation to this point have been made by Fräulein Von Chauvin upon the Alpine salamander, *Salamandra atra*. The gill-bearing larvæ of this animal were taken out of the oviduct of the mother and put into water. It is well known that these larvæ under the usual conditions at a later time, while still within the mother's body, lose their gills, and, what is very rare among amphibians, are born as completely terrestrial animals. The gills of the larvæ placed in water at so early an age were disproportionately large and hindered the animals in their movements, and in some cases they were cast off, whereupon *new smaller organs arose in their place*. These new gills persisted in one case for a surprisingly long time (fourteen weeks), and then atrophied. This larva, like the rest, ultimately developed into a land animal. But the remarkable fact remains that on account of the peculiar conditions of life artificially produced, after the original gills, which were unadapted for use in a free state of life, had perished, new and suitable gills were formed, not in the struggle

for existence against competitors with the cumulative effect of selection, but, as I believe, directly from purely physiological causes.' (P. 81.)

As to acquired characters which are due to direct external action, he brings forward many interesting examples concerning the relation of colour in organisms to the light to which they may be exposed. The green colour of plants cannot be said to be an inherited one in spite of the millions of generations of vegetable organisms which have all possessed that tint; because when young plants are reared in the dark they remain colourless.

'The profound action of light on the whole physical constitution of the plant body, on the whole physiology of plants, is shown by the fact that many tropical plants, as for example the South American species of Bougainvillea, in European hothouses either do not bloom at all or only incompletely in spite of all application of warmth, on account of the deficiency of light.' (P. 90.)

Various kinds of tropical plants die in our botanic gardens in the Regent's Park when we have a succession of such days of overhead darkness as now and then occur in London. No amount of warmth supplied to them will enable them to escape the fatal consequences of such darkness. An instructive example is found amongst animals in the case of the Proteus of the caverns of Carniola and Istria. This animal is at first colourless, but if it be kept in the light it becomes dark.

The effects of climate on cultivated plants have been well shown by P. C. Schübeler with respect to those of Scandinavia. When various cereals in Norway and Sweden are gradually transported from the plains to mountain districts, they can be accustomed not only to develope in the same or even in a shorter time than in their native region, but even at a lower average temperature! When such grain after it has been grown for several years in the mountain regions is again sown in its native soil, it ripens at first earlier than other grain of the same kind which has been cultivated uninterruptedly in the plains.

With respect to a variety of phenomena of this kind Professor Eimer observes:—

'It is a proposition of special importance to my argument, as well as in itself self-evident, that physiological changes must always precede morphological changes of structure in the organic world, *because the former determines the latter*.' (P. 95.)

The significance of this, taken in conjunction with other assertions, will appear later.

In considering the effects of temperature, some interesting facts noticed by Dorfmeister are described. This observer has

'ever since 1845 made experiments on the effect of temperature in the colour and marking of butterflies. He explains first of all that through many years' experience in rearing caterpillars, he has been convinced that the production of varieties of butterflies depends much more on climatic conditions, in which temperature is a chief factor, than on either food or hybridisation. Dorfmeister learns from his experiments that temperature exercises the greatest influence on the colour and markings of butterflies when it acts upon them during the change into the pupa, or shortly afterwards. In many, a rise of temperature produces a lighter, more brilliant ground colour, a pale, and darker or less brilliant; for example in Vanessa, Io, Utricæ, &c. In *Eupressia Caja* the red-yellow ground colour of the posterior wings is changed by a rise of temperature into vermilion-red; by a fall, into ochre-yellow.' (P. 131.)

The specially stimulating effects of surrounding colours is very curious, and has been well worked out by Mr. Poulton, of Oxford. As Eimer says, pupæ have assumed the red colour of a cloth investing them, a colour to which they could scarcely be exposed under natural conditions, and to which in any case they could not have been adapted by selection. Well may he say, 'Many really wonderful cases of 'adaptation, apparently due to selection, probably come 'under this category,' a category including such cases as the common frog, which changes its hue according to the colour of the ground, not rapidly, but gradually.

The power the frog has of thus changing was experimentally ascertained by the Professor:—

'Three frogs, approximately similar in colour, were placed in three vessels, of which the first stood on a black, the second on a green, and the third on a white surface, being surrounded to the height of some five centimetres with the same colour.

'After about an hour and a half, the frog *a* on the black surface was the darkest, *b* on the white the lightest, while the frog *c* surrounded by green was intermediate in colour between the two. Hereupon the frog *a* was transferred to the glass on the white, frog *b* into the one on the black surface. After three-quarters of an hour they were again examined, and *a* was the lightest, *b* the darkest. Then *c* and *b* were interchanged, and in a quarter of an hour *c* was the darkest, while *b* was intermediate in colour between *c* and *a*. When, finally, *b* and *a* were interchanged, a change of colouring appeared immediately; *b* became light again, and *a* took the intermediate tint between *b* and *c*.' (P. 148.)

With regard to the inheritance of injuries, the work supplies us with some valuable facts. In the first place its

translator severely criticises what he regards as a great misrepresentation made by Professor Weismann of a case adduced by Dr. Emil Schmidt, and regarded by the latter as a plain instance of the inheritance by a son of a malformation in the ear, due to his mother having had her earring accidentally torn out when a child. But Dr. Meissan, of Falkenberg, has recorded the following case of injury in his own family:—

'When I was seven or eight years old I had the chicken-pox, and I recollect with complete distinctness that I scratched one of the pustules on the right temple, in consequence of which I had a small white scar on this spot. Exactly the same scar, which I had of course ceased to think of, on exactly the same spot, was present on my little son, now fifteen months old, when he came into the world. The resemblance is so perfect that it surprises everyone who sees the little mark.'

Dr. Eimer's assistant, Dr. Vosseler, relates that his mother in her eighteenth year injured the ring finger of her right hand by squeezing it between the door latch and the door, so that it was bent between the last and middle joints. Two of her sons were born with the very same peculiarity, and Dr. Vosseler was one of them.

It may be a relief to some of our readers to turn from these questions to our author's remarks concerning the higher faculties of animals. His whole contention is indeed vitiated by his non-comprehension of his own higher faculties; but that does not hinder his anecdotes from being amusing, nor is there any danger of our being misled by them if only such facts and laws as we called attention to last October be duly borne in mind. That Professor Eimer does indeed misunderstand his own higher powers is plainly shown by his definition of consciousness. 'By *consciousness*,' he tells us, 'I understand the *sensation of the condition*, as 'affected by the *outer* world, of the *brain* at the moment.' As if 'consciousness' and 'sensation' were not widely different; and as if we could not be perfectly, *intensely* conscious without even believing that either a 'brain' or 'an 'outer world' existed. We leave Professor Eimer to settle this matter with the idealists.

Here, also, he reiterates that sad confusion between the abstract and the concrete—the ideal and the real—which we before stigmatised. No wonder that he confounds the intellectual state we call 'consciousness' with a 'feeling about 'the condition of the brain'! 'It is certain,' he exclaims, 'that rigidly logical reasoning must necessarily admit the

'conception that *individuals* are *organs;* and *species* and '*genera*, by virtue of their definite structure adapted to 'definite ends, are *organs of a higher order* of the whole 'living world' (p. 225). This is just as if he said that a cannon was a weapon, and that an implement of war was a weapon of a higher order!

Such errors, however, in no way impair his credit as a careful observer of interesting natural facts. They only do away with the value of his explanations of them. We should be the last to deny to animals the keenest powers of perception, and so great a facility for associating past experiences, feelings and emotions, as to make their powers of practical inference obvious. What we deny to them is a power of reflexion, and the conscious possession of ideas as such. We deny them the power of forming true abstract ideas, and therefore of expressing such ideas in abstract language. But no reasonable person would think of denying that many of them possess a rich and copious language of feeling. As to their sentiments of fear and confidence being modified by circumstances, he tells us the following anecdote:—

'Some years ago a male chaffinch in my garden had become so tame with me that he flew after me everywhere, in order to take the hemp seed and meal worms which I offered him. Wherever I went or stood in the garden the finch appeared from the bushes, perched on the nearest branch or on the ground in front of me, and with his powerful chirp—"pink, pink"—demanded his food. But if he had not noticed me, I had only to whistle in imitation of his chirp and he appeared. At last he used to come after me even into the house, and follow me from room to room asking to be fed. Yet, in spite of his trustfulness, I could not induce him to feed out of my hand. It was evident that he constantly endeavoured to overcome the remnant of timidity which still survived in him, but he could not yet succeed. Still I strove to attain this end, and the visible progress made permitted the hope that I should shortly succeed; then an unfortunate accident suddenly altered the condition of affairs, and put an abrupt end to his confidence. One day a sparrow on a tree in front of my window was piping indefatigably his monotonous shrill chirp, which pierces the ear the more irritatingly the more energetically it is uttered, and the greater its well-known deficiency of cadence. As the fellow had repeatedly disturbed me at my work in this way, I resolved on his destruction, and, creeping within range, I fired at him with a small chamber gun loaded with small shot. At the shot my beloved finch flew suddenly from the tree where he had been perched unnoticed by me. The shot must have passed around him. My sorrow for the accident was deep, for what was to be expected occurred —the finch afterwards carefully avoided me, and notwithstanding all enticements, I could only with difficulty induce him again to take from

the ground at a great distance from me food which I had scattered. But after a short time he disappeared entirely from my garden with the family which he had established.' (P. 232.)

We most of us know something of the cunning and prudence of sparrows. As to this we have the following anecdote:—

'One snowy winter recently, when the sparrows around the house were very hungry, I made an attempt to catch a number under a large sieve, the edge of which was supported on one side by a piece of wood, which was connected with a long string; the string was covered up in the snow, and passed through an opening in the door into the house, where my little son watched, ready to pull the string as soon as some sparrows went under the sieve. Corn was strewed about under the sieve and around it as bait. The sparrows gathered in dozens round the sieve, and picked up the corn to its very edge to the last grain, then flew round and screamed at the sieve in hunger and rage, but not one was enticed under it.'

On the subject of the same caution as displayed by a dog who, after accompanying him to the shore, ran away when the Professor had undressed and entered the water, he makes some curious, not to say singularly nonsensical, remarks.

'The whole occurrence gave me the impression that the dog was terrified at the appearance, to him previously unknown, of an almost unclothed and afterwards naked man, and that he did not give way to the panic from the first, before I went into the bath, because he had not yet *drawn the conclusion* that he had to do with a *spectre*. . . . Fear of things incomprehensible is indeed the cause of such conceptions among men, and among many savage peoples is still at the present day clearly the cause of their belief in a higher being. It is stated that dogs do not bark at naked men, which is probably to be attributed to fear of the unknown."' (P. 238.)

Certain observations made by the Professor with respect to chickens newly hatched, seem to us to be valuable. To some which had been artificially hatched he threw a little millet seed, letting it fall so that the grains rebounded. The chickens at once pecked at it; but he adds—

'The thing which surprised me most was this: A fly flew close by the eyes of a chicken which had only left the egg shell about half an hour before, and the little creature pecked at it as if it had been long accustomed to catch flies. Similar cases have indeed been frequently observed. It may be objected that this was nothing but reflex action—and of course it is reflex action.* But the wonderful fact is, that this

* The term 'reflex action' should be reserved for motor responses to stimuli which are not felt. Such reflex action as the chicken's is 'sensori-motor' action.

action was so perfectly adapted to the external requirements; the chick snapped at the fly in order to catch it; it made with accuracy all the movements suited to this purpose. . . . In short, the chicken's behaviour towards the fly was a consequence of innate instinct, like that of itself and brethren towards the millet seed.' (P. 245.)

The merely instinctive, as opposed to intellectually purposive, actions of these chicks, was shown by their scratching on boards (which formed the first surface they walked on) just as mature fowls scratch in sand or earth in search of food. 'To see them scratching on the smooth board, from 'which there was nothing to scratch out, was exceedingly 'comical.' His view of instinct is, as before said, that it consists of truly rational actions which have become habitual, and is therefore absolutely opposed to that of Professor Weismann, who regards it as the result of merely minute accidental changes in the molecules of germplasm. But, as Professor Eimer pertinently asks, 'How is it conceivable that 'the variability of germ plasm, inherited from unicellular 'organisms, in combination with continued sexual mixture, 'could lead to such innate faculties as our chicken has 'shown?' We also fully agree with him in his remarks concerning the very singular instinct of the cuckoo. He does not hesitate to declare that it appears to him to be *à priori* impossible that 'instincts can be explained by mere 'accidents,' and especially impossible that the young bird derived from an egg which was for the first time accidentally laid in the nest of another species should itself repeat that action—an action which, by the hypothesis, was opposed to inherited tendencies derived from countless generations of ancestors. But if Eimer sees clearly the moat in the eye of Weismann, he is none the less blind to the beam which is in his own. He tells us that he believes that the original progenitors of the cuckoo, when they first began to lay their eggs in the nests of other birds, 'acted by *reflection* 'and with design.' Again, he says, 'Every bird must, from 'the first time it hatches its eggs, *draw the conclusion* that 'young will also be produced from the eggs which it lays 'afterwards.' As if the instinct which induces it to hatch its first brood was not enough to induce it to hatch those which succeeded! Even more strange is his remark that 'it is '*undecided* how far all birds, even before they begin to in-'cubate themselves, obtain a *knowledge of their origin from eggs* 'by observing others incubating.' (P. 264.)

Once more, with respect to that wonderful instinct which

results in the production of imperfect females, or workers, to constitute the great mass of the inhabitants of a hive, the Professor again supposes the presence of true intellect—imagining that the habit arose from some humble bee having been aided in the hard task of feeding all her grubs by certain workers accidentally produced.

'The insect must,' he says, 'have recognised this advantage afterwards; and accordingly reared similar workers intentionally by insufficient feeding. Another explanation which might be given is that certain individuals began to sacrifice themselves to the requirements of the community by neglecting to feed themselves to such an extent that their organs no longer attained their full developement.' (P. 278.)

He seems to attach no importance to the character thus assigned to our own highest powers. He admits that on his view 'intelligence and reason become *merely mechanical*, 'but in a way which does not diminish the *importance of* '*instinct*.' Most certainly it does not, nor have we the slightest desire to diminish its importance. But it becomes obvious on the slightest reflection that we are compelled to estimate instinct by means of reason, and that it is impossible to estimate reason by means of instinct. Reason is our only and ultimate standard in every judgement we make, and we know that the activity of our highest mental powers is certainly *not* an activity which is merely mechanical; then any theory which necessarily and logically results in the conclusion that our own highest powers are 'merely mechanical' is refuted by a *reductio ad absurdum*. We are reminded of the cry with which Mr. Morris startled and shocked the wise men at Leeds the other day, 'O Science, how much 'nonsense is talked in thy name!' Professor Eimer's criticisms on the speculations of some other dreamers are very noteworthy. The question referred to is how, upon the principles of those he criticises, life, sensibility, intelligence, and volition could ever come to be. This problem is made short work of by assuming that sensibility and will are possessed not only by every fragment of every living thing, but by every atom of every dead thing also—an assumption which we need hardly say is absolutely gratuitous and is taken as proved on the implied argument, 'How 'otherwise should our system be true?' Thus Haeckel explains the chemical attractions and repulsions of bodies by attributing to them definite inclinations which they possess the will and the power to obey by moving towards or away from one another.

'If the "will" of man . . . seems free in contrast with the "fixed" will of the atoms, this is a deception caused by the contrast between the extremely complex voluntary motions of the former and the extremely simple voluntary motions of the latter. . . . As the mass of the atom is indestructible and unchangeable, so the atomic soul inseparably connected therewith is eternal and imperishable. . . . This monistic conception of atoms is alone in harmony with the great laws of the "conservation of energy" and the "indestructibility of matter," which the natural philosophy of the present day rightly regards as its irremovable foundations.' *

Now, though Professor Eimer is as unreasonable as Haeckel in seeking to maintain a mere 'mechanical con-'ception of the idea of will,' he nevertheless draws a very sound distinction between a faculty of mere *irritability* (as when upon a touch the squirting cucumber ejects its seeds) and a true power of sensation. It is true, as he says, that we have no unequivocal evidence that sensibility exists in any organism which does not possess nervous substance.

'The very fact,' he contends, 'that in animals a special nervous system, nerve fibres and nerve cells, have arisen, which are absent in plants, proves of itself that the reception and conduction of stimuli in animals must be quite different to those in plants. . . . For the single reason, then, that the substance which reacts to stimuli in animals, which in any case in the higher animals is the instrument of sensation and voluntary action, is quite peculiar to animals, it is allowable to infer that the two latter faculties belong to animals only. We might thus, in a sense, recur to the old aphorism of Linnæus: "Lapides crescunt, "plantæ crescunt et vivunt, animalia crescunt, vivunt et sentiunt."' (P. 310.)

He also gives a very interesting account of various movements of very lowly organisms, which might, at first sight, be mistaken for voluntary movements. Thus, *Myxomycetes*, which, at one stage of its existence, seems to wander as an almost fluid mass of protoplasm, is an example of such lowly organisms. He tells us how its gradual, creeping motion is determined by the gradual drying up of the substance on which it rests, which causes it to be attracted to adjacent parts, which retain their moisture longer. Unequal distributions of warmth, or of oxygen, have similar effects. If its fluid substance, or 'plasmodium,' is brought in contact, on one side, with solutions of common salt, saltpetre, or carbonate of potash, it will withdraw from such dangerous

* 'Die Perigenesis der Plastidule oder die Wellenzeugung der Lebenstheilchen,' Berlin.

vicinity, while infusions of tan, or dilute solutions of sugar, will attract it. It will also withdraw itself from light, and it has a truly wonderful faculty of avoiding harmful matter, traversing its supporting substance in all directions and taking up such materials as it may require.

But besides giving evidence in favour of the essential distinctness of sensitive from non-sensitive organisms, Professor Eimer makes some valuable remarks in opposition to the view that unicellular and multicellular organisms are so distinct as they have, we believe too hastily, been assumed to be. This distinctness is generally assumed to be so great that no structure formed from cells in the latter group can be really equivalent to any difference which can arise within a single cell. Those minute infusorians known as vorticellæ are each supported on a long stalk which, upon a very light stimulus, will suddenly coil upon itself, and so bring the vorticella attached to it near to the point where the stalk is itself attached. Now the vorticella, with its stalk, together consist but of one single cell. In all multicellular animals, organs of motion, or muscles, are formed from cells, and are equivalent to a greater or less number of such. It would seem, therefore, that a whole vorticella with its stalk could only be equivalent to one of the cellular elements of which the muscular tissue of any multicellular animal is composed. Yet Professor Eimer does not doubt but that the protoplasm in the stalk of a vorticella is really equivalent to the muscular substance of higher animals, and he quotes Kühne to the effect that this particle of vorticella protoplasm 'behaves exactly like frog's muscle, and even when isolated 'from the rest of the animal, can be made to contract, and 'even be tetanised, by the stimulus of variations of an 'electric current.' But whatever may be the degree of equivalence existing between such practically similar parts, we think the Professor is fully justified in asking, 'How 'could selection, or even sexual mixture, produce muscles 'at particular parts of the body where previously none were 'present? Selection and mixture can only deal with what is 'in existence.'

The most important part of the remaining portion of the book treats first of the evolution of the organs of sense, and secondly of the evolution of the whole organism by physical activities which are supposed not to be mysterious. We shall find, however, that these explanations when even slightly analysed turn out to be mere words or phrases, which either imply the existence of forces the Professor

ignores, or are utterly impotent to suggest any real explanation whatever.

Thus he supposes the ultimate material constituents of the several sense-organs to have been derived from one common layer of cells placed on the external surface of supposed primitive and as yet actually insentient organisms. The most external layer came, and comes first into contact with the outer world. 'All external stimuli acted first upon 'it. By the repeated incidence of stimuli this layer must 'have become more and more fitted for their reception, 'and subsequently for dealing with them, must have had 'their capacities exercised and strengthened.' To these representations we have no objection, provided that it be admitted that in such sentient organisms there must first be a latent power different from that possessed by purely non-sensitive organisms, such as Professor Eimer admits plants to be. But what is a 'different power'? It is and must be something dynamic and non-material. Let the existence of such an entity (one perfectly *conceivable*, though necessarily *unimaginable*) be allowed, and then we can understand that stimuli, and incipient activity thence resulting, may call forth into active exercise what before was but potential. He says, later on, 'Only function could 'impress upon nervous, as on other cells, a definite mor-'phological character.' Yet nothing can *act* before it *is*; but the dynamic agency, we affirm, can be understood as simultaneously giving rise both to morphological characters and physiological activities.

From this similarity of origin common to the different sense organs he infers that all the external activities which stimulate diverse sense organs in such different manners 'may be but different qualities of one and the same stimulus, 'different *forms of motion* of external media—even the 'stimuli of taste and smell.' But all that need be inferred from such similarity as there is between our different organs of sense is that the objective causes—the various activities—which act on such organs possess a similarity as regards their modes of action. It does not on that account really follow that sight and taste should be 'motion' any more than that motion and hearing should be really 'smell.' Our readiness to refer other activities to 'motion' is the simple and necessary result of our constant and universal experience of 'motion,' which cause it to be so much more easy to imagine. But our feeling of 'motion' is as purely and simply a feeling, as is any other sensation

or group of sensations. It is the omission to recognise the necessary presence in every living being of a dynamic, immaterial principle of individuation, not numerically separate from it, but forming one substance with it, which renders Neo-Lamarckism, Neo-Darwinism, and all the other popular views as to the organic world alike unsatisfactory and untenable. This is the truth to which we have antecedently more than once referred, and no healthy and sound biology is possible till it is recognised.

Professor Eimer may indeed be logically compelled to admit the existence of that immaterial, dynamic agency, the necessary existence of which was plain to Aristotle, unless he will forswear his own words. He affirms in opposition to Weismann that

'the evolution of the characters of sense cells could not possibly have been produced by sexual mixture and selection—by variation of the germ cells—although I do not deny to the first two processes a share in the accomplishment of the result. Not variation of the germ cells which occurred by chance in a definite direction, but *a definite capacity of modification* . . . has determined this modification.' (P. 336.)

In fact, neither mere minute, accidental variations on the one hand, nor the play of external forces on the other, can of themselves give origin to definite organs. Let, however, similar kinds of dynamic immaterial agency be present in different organisms, and then we may expect to find similar structures evolved in similar cases—we may expect to find '*the independent origin of similar structures.*' And this is just what the Professor asserts he does find. Worms and jelly fishes are different animals indeed, and neither can be said to be the parent of the other. But not only are the auditory organs which have been evolved in the two groups wonderfully alike, but those of some jelly fishes are more like those of certain worms than they are like the auditory organs of some other jelly fishes; and, similarly, the auditory organs of certain worms are more like those of certain jelly fishes than they are like the auditory organs of some other worms. To the wonderful resemblance which exists between the eyes of cuttle fishes and true fishes it has been objected that the disposition of the retina in the one is the opposite to the disposition of the retina in the other, but we have learnt from Semper that in the slug *Onchidium* the retina, in these respects, agrees with that which exists in the eyes of fishes and other backboned animals—including, of course, ourselves.

The truth that similar structures have thus arisen inde-

pendently tells with great force, as Professor Eimer says, 'against the prevailing fashion of dogmatically referring all 'similarities of form to blood-relationship.'

Experiments performed by him on jelly fishes lead him to the conclusion—

'that a single will can exist with a number of brains. . . . . I have shown how the eight brains of Aurelia produce single movements; the impulse proceeds always from one of the brains, and passes immediately to the others—sometimes one, sometimes another originating the impulse—but this does not exclude the possibility of all eight acting at the same time; indeed, this is probably necessary for the production of certain movements.' (P. 348.)

He adds as a conclusion (which may startle some readers) the assertion:—

'Whether in a given animal there are eight such central points of nervous activity or thousands—as many as there are nerve cells or cetoderm cells on the body surface—makes no difference.'

This assertion we have no more desire to contest than to support. We regard it as an interesting speculation, but not an important one for us. The position we take up is quite unaffected by it, and accords with either alternative.

His next contention—in favour of that belief in a universal unity which is the foundation of his system—is that

'no fundamental distinction exists between the language formed by the voices of animals and human speech.'

Now we have no space left to develope our argument against this assertion; but there is the less need so to do as the question has quite recently been considered at great length,* and in a manner which appears to us to be satisfactory and conclusive. Lest, however, our readers should imagine that we are at all disposed to ignore the power of animals in this direction, we quote with pleasure a passage cited from Jäger, in support of Eimer's position:—

'By means of looks, gestures, and sounds, animals speak a very plain language, and it requires only a somewhat persevering attention to learn this language. . . . The sound-language which most mammals and birds, and some reptiles, fishes, and insects possess, consists of cries expressing feelings, like the utterances of a child in its earliest years. The interjections of our word-language are the most closely related to the cries of sensation of animals. The cries of animals, however, have not merely the value of interjections, they are something more. Thus the animal can express several sensations by modification of its

* See 'The Origin of Human Reason.' 1889.

voice, by modulation of its tones. Thereby animals are able to communicate their sensations and conditions even during the night when they cannot see each other's gestures.' (P. 368.)

As to certain monkeys, J. von Fischer is quoted as saying:—

'I understood the sound-language of each of my monkeys, and knew exactly thereby the state of its feelings at any particular time. . . . . When he desired a thing, he cried "oh," or "o-oh," in the latter case the second syllable being higher than the first. At the same time he laid his ears close to his head, drew back his brows and pouted his lips. Joy and pleasure he expressed by a grunting or gurgling throat-sound. At the same time he laid back his ears for a short time, drew back all the skin of his head for a moment with a jerk, his eyebrows being thus also drawn back, and stretched out his mouth with the lips narrowed. In extreme pleasurable excitement, he disclosed his teeth as far back as the middle of the molar series, and uttered a slight tittering sound like "ki ki ki," and so on.'

As to all this we will only remark that it is improper and misleading to describe inarticulate sounds by articulate expression, such as 'ki ki ki.'

The truth concerning the real nature of brute language is well expressed by Schleicher, although he takes what we regard as a mistaken view of the origin of human speech. He says:—

'Sound-gestures, in some cases highly developed sound-gestures, for the direct expression of its feelings and desires, the animal possesses, and by means of these, or by means of other gestures, animals are able to communicate their feelings to one another. Accordingly it is usual to talk of the speech of animals. But the faculty of directly expressing thought by means of sound is possessed by no animal, and this alone is the meaning of speech. How fully this is in fact recognised in our ordinary consciousness is shown by the consideration that an ape endowed with speech, or even an animal utterly different from man externally, if it possessed the power of speech, would be regarded by us as a man.' (P. 370.)

If it truly possessed the power of speech—that is, if it had the power of expressing abstract ideas, though only by gesture—it would properly be so regarded, for it would plainly be 'a rational animal.' But it might make use of articulate sounds like a parrot, or it might have learnt to use articulate sounds as a dog begs, and not otherwise. In that case its language, though articulate, would be but a sign of its feelings, and not true speech.

Highly unreasonable, then, are Professor Eimer's remarks on this subject. A blackbird having been said to utter the dry '*dag, dag, dag,*' as a warning cry, and the ancient German

expression for 'I' having been declared to have been '*dha*, '*dha, ma,*' our professor remarks: 'I think the above com- 'pletely justifies me in speaking of the sounds uttered by 'blackbirds as their language. "*Dag, dag, dag*" is as good 'a sound as "*dha, dha, dha.*"' But the blackbird did not really say 'dag' at all, and the man did not say 'dha, dha, dha,' but 'dha, dha, *ma,*' which is a distinct manifestation of highly abstract thought—the thought of the Ego as existing and active.

We come, last of all, to Professor Eimer's treatment of 'the idea of organic growth'—the growth of the individual and the growth of the species, or phyletic growth. Of growth itself he has formed a somewhat peculiar conception, since he says: 'Growth is by no means necessarily the 'result of the assimilation of food: the action of any external 'stimuli is capable of causing changes in the *position* of 'the particles of the body, and thereby of causing growth in 'my sense of that term.' Surely the enlargement of a bladder due to heat expanding the air within it cannot justly be called 'growth'? The expression 'change of shape' would become superfluous if every such change could be called 'growth.' Change with augmentation of substance and change without augmentation of substance are two distinct ideas, and require to be denoted by two different terms; and it is at least convenient to call the former by the term commonly accepted to denote it—namely, by the term 'growth.'

In speaking of the effect of physical forces on organisms he asks, 'is it not the force of gravity which determines the 'form of roots and causes them to grow towards the centre 'of the earth?' That it has acted and acts therein we do not question; but we deny that it can be termed *the* determining agency, and we deny it on the strength of Professor Eimer's own words. He tells us that 'Vöchting 'hung up a twig of willow in a position the reverse of the 'natural, in a vessel where it was exposed to moisture and 'the other conditions favourable to growth. This twig pro- 'duced roots not only at the lower end, where their develope- 'ment was favoured by gravity, but also, and in superior 'numbers, at the upper end.' In that plant of the Cactus tribe named *Lepismium radicans*, roots will be produced on any part of its sprouts from which light is excluded. Nevertheless, as a rule, roots are thrown out from the underside of plants only, as we should naturally anticipate.

With respect to the re-formation of parts removed—ex-

traordinary instances of the process of repair—Professor Eimer remarks:

'The old explanation was that it was due to the "formative tendency," and this was deemed sufficient. We may still use the same term, provided that we get rid of the meaning which the earlier school attached to it, namely, that of a spontaneous impulse more or less independent of matter. If we guard against this, and employ the term in the sense of the action of definitely directed forces contained in the material of the organism, then there is nothing to be said against it.' (P. 393.)

But the earlier school, to which we presume Professor Eimer refers, did not regard such impulse as in any way 'independent of matter,' but as absolutely dependent upon matter for its manifestation. It held, as we hold, no more than what Professor Eimer must, if he is logical, mean when he speaks of 'inherited definite tendencies' as *alone* constituting 'the specific qualities of the various species.' But though thus occasionally lapsing into such dynamical expressions with respect to vital actions, he ordinarily follows the prevailing school in relying on mere words as explanations. Thus, he tells us, 'it has come about that heredity not 'only constitutes this unity by developement, but also en-'deavours to reconstitute it after injury.' 'Heredity' is, of course, a term now current; but in what is it really clearer or more explanatory than the term *nisus formativus*? What is there really more intelligible in his own expressions, '*growth tendency*' and '*formative power*'? Again, he tells us that a mutilated whole is reformed because in each of its particles 'there is something of the *tendency to form a whole*;' and he speaks of 'a tendency to develope into the whole by 'growth' being '*impressed* upon the several particles of an 'organism by *heredity*.' Thus heredity is personified and made an active agent, regardless of the fact that it is a mere abstract term denoting various phenomena. An actual, concrete, dynamic, immaterial agency, immanent in every living organism, is, however, a conception which (be it true or false) does at least serve to explain the phenomena of growth, repair, developement, and phyletic evolution. That processes of repair are not mere processes of vital crystallisation taking part upon a 'polarised terminal surface' is, to our mind, sufficiently demonstrated by the differences of tissue and of internal arrangement of parts which may be found in a re-formed part, externally like its normal predecessor—as, *e.g.*, in a re-formed lizard's tail. That normal developement is due to nothing of the kind is also shown by the fact that in the developing embryo there is no 'polarised terminal

'surface,' as there is the stump of a tail or limb which has been removed.

Such developement and such re-growth are not to be explained as Professor Eimer would explain them. He speaks only of the establishment 'in every developing and every 'adult organism' of 'a relation of the particles to one 'another, which finds its expression in their striving to form 'themselves into the whole, and to maintain or re-establish the 'co-ordinated whole.' The striving of separate particles, each governed only by its own innate forces, can never serve to explain their definite, mutual, orderly collocation as one organic whole. Try as we may, the profoundly rational conception of the great Macedonian philosopher will again and again force itself upon the unprejudiced mind, for the explanation it affords is a natural explanation, and in philosophy no less than in the conduct of human life we may indeed say, '*Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*'

The controversy between the professors of Tübingen and Freiburg is to us a very interesting one. So far Professor Eimer appears, in our judgement, to have, on the whole, the best of the dispute. But, effective as he is in his attack upon Professor Weismann's doctrines, he exhibits marvellously little capability of defence. The doctrine that merely minute haphazard changes in the molecular constitution of germplasm are sufficient to account for all the beauty, all the variety, all the adaptations, and all the varieties of feeling, habit, and instinct to be found in the living world, he indeed triumphantly demolishes. But his attempt to show that all these powers, harmonies, and beauties are due to nothing but the hereditary transmission of the action of the environment he fails, almost ludicrously, to establish. However thoroughly the faith of the Neo-Darwinians may be overthrown, we certainly shall not thereby be led to take so retrograde a step as would be a return to the old discredited hypothesis of Lamarck and the 'Vestiges of Creation.' Nevertheless we are thankful to Professor Eimer for his labours. His book is full of interesting matter, and we can cordially recommend its perusal to such of our readers as are interested in those biological speculations which have become one of the most noticeable features of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Art. III.—*Report of State Trials.* New Series, Vol. I. 1820 to 1823; Vol. II., 1823 to 1831. Edited by John Macdonell, M.A. London: 1888, 1889.

In 1885 Lord Thring proposed to the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury that a new series of State Trials should be published, commencing with those of the year 1820, at which date the series known to all historical students as 'Howell's State Trials' comes to an end. That proposal has borne fruit. Considering the inertness of the State to undertake measures which are not absolutely necessary, one must stand in respectful amazement at the prompt manner in which Lord Thring's proposal has been acted on. In the year in which the suggestion was made Lord Halsbury appointed a committee to supervise this undertaking, Mr. John Macdonell, now one of the Masters of the Supreme Court, being appointed editor and secretary. His labours have already proved valuable. Two volumes of State Trials are now in the possession of the public, covering the period from 1820 to 1831. It is understood that some eight or ten volumes have yet to be published, but the two that are now before us have, though the first of the series, a certain completeness in themselves. For they deal with a period quite distinct in characteristics from that which will be covered by the succeeding volumes.

With the year 1832 one well-marked epoch of political and constitutional history ends and another equally distinct begins. The Reform Bill of 1832 necessarily altered the constitution of the country; it is also the sign of a great change both in political ideas and in the policy of Government. The policy which actuated the administrations of Great Britain from 1820 to 1831 was one of repression; the expression of political, social, and religious views was repressed. The constitution as regards the franchise was not to be altered; it was dangerous to allow men to meet and demand reform of any kind, and Catholic emancipation would be the destruction of the Church of England. But as soon as the Reform Bill became law the political and social characteristics were changed; expression became dominant and the popular will was henceforth not to be repressed, but to be guided and used as a political motive power.

It is useless to argue whether the country has been the better for the gradual increase in the power of the democracy

which has taken place since 1832. The change was inevitable, and it is one of the reasons why lasting credit will be given by posterity to the Whig statesmen of that period—to Grey, Melbourne, and Russell—that they recognised the political tendency of the age and guided the people in safety into a new historical epoch. Part of the great value which attaches to these first two volumes of the new series of 'State Trials' is that they exemplify in concrete form and with greater vividness than any secondhand narrative the characteristics of the ante-Reform period. They contain, of course, trials which throw light on what may be called isolated parts of State law, since the definition of State trials which has guided the editor and committee is all trials 'relating to offences against the State or trials illustrative 'of the law relating to State officers of high rank, e.g. 'Ministers or governors of colonies.' In the latter category must be numbered such trials as those of the Attorney-General against Thornton as to the privileges of an ambassador, and De Wütz against Hendriks as to the legality of a loan in England to assist an insurrection against the Government of a foreign State at peace with Great Britain.

But the larger number of trials deal with cases of sedition, unlawfully selling arms, unlawful assemblies and blasphemous libel, which are essentially illustrative of the political and social state of the country in the immediate pre-Reform epoch. We shall therefore first, but at no undue length, refer to the question of sedition and seditious libel. The most important of the cases contained in these volumes in regard to sedition, and which best exemplifies the character of the prosecutions of the period, is the trial at York in March 1820 of Hunt and others who took part in the meeting at St. Peter's Fields on August 16, 1819. That meeting resulted in what was popularly known as the Peterloo Massacre, in which some persons were killed and many injured. Another result was the above prosecution and the conviction of Hunt and of those who were charged with him on the fourth count of the indictment, viz. unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously meeting and assembling together for the purpose of raising and exciting discontent and disaffection in the minds of the subjects of the King and hatred and contempt of the Government and constitution of the realm.

In plain language these men were found guilty of forming part of a seditious assembly. It is interesting to note what

were the main characteristics of this assembly. It was some 60,000 in number; part of one of the several bodies had been drilled on a previous day in some simple manœuvres, with a view to their better control at the meeting. Banners were carried having on them various inscriptions, such as 'No Corn 'Laws.' The inscription most relied on by the prosecution as showing the seditious character of the assembly was the somewhat vague and not very logical one of 'Equal Repre-'sentation or Death.' In this as in all large assemblies there was occasionally some horse play, but the multitude of men and women was essentially orderly and well marshalled. The assembly was broken up before Hunt had made his speech, and the only disorder of the day was caused by his arrest and by the ground being cleared by the military and the police.

The question for the jury was stated with accuracy and calmness by Mr. Justice Bayley, who presided with a dignity and an impartiality which will be an admirable example for succeeding generations of judges. The cardinal part of his charge as to this particular was as follows:—

'Gentlemen, in this case I shall submit to your consideration the questions, whether this meeting was or was not legal as to the bulk of the persons who were present at that meeting; and secondly, whether it was criminal and unlawful as to any, and which, of the persons who met. Gentlemen, I stated to you, when I was pointing out to you what I considered as the law upon the subject, that it might be that, though the bulk of a meeting met for a legal purpose, there might be others who met with illegal purpose; that the meeting of those others who met with illegal purpose might be with a view to give a wrong direction to those who met innocently; and that, if that were the case, then those who had that illegal purpose in their mind would be criminal, although the bulk of the people should be innocent. Now, gentlemen, as to every one at this meeting who met purely for the purpose of considering the most effectual means and the most legal means of obtaining a reform in Parliament, as to every one of those who met for that purpose singly and particularly, and for no other, their attendance, as it seems to me, was clearly a legal attendance, unless from the manner in which they met that manner was calculated to produce terror and alarm in the minds of the inhabitants. Gentlemen, if that manner was calculated to produce terror and alarm, then all the persons who attended, though for a legal purpose, knowing of the existence of that manner, were certainly criminal in meeting, provided they met giving countenance to the meeting assembled in that particular manner. And, with a view to that question, all the evidence which has been given on the part of the Crown on the one hand, and all the evidence which has been given on the part of the defendants on the other, is extremely material. If, from the manner in which they

met, the numbers, the banners, and the apparently military step cannot but have produced terror and alarm in the town of Manchester, then that manner made the whole assembling illegal, at least to every person who knew of those banners and knew the manner in which they were assembled; and every person giving countenance thereto was criminally present at that place. You know very well that many persons may from curiosity attend a meeting without giving any countenance to that meeting, but all those persons who give countenance to it, if in its manner illegal, are themselves liable to be punished on that account.' (Vol. i. p. 474.)

The judge had at the very beginning of his charge pointed out that numbers did not make a meeting unlawful.

'I have no difficulty in pointing out to you that it is not because a meeting consists of 60,000 men that it is thought necessarily an unlawful assembly; that numbers may meet under such circumstances as by no means to raise public terror.' (Vol. i. p. 436.)

It is difficult see how a meeting could be more orderly than was this vast assembly of Lancashire working men and women; its numbers were the only terrifying thing about it, and numbers alone, as the judge pointed out, did not make the meeting unlawful. But we must look for the views of the Government to the opening speech for the prosecution. In it Lord Abinger—then Mr. Scarlett—lays down this extreme proposition, altogether antagonistic to that quoted from the judge's charge:—

'Hence it follows, beyond all contradiction, that vast masses of persons assembling under no specific character, under no constituted authority, not called by any public functionary, but upon their own individual free will and choice, or by the call of some demagogue who may exercise a temporary influence over their minds, but has no right to exercise an influence over their actions, connected with no particular trade, affected by no peculiar interest, but taking into their most comprehensive scope all the great principles that support the fabric of the constitution, that persons so assembled, by such means, in such a manner, and with such objects, never can be a lawful assembly by the constitution and law of any country on the face of the earth.' (Vol. i. p. 181.)

The attitude of the Goverment was also evidenced by the extraordinary language of the advocate in regard to the banner inscribed with 'No Corn Laws.' It shows very clearly the long distance public freedom, especially in the expression of opinion and the open demand for social and political reform, has travelled since this great trial took place, and it shows also the thoroughly repressive attitude of the Government in regard to movements—even the most justifiable—for changes vital to the welfare of the people.

'Now we come,' said Scarlett, 'to another of the flags, "No Corn "Laws." Upon that subject, gentlemen, a word or two. We come not here to discuss whether the laws passed by the Legislature on the subject of corn were wise or pernicious. I have my opinions on that subject; it is neither fit nor decorous I should state them to you here. But this I know, that though the most wise of mankind, though the most consummate of legislatures may sometimes pass an unwise law, it would be a most dangerous thing to provoke or to permit the populace to resist that law and to dictate to the Legislature. I will suppose that every one of you, gentlemen, may be as inimical to the Corn Law as every one of that unhappy populace could themselves be. Yet you must agree with me that a mob of 60,000 persons then assembled—and when I say 60,000 I speak in moderation, for some of the defendants have themselves represented them to be 150,000—but to a mob of 60,000, consisting in a great measure of those who were subject to great privation and distress, there could not be a more inflammatory and dangerous exhibition than to present to them in all parts of this field that there should be no more Corn Laws. This was not a declaration to soothe any particular party amongst them; it was a declaration to the whole mob assembled there. What object could it have but to inflame them, and *that* on a topic on which they were not competent to judge, and I think I may say upon which those who instructed them were not competent to instruct them—what object could it have but to inflame their minds?' (Vol. i. p. 193.)

But the Manchester demonstration of 1819 was not only the cause of this memorable State trial, exemplifying the state of public meetings at the time; it was also the cause of the trial of Sir Francis Burdett on a charge of having written a seditious libel. It therefore helped to the illustration of another and similar branch of law. That the facts of the affray in St. Peter's Fields demanded that public attention should be aroused is obvious enough, and this was the address which was issued by Sir Francis Burdett. That personage occupied at that time in the politics of the day somewhat the same position that Mr. Labouchere holds at the present day. He was the parliamentary leader of the extreme Radicals; in some senses he was a man of the world, but he was also a political enthusiast. Mr. Labouchere is also a man of the world, but he has no political enthusiasm. It is, perhaps, a curious political phenomenon of the time that a man who plays at politics as he would at baccarat has been able to obtain the enthusiastic admiration of large numbers of British workmen.

This, then, was the address which Sir Francis issued to the electors of Westminster:—

'Gentlemen,—On reading the newspapers this morning, having arrived

late yesterday evening, I was filled with shame, grief, and indignation at the account of the blood spilt at Manchester. This, then, is the answer of the boroughmongers to the petitioning people, this the practical proof of our standing in no need of Reform; these the practical blessings of our glorious boroughmonger domination, this the use of a standing army in time of peace. It seems our fathers were not such fools as some would make us believe in opposing the establishment of a standing army and sending King William's Dutch guards out of the country. Yet would to Heaven they had been Dutchmen, or Switzers, or Hessians, or Hanoverians, or anything rather than Englishmen, who had done such deeds! What! kill men unarmed, unresisting, and, gracious God! women too, disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on by dragoons [meaning the said troops of our said lord the King, and meaning thereby that divers liege subjects of our said lord the King had been inhumanly cut down, maimed, and killed by the said troops of our said lord the King]. Is this England? this a Christian country? a land of freedom? Can such things be and pass by us like a summer cloud, unheeded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim its owner bastard. Will the gentlemen of England support or wink at such proceedings? They have a great stake in their country. They hold great estates, and they are bound in duty and in honour to consider them as retaining fees on the part of their country, for upholding its rights and liberties. Surely they will at length awake and find they have other duties to perform besides fattening bullocks and planting cabbages. They can never stand tamely by as lookers-on whilst "bloody Neroes" rip open their mother's womb. They must join the general voice, loudly demanding justice and redress, and *head public meetings throughout the United Kingdom to put a stop in its commencement to a reign of terror and of blood, to afford consolation as far as it can* be afforded, and legal redress to the widows and orphans and mutilated victims of this unparalleled and barbarous outrage. For this purpose I propose that a meeting should be called in Westminster, which the gentlemen of the committee will arrange and whose summons I will hold myself in readiness to attend. Whether the penalty of our meeting will be death by military execution I know not; but this I know: a man can die but once, and never better than in vindicating the laws and liberties of his country. Excuse this hasty address; I can scarcely tell what I have written. It may be a libel, or the Attorney-General may call it so, just as he pleases. When the seven bishops were tried for libel, the army of James II., then encamped on Hounslow Heath for supporting arbitrary power, gave three cheers on hearing of their acquittal. The King, startled at the noise, asked, "What's that?" "Nothing, sir," was the answer, "but the soldiers shouting at the acquittal of the seven bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied the misgiving tyrant, and shortly afterwards abdicated the Government. 'Tis true James could not inflict the torture on his soldiers—could not tear the living flesh from their bones with a cat o' nine tails—could not flay them alive. Be this as it may our duty is to meet, and "England expects "every man to do his duty." I remain gentlemen, most truly and faith-

fully your most obedient servant, F. Burdett, Kirby Park, August 22, 1819.'

For this publication Burdett was tried on a charge of having issued a seditious libel, was convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of 2,000*l.* and to be imprisoned for three months. That it is the address of a demagogue is obvious in every line, but its practical object was to protest against the repression of freedom of public meeting and discussion. No amount of foolish rhodomontade about death and military execution could make the subject of the address other than it was stated to be. There was not a word which could be regarded as tending to occasion acts of violence. Burdett demanded 'legal redress' for the various victims of the outrage. To call the intervention of the military an outrage was no doubt at the time regarded by the Home Office as unjustifiable. But how often is not the enforcement of public order at the present day denounced as an outrage with impunity?

As Sir Fitzjames Stephen, in his 'History of the Criminal 'Law,' has truly said, 'in this country and on this question 'the time for prosecuting political libels has passed, and 'does not seem likely to return within any definable period.' That the complete freedom which now exists of political libel and slander may some day cause a violent revulsion of public feeling on this subject is not beyond the bounds of probability; and it is equally certain that true social and political progress is often hindered by this license of public speech. On the other hand it is necessary to recognise the fact that political prosecutions for even the most outrageous statements are apt to make those who are punished political martyrs in the eyes of many, and that, so long as seditious language does not clearly and actually tend to breaches of public order, it is best punished by indifference. It is interesting in any event to observe the enunciation of the law of seditious libel which is to be found in the charge of Mr. Justice Best.

'A question,' he says, 'is made whether they [the words published] show an intention to instruct by appealing to the judgement, or to irritate and excite to sedition in the language of the information—in other words, whether they appeal to the sense or the passions. You will apply your minds to the paper, and if you think the paper is written to communicate instruction, and with proper respect to decency and speaking as he ought of the transactions that have taken place, though there should be some little intemperance of expression do not say it is a libel. But, on the other hand, if you find it begins with a

statement which the writer cannot know to be true or false, if you find it states many things not correct, if you find it an appeal to the passions of the lower orders of the people and not having a tendency to inform those who can correct abuses, it is a libel. Gentlemen, I have looked at the paper; and it is my duty under the Act of Parliament to assist you with my opinion, whether it is a libel or not. You are to say whether you will adopt that opinion or not. Collect the facts from the evidence, and, unless you are satisfied that I am wrong, you will take the law from me. I have no hesitation in telling you this is a libel, and all the consequences stated on the face of the information are to be inferred from the contents of that libel.' (Vol. i. p. 50.)

This charge, stringent as the law was, seems to go beyond its strict bounds; and it is noticeable that in the head note prefixed by the editor to the case, containing the essence of the summing up, it is stated that the question was whether the address was an appeal to the reasons or to the passions 'calculated to make to acts of violence and outrage.' That addition appears to convey the charge much more than in the letter of the law, though it is not to be found either directly or indirectly in the charge as we read it. But the fact is that it is not the law which has changed, but the views of the country in regard to the enforcement of it. 'If the natural and necessary consequence of any word, 'deed, or writing be to subvert our laws and constitution, 'and to excite or promote dissatisfaction and discontent 'amongst the people, a criminal intent will be presumed, 'and the author is guilty of sedition.' This is the statement of Mr. Odgers in his book on 'Libel and Slander,' now a recognised standard work; it was at one time sound law, but law which, were it now enforced by an administration, would certainly cause its overthrow. There is, perhaps, no more curious or characteristic historical phenomenon than this disuse of the existing law of seditious libel. It is an instance of the way in which English institutions have become moulded to the wants and the ideas of the people, and of the unsystematic form of our constitutional law. The case law on the subject remains unrepealed either by parliamentary enactment or by judicial reversal; yet it is, in fact, as obsolete as if it had been swept away by statute or by a decision of the highest court of appeal.

The crime of publishing a seditious libel is altogether the creation of common law. By the common law as applied to the constitution many things are allowable in theory which in practice would provoke something like a revolution. The Crown has theoretically a right to dismiss its ministers. George III., and even William IV., exercised this power,

which would be impossible at the present day. In 1704 Lord Holt, in the case of Regina *v.* Tutchin, said, 'If 'persons should not be called to account for possessing the 'people with an ill opinion of the Government, no govern-'ment can subsist; for it is very necessary for all govern-'ment that the people should have a good opinion of it.' The fact is that the law of seditious libel grew out of the actual relations of the sovereign to the people. To speak too critically of the king's ministers, the servants of the sovereign, was to speak against the king; and, as every student of constitutional law learns at the beginning of his studies, 'the king can do no wrong.' It was a crime to question the policy of the sovereign; thus it is that the law of seditious libel is connected with the personal power of the Crown. But when ministers and the administration generally came to be regarded as owing their existence to the pleasure of the people, and when the House of Commons is the real repository of power, three-fourths of the groundwork of seditious libel and of seditious meeting is cut away. Men have a right to discuss their own affairs, to criticise the acts of their servants. Public speaking, public writing, and public meeting become a necessary part of the machinery of the constitution, and the bounds of that free expression can scarcely now be defined. According to Sir Fitzjames Stephen—and there can be no higher authority on the point—'nothing short of direct incitement to disorder and violence 'is a seditious libel.' * But the authors of many publications, which are direct incitements to violence, are never prosecuted; so that, as we have said, the bounds of freedom of expression can scarcely be stated.

This great constitutional change has occurred in the last fifty years, more especially in the ten years covered by the volumes before us. In 1820 Sir Francis Burdett was convicted for his harmless but ill-worded address to the electors of Westminster; in 1831 William Cobbett † was tried for publishing a seditious libel and was not convicted, the jury being unable to agree what Mr. Cobbett's real intentions were, and whether the address to the labourers of Hampshire and Wiltshire, which he published in the 'Weekly Register' under the heading of 'Rural War,' was calculated to encourage disorder by showing that the destruction of machinery had produced benefits to the labourers. The different results

* History of Criminal Law, vol. ii. p. 375.
† Trial of W. Cobbett, vol. ii. p. 798.

of the two trials illustrate the change which has come over public opinion, and which has altered constitutional practice.

In the minds of the judges of past times there was a distinct connexion between sedition and blasphemy. 'Every man,' said Mr. Justice Best in Sir Francis Burdett's case, 'may fearlessly advance any new doctrines, provided 'he does so with proper respect to the religion and govern-'ment of the country.' *

There are other instances to be found pointing to the same judicial tendency. It has necessarily followed that as freedom of discussion in regard to political questions has become greater, so also has it increased in regard to religion. But while freedom of political discussion has distinctly grown in many respects into unrestrained political licence, freedom of religious discussion has by its extension reached reasonable bounds—bounds which have sometimes been academically accepted on the bench, though in reality and in practice they had, until our own day, been very much narrowed.

The trial of Mary Ann Carlile, which is printed in the first volume of the new series (p. 1034), appears to be an example of the conflict of theory and practice. The charge of the judge contains this passage, which theoretically allows any amount of freedom of discussion in a respectful form:—

> 'But all persons are required, if they think it proper to enter upon a discussion of this sort, to do it with the respect that all ought to bear for that religion which is professed by the great body of the community, for it is upon that religion that you and I administer justice. What is the obligation upon which we proceed? Upon the solemn sanction of an oath. Take away the reverence for religion, and there is an end at once of that obligation. If, therefore, it is to be permitted to anybody to question the truth of Christianity, it must be done with respect; even if you call it a prejudice it is a prejudice of a great body of the British public. It will be for you to say whether this is discussed with that sort of reverence.' (Vol. i. p. 1046.)

The test of respectful discussion appears, by a passage in a succeeding page, to be whether a person 'attempts not to 'argue, but to vilify and degrade, to excite prejudices in 'our minds, and not to convince our judgement.'

Miss Carlile was, however, found guilty of blasphemy, practically according to the directions of the judge to that

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* See also Bayley, J. vol. i. p. 1050.

effect. The passage which appears in the indictment is as follows:—

'Archbishop Tillotson says, "The difference between the style of "the Old and New Testament is so very remarkable that one of the "greatest sects in the primitive times did upon this very ground found "their heresy of two Gods, the one evil, fierce, and cruel, whom they "called the God of the Old Testament. The other was good, kind, and "merciful, whom they called the God of the New Testament. So great "a difference is there between the representations that are given of God "in the books of the Jewish and Christian religion as to give at least "some colour and pretence to an imagination of two Gods." Thus far Tillotson. But the case was that, as the Church had picked out several passages from the Old Testament which she most absurdly and falsely calls prophecies of Jesus Christ (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ), whereas there is no prophecy of any such person, as any one may see by examining the passages and the cases to which they apply, she was under the necessity of keeping up the credit of the Old Testament, because if that fell the other (meaning that part of the Holy Bible called the New Testament) would soon follow, and the Christian system of faith would soon be at an end. As a book of morals there are several parts of the New Testament that are good, but they are no other than what had been preached in the Eastern world several hundred years before Christ was born. Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, who died five hundred years before the time of Christ (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ), says, "Acknowledge thy benefits "by the return of benefits, but never revenge injuries." The clergy in Popish countries were cunning enough to know that if the Old Testament was made public the fallacy of the new (meaning that part of the Holy Bible called the New Testament) with respect to Christ (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ) would be detected, and they prohibited the use of it, and always took it away wherever they found it. The Deists, on the contrary, always encouraged the reading of it, that people might see and judge for themselves that a book (meaning that part of the Holy Bible called the Old Testament) so full of contradictions and wickedness could not be the word of God, and that we dishonour God by ascribing it to Him.' (Vol. i. p. 1035.)

Though the line of argument is weak and in bad taste, the passage may fairly be regarded as an argument, and not merely as an attempt 'to vilify and degrade' Christianity. If it was so the prisoner should have been acquitted, instead of which she was convicted.

In 1822 one Samuel Waddington was also convicted for blasphemy in consequence of having written the following passage:—

'Moses and Mahomet governed their followers with a rod of iron and a military despotism. They were savage and ferocious men, crafty and intriguing, and they knew how to subject to their will the stupid

but unfortunate followers who were devoted to their views. If Jesus (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ) was more mild, benevolent, and temperate, it was because He had less power, and because His disposition was less cruel and resentful. His followers when clothed with power have not paid a very high compliment to their Master, for the history of their *own* conduct evinces the most malignant design, and the earth has been drenched in blood to defend that system of religion of which the meek and lowly Jesus (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ) is reputed to be the Author. The Christian religion is a compound and combination of all the theological writings of the followers of Moses and Jesus (meaning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ). We have no evidence that either of these men wrote any part either of the Old or New Testament. From Genesis to the Apocalypse of St. John a vast variety of fact, fable, principle, wickedness, and error is exhibited to view. The book (meaning the Holy Bible) though bound together appears to be in many respects discordant. The historical part has no accurate connexion. The moral part is distorted, deficient, or wicked. The doctrinal parts are either unintelligible or contrary to moral and philosophical truth.' (Vol. i. p. 1340.)

There were some other isolated passages stated in the indictment, much more objectionable than that quoted, such as 'Moses, Mahomet, and Jesus were all of them impostors, 'two of them notorious murderers in practice and the other 'a murderer in principle.' But the main passage relied on appears to have been the more lengthy one quoted above, and this, though it would naturally offend Christians, simply treated the Bible as an uninspired book. At the present day no law officer and no government would for a moment entertain the idea of prosecuting a writer for such a sentence as that quoted at length above. No doubt to describe Jesus Christ as an impostor and a murderer would still be blasphemous; but it is important to notice that in Waddington's case the prisoner was convicted generally on the entire indictment, and that Lord Tenterden directed the jury that 'any publication in which our Saviour is spoken 'of in the language used in the publication for which the 'defendant was prosecuted was a libel.'

When a new trial was refused by the Court of Queen's Bench, neither Mr. Justice Holroyd nor Mr. Justice Best said anything about the words 'impostor' and 'murderer;' they speak 'of the language used in the work.' Mr. Justice Best goes further, and speaks of the Christian religion being the basis of the law. It therefore seems to be clear that though Lord Tenterden and Mr. Justice Bayley may have accentuated the words 'impostor' and 'murderer,' the whole of the passage was regarded by the Court as

blasphemous. To emphasise the advance which has been made in regard to the freedom of religious discussions, it is only necessary to turn from these cases to that against Mr. Bradlaugh and Messrs. Ramsay and Foote in 1883.

Lord Coleridge, in Bradlaugh and Ramsay's cases, approved the law as stated in Starkie on 'Libel,' the following being the cardinal passage: 'A wilful intention to pervert, 'insult, and mislead others by means of licentious and con-'tumelious abuse applied to sacred subjects, or by wilful 'misrepresentations or wilful sophistry calculated to mislead 'the ignorant and unwary, is the criterion and test of guilt.'* The Chief Justice also laid down the law himself in these words: 'If the decencies of controversy are observed, even 'the fundamentals of religion may be attacked without the 'writer being guilty of blasphemy.'†

There is in reality nothing antagonistic between this passage and that already cited from the charge of Mr. Justice Best in Carlile's case; but it differs from numerous dicta in the same case of Carlile, and from the general tenor of the summing up in the same case. To attack the fundamentals of religion was essentially repugnant at one time to the judicial mind. 'We interfere only where the very root of 'Christianity is struck,' said Lord Raymond in 1729. Sometimes, as we have said, the judicial mind grew more tolerant. 'If,' to quote another passage from the charge of Mr. Justice Best in Carlile's case (vol. i. p. 1046), 'it is permitted to 'question the truth of religion, it must be done with that sort 'of respect which a man ought to feel living in a Christian 'country.' But this tolerant spirit was generally negatived by opposing words on the same day.

But now, if prosecutions for blasphemy were initiated—and materials exist all over the country—it would be probably found that we have gone further, and that men would be acquitted who do not attack Christianity respectfully. The disagreement of the jury in the case of Ramsay and Foote in 1883, when prosecuted on a charge of blasphemy, showed the leaning of the popular opinion, and it may be safely said that the law of blasphemy is rapidly falling into the limbo of legal curiosities.

Turning to quite another subject, those who are interested in problems of constitutional history will find a considerable amount of noteworthy material in the report of the proceedings before the Privy Council on Queen Caroline's claim to

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* Starkie on 'Libel,' p. 597. † 15 Cox, 'C. C.' p. 238.

be crowned with George IV. in 1821. It is difficult at the present time to appreciate the enthusiasm with which the part of Queen Caroline was espoused by a large number of people. She had neither mental, moral, nor personal qualities of an attractive kind, and the only ground for enthusiasm on her behalf was that she was the wife of a very bad husband. Hence in these days the proceedings in regard to this claim have lost all personal interest, and must be considered solely from a constitutional point of view. In this aspect this trial—for such it was—has permanent historical value; it settled once for all the status of the Queen Consort, and defined her right to be crowned. That the claim, when the arguments of the Queen's advocates and the counsel for the Crown are perused, was clearly inadmissible does not take away from the value of the decision. No doubt the historical student, if judicially minded, would, without the judgement of the Privy Council, have been able to state the constitutional proposition correctly; but there would not have been in existence a political imprimatur on a point of constitutional law—a thing, we may observe in passing, of rarity in this country, where, unlike the United States, constitutional questions are seldom brought before a court of law.

But in this respect this case has one shortcoming. The judgement of the Privy Council simply rejected the claim of Queen Caroline without giving reasons for so doing. It would have added much to the interest of the case had the elaborate arguments of Brougham and Denman on the one hand, and Sir R. Gifford, the Attorney-General, and Sir J. Copley, the Solicitor-General, on the other, been followed by an equally elaborate judgement of the court. The question for decision of the Privy Council, and which has been set at rest by the judgement, was put concisely and clearly by Brougham at the very beginning of his speech.

> 'The question is,' he said, 'whether or not the queen consort of this realm is entitled as of right to be crowned when the king celebrates the solemnity of his coronation; and this is a question of constitutional law to be determined by the principles which regulate public rights.' (Vol. i. p. 956.)

The basis of Brougham's argument was a usage extending from the time of the Norman Conquest; the weakness of it consisted in the fact that there were exceptions to the general usage or rule. In order to overcome this difficulty he was obliged to resort to the destructive argument that

'if it be granted that in those cases when the proof exists not there was no coronation, they must in all fair reasoning be taken as exceptions to a very general rule, and we are bound to presume that they would be so explained as to bring them within the rule if we knew the whole facts.' (P. 971.)

How little this argument impressed as it proceeded an acute mind, and one naturally prone to look with favour at what may be called constitutional arguments, is shown by an extract from Lord Eldon's Life, which the editor appositely places in a note. Eldon writes thus:—

'I have been at the Privy Council all the morning, hearing Brougham argue the claim of the Queen to be crowned. His argument seemed to most there to prove the very reverse of any such claim as a right. She claims to be crowned with the King on the same day and at the same place. William the Conqueror's queen was crowned two years after he was crowned; Henry I.'s queen, ditto; Stephen's queen, ditto; Richard I.'s queen, crowned abroad; John's queen, not crowned with him, but crowned; Henry III.'s queen, not with him, but afterwards alone; Edward III.'s queen, crowned alone; Henry IV.'s queen, not crowned with him; Henry V.'s, ditto; Henry VI.'s queen, not crowned with him, but alone; Henry VII.'s queen, crowned long after him; Henry VIII., some of his queens crowned, some not crowned; Charles I., his queen not crowned at all; Charles II., his queen not crowned at all; George II.'s queen, or George I.'s—I am not sure which—not crowned at all.' (Vol. i. note *a*, p. 1025.)

From the supposed rule Brougham deduced the doctrine that the coronation of the queen consort had a practical constitutional object—namely, the affirmation of the validity of the marriage and of the legitimacy of the offspring.

'Crowning the queen,' he stated, 'perpetuated the testimony of the marriage, on the validity of which depended the purity of the succession to the throne, and on the undisputed acknowledgement of which depended the safety and peacefulness of that succession. . .

'It follows from these positions that, though the reason of the thing may long since have ceased as to the king's coronation, yet it remains in some sort to this day with respect to the queen's; for, happily, there has long ceased to be any semblance of election in this monarchy, and the only vestige that remains of it is the coronation ceremony. But doubts may exist as to the validity of a king's marriage; and as celebrating the coronation of the consort tends to make the testimony of it public and perpetual, so omitting, and still more the withholding that solemnity, has a tendency to raise suspicions against the marriage, and to cast imputations upon the legitimacy of the issue, contrary to the genius and policy of the law.' (Vol. i. pp. 976, 977.)

The proposition of the counsel for the Crown was that the usage did not arise 'from any right inherent in the queens-

'consort which they are entitled to demand, but has been 'a mere ceremony or honour performed to them at the will 'and pleasure of the reigning sovereign,' * or, as stated more rhetorically by Lyndhurst, 'the coronation of queens-'consort is not the use and enjoyment of an adverse claim, 'but the use and enjoyment and exercise of a privilege and 'honour by the authority, at the sufferance, and by the 'command of the Crown.'

These propositions were, in fact, affirmed by the judgement of the Privy Council; that they are correct in point of constitutional law after a perusal of the adverse speeches, containing as they do the history of the coronation or non-coronation of the queens of England, cannot be doubted. We have them exemplified in a concrete form in the language of Lord Bacon when he states that 'for some time Henry VII. did 'not so much as proceed to the coronation of the Queen, not 'vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown;' but finally 'he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of 'the Queen.' They therefore now stand as part of the constitutional law of England, but, strange as it might seem to a foreigner or to one not conversant with the curiously unwritten rules of English common law and English constitutional law, never definitely settled for eight centuries of our history, and finally formulated in consequence only of the obstinate hostility of a half-mad queen to one of the most worthless sovereigns who ever ascended the throne of England.

We will now notice a case which, though it occupies but a couple of pages, is of considerable interest and one which may yet have important practical effects. It is the case of De Wütz *v.* Hendricks, in which Lord Wynford, then Chief Justice Best, decided that 'it was contrary 'to the law of nations for persons in England to enter into 'engagements to raise money to support the subjects of a 'Government in amity with our own in hostilities against 'their Government.'

It is clear that this dictum, delivered on the somewhat one-sided occasion of a motion for a new trial, based on points not connected with this statement of the law, may at any moment have practical results at the present day, when the whole of South America is covered with governments, some of which, as has recently become obvious, are not of the most stable character, and when it is to this

* Vol. i. p. 982.

country that application is first made for money. That the dictum is right cannot be doubted, but care must be taken not to suppose that the principle of law laid down by Lord Wynford is an authority against the practice of making loans to a belligerent power by subjects of a neutral nation. The reason of the decision is that it is contrary to international comity to assist those who are rebelling against a friendly power. As soon as rebels are recognised as an independent state, then subjects of a neutral nation may lend them money. This ground of the decision has been recognised in the American courts; the question arose whether a loan to Texas before its independence was recognised by the United States was lawful, though it had declared itself at the time to be independent of Mexico. It was decided that it was illegal until the formal recognition of Texas by the Government of the United States had taken place. Reference was made in this judgement to the decision of Lord Wynford upon this particular ground. But the late Sir R. Phillimore in his voluminous work on 'International Law' seems to regard this case as an authority for the proposition that loans to a belligerent state are contrary to the law of nations, whereas if a loan to foreigners at war was in itself illegal it would have been unnecessary to emphasise, as Lord Wynford does, the fact that it was a loan to subjects 'in hostilities against their 'own government.' As regards the larger question, it is enough to state that the practice of nations has sanctioned the raising of loans by belligerents in neutral states. Two loans—the French Morgan Loan and the North German Confederation Loan—were issued in England during the Franco-German war, and in June 1823, the year previous to Lord Wynford's decision, the law officers of the Crown gave an opinion, which is printed in the appendix to the second volume of the new 'State Trials,' that a real loan, that is to say, not a gift under colour of lending by subjects of a neutral nation to a belligerent power, was not a breach of neutrality, though gratuitous subscriptions were illegal. Various writers on international law have otherwise stated the law, and, as, to use a popular phrase, 'money is the sinews of war,' there appears to be greater force in the views of those who hold that loans are illegal than some other writers, such as Mr. W. E. Hall, allow. There is not a strict analogy between money and other harmless articles of commerce. But be that as it may, and whatever be the divergent opinions of learned persons, international practice has now settled that loans to a belligerent state by the subjects of a neutral power

are lawful, whilst the Supreme Court of the United States in Kennett *v.* Chambers and the Court of Common Pleas in England by the mouth of Lord Wynford in De Wütz *v.* Hendricks declared that loans to subjects of a friendly state in rebellion against their government are illegal.

We may now pass on to a trial of a character altogether different from any one of those which we have yet noticed, viz. that of the Devon peerage claim in 1831. The family of Courtenay was one of great antiquity, but it had a chequered history. The first of the race is said to be Altho (A.D. 1020), a French knight, from whom descended a numerous and distinguished race, two of whom, 'Robert and Baldwin, 'successively held and lost the remains of the Latin Empire 'in the East.' Some of the family, like that of others of the French nobles, obtained rank and land in England, and on the failure of the male issue of the family of De Redvers, Earls of Devon, Sir Hugh Courtenay, in the ninth year of the reign of Edward III., was allowed to hold the earldom. It is from him that the Courtenays, Earls of Devon, derive their descent. Thomas Courtenay, the sixth Earl, was attainted and beheaded in the first year of the reign of Edward IV.; his two brothers perished in these same terrible times, the one on the scaffold, the other at Tewkesbury. In 1509, however, Sir Edward Courtenay was created Earl of Devon by Henry VII.; but his grandson Henry, who had been created Marquis of Exeter, was attainted and beheaded in the thirty-first year of Henry VIII.'s reign. But in 1553 his son, Sir Edward Courtenay, was created Earl of Devon by a patent to hold to him 'et hæredibus suis masculis 'imperpetuum' (to his male heirs for ever); but three years later the new earl died without issue, and no one of his family attempted to secure his title. It then remained in abeyance until a Committee of Privileges of the House of Lords in 1831 declared that William, then Viscount Courtenay, who traced his descent back to the second Earl of Devon in the reign of Edward III., was entitled to the earldom, and thus an ancient peerage, which had apparently disappeared for ever, was renewed and still exists. That a title so famous should then have been renewed must always be a satisfaction to every one not dead to the continuity of our history and proud of the makers of the English nation.

'In war,' writes Gibbon in a digression on this ancient family, 'the Courtenays of England fulfilled the duties, and deserved the honours, of chivalry. They were often entrusted to levy and command the militia of Devonshire and Cornwall; they often attended their

supreme lord to the borders of Scotland; and in foreign service, for a stipulated price, they sometimes maintained fourscore men at arms and as many archers. By sea and land they fought under the standard of the Edwards and Henrys; their names are conspicuous in battles, in tournaments, and in the original list of the Order of the Garter. Three brothers shared the Spanish victory of the Black Prince, and in the lapse of six generations the English Courtenays had learned to despise the nation and country from which they derived their origin. In the quarrel of the Two Roses the Earls of Devon adhered to the House of Lancaster, and three brothers successively died either in the field or on the scaffold. Their honours and estates were restored by Henry VII.; a daughter of Edward IV. was not disgraced by the nuptials of a Courtenay; their son, who was created Marquis of Exeter, enjoyed the favour of his cousin Henry VIII., and in the camp of the Cloth of Gold he broke a lance against the French monarch. But the favour of Henry was the prelude of disgrace; his disgrace was the signal of death, and of the victims of the jealous tyrant the Marquis of Exeter is one of the most noble and guiltless. His son Edward lived a prisoner in the Tower and died an exile at Padua; and the secret love of Queen Mary, whom he slighted—perhaps for the Princess Elizabeth—has shed a romantic colour on the story of this beautiful youth. The relics of his patrimony were conveyed into strange families by the marriages of his four aunts; and his personal honours, as if they had been legally extinct, were revived by the patents of succeeding princes. But there still survived a lineal descendant of Hugh, the first Earl of Devon, a younger branch of the Courtenays, who have been seated at Powderham Castle above four hundred years, from the reign of Edward III. to the present hour. Their estates have been increased by the grant and improvement of lands in Ireland, and they have been recently restored to the honours of the peerage. Yet the Courtenays still retain the plaintive motto which asserts the innocence and deplores the fall of their ancient house. While they sigh for past greatness they are doubtless sensible of present blessings. In the long series of the Courtenay annals the most splendid era is likewise the most unfortunate; nor can an opulent peer of Britain be inclined to envy the emperors of Constantinople, who wandered over Europe to solicit alms for the support of their dignity and the defence of their capital.' *

So far, except for the historical interest which attaches to this earldom and for the manner in which it had been extinguished and revived, there would not to the layman appear anything remarkable about this particular claim.

It must, therefore, be pointed out that a creation of a peerage to heirs male generally is altogether unusual; there are only six instances of such a creation in our history, including that of the earldom of Devon—namely, the earldoms of Oxford and Wiltes, and the baronies of Hoo and Hastings, Richmont Grey and Egremont in the reign of

* Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' ch. lxi.

Henry VI. In all other cases the creation of the grants to heirs male has been limited to the heirs male of the body of the original grantee. In an ordinary case, therefore, Lord Courtenay's claim would have been on the face of it invalid, since he did not claim as a direct descendant of the last earl. But having regard to the wording of the patent, his claim was clearly valid if the grant itself in these words was good. The point, therefore, which the Committee of Privileges had to decide was whether such a creation was a legal one, thus involving indirectly an interesting constitutional and antiquarian question as to the power of the Crown in the creation of peerages. The decision of the case rested with Lord Brougham, then Lord Chancellor, and Lord Wynford, formerly Lord Chief Justice Best, and their judgement was favourable to Lord Courtenay's claim. If the matter had rested there, it would have been stated as a proposition of constitutional law that a general creation such as that in the Devon peerage case was within the power of the Crown; but, by a singular freak of chance, in 1869 Mr. Scrope, of Danby, claimed the earldom of Wiltes on exactly the same grounds as Lord Courtenay had claimed that of Devon. The case will of course appear in a future volume of the 'State Trials,' but it is necessary for us to anticipate its publication, so closely connected is it with the Devon peerage case.* But the claimant in the Wiltes case had not the good fortune of his predecessor, and his claim was declared to be invalid, not because he could not show his lineage, but because a grant 'hæredibus suis masculis in perpetuum' was not within the power of the Crown.

'The creation presents itself,' said Lord Chelmsford in delivering his judgement, 'in the simplest and clearest manner, whether it is competent to the Crown to give to a dignity a second-rate quality unknown to the law, and thereby to introduce a new species of inheritance and succession. The question put in this way seems to answer itself. The Crown can have no such power unless there is something so peculiar in a dignity so entirely within the province of the Crown to mould at its pleasure that a limitation void as to every other subject of grant is good and valid in the creation of a peerage. No one has pushed the argument to this extravagant length. Yet, if any one limitation which the law prohibits in the grant of property may be applied by the Crown to the grant of a dignity, it is difficult to see how you can stop short of holding that there is no restriction upon the Crown's establishing any order of succession to a dignity, however novel and extraordinary.'

* The case is reported in 'Law Reports,' 4 English and Irish Appeals, p. 126, *sub. nom.* the Wiltes Peerage Claim.

This was essentially a purely legal view of the question. Lord Chelmsford admitted the intention of the king to make the grant in the terms in which it appeared in the patent, but he refused to allow that in so doing the king was acting within the limits of his constitutional power. In the Devon peerage case Lord Brougham took what may for convenience be called the common-sense view of the subject. It is a well-worn *mot* that had Lord Brougham known a little law he would have known a little of everything, and it is possible that by this decision in the Devon case he demonstrated its truth. But no one ever regarded Lord Wynford as other than a thoroughly sound lawyer, and it is curious that he too should have gone astray. Lord Colonsay and Lord Redesdale, who delivered a judgement in the same terms as Lord Chelmsford, cannot, it should also be observed, be regarded as higher authorities than Lord Wynford. Lord Brougham discarded the analogy between legal principles which affect land and those which affect dignities. 'The principles which govern the question,' he said, 'do not 'at all apply to the law of real property.' To some extent this premiss gave him a free hand, but it was, in the light of the Wiltes peerage case and of a still more recent one, a bad foundation.

'I will remind your Lordships,' said Lord Cairns in the case of the Buckhurst peerage,'that with regard to peerages it is the well-established and constitutional law of the country that a peerage partaking of the qualities of real estate must be made in its limitations by the Crown, so far as it is descendible—descendible in a course known to the law.'

But in their judgement in the Devon peerage case Lords Brougham and Wynford broke away from this principle. Freed from it, Lord Brougham could appeal to an unfettered judgement. 'There is evidently nothing whatever in 'reason,' he stated, 'against the general limitation which 'includes collaterals.' Of course when Lord Brougham came to ground his decision on reason it was obvious which way his judgement would go, because, looked at in this way, a peerage limited to heirs male generally was perfectly reasonable, and according to Lord Wynford 'in a constitu-'tional view there was no objection to such a grant.' From the point of view taken by Lord Chelmsford there were, on the other hand, distinct constitutional reasons against it. The practical results of this difference of judicial opinion are curious. If the decision in the Wiltes peerage case is right, then Lord Courtenay's family enjoy the earldom of Devon illegally, and one of the oldest and most famous peer-

ages in England ought to be extinct. Of course if that decision is wrong—which, however, we cannot suppose it to be—then Mr. Scrope's family are unjustly deprived of the earldom of Wiltes. Fortunately this anomaly has in the circumstances done no harm, but it raises a curious question in regard to the House of Lords, viz. whether there ought not to be some finality in the decisions of the committees of privileges. As a rule they are concerned simply with questions of descent and not with points of law, but the antagonistic decisions in the Devon peerage and the Wiltes peerage claims show the necessity for one committee to treat the decisions of another with something more than that academic respect which is most marked when a previous decision is regarded as being wrong. But we can do no more than touch on this point; its discussion at length would be germane rather to an essay on the reform of the House of Lords than to one on the state trials of modern times. It is enough to point out that the contrast between the results of the Devon peerage claim and the Wiltes peerage claim raise the question in the clearest possible way and form one of the curiosities of our constitutional law.

The trials on which we have more particularly commented will have sufficiently indicated the value of these volumes. Yet neither they, nor those which are to follow, can have the kind of romantic interest which surrounds the older series, as well as the selection of cases from the state trials which began to be issued from the Cambridge University Press in 1879 and 1882, under the editorship of Mr. Willis-Bund, and which is yet uncompleted. For those contain, in one shape or another, some of the most striking episodes in our history. The Popish plot of 1678, for example, is altogether different in what we may call its romantic aspects from the rather commonplace incidents which form the subject of these volumes, and the pathetic interest of Raleigh's trial is unmatched. But we live in a more prosaic period than our ancestors of 'the spacious 'times of great Elizabeth,' yet the very contrast between the characteristics of the old and the new series arising from the differences of the periods shows the value of properly compiled volumes of state trials. They are fountains of constitutional law, and they are solid facts for us to seize upon amidst the comments and the opinions of writers whose power to interest is often greatest when their judgement and their inferences are most at fault.

ART. IV.—*In Darkest Africa; or, the Quest, Rescue, and Retreat of Emin, Governor of Equatoria.* By HENRY M. STANLEY, M.R.G.S. Two volumes, 8vo. London: 1890.

IT would be a work of supererogation to render an account in these pages of a book which has been read more universally and with deeper interest than any other publication of the present year; and it would be invidious to enter upon an elaborate criticism of personal details which rather impair than adorn the magnificent record of Mr. Stanley's achievements. Taken as a whole there is nothing in the narratives of ancient or modern travel which surpasses it in courage, in perseverance, and in resource under circumstances the most wild and exceptional ever encountered by man. It has fallen to the lot of Mr. Stanley to open the darkest region of the globe—a region so dark that even in the present age its very existence was unknown—and it may be said that, as nothing but the most dauntless spirit of enterprise could take an explorer into such a wilderness, so nothing but unparalleled judgement, tact, and endurance could have brought him out of it.

There are many men eager to engage in the most desperate enterprises, but there are very few who possess the amazing combination of qualities necessary to carry them to a successful end. Mr. Stanley had the good fortune to be attended by a small band of followers whose energy did not fall short of his own, as long as they worked beside him and under his orders; those who formed his rear guard, or who were sent on detached services, were less capable of self-guidance. But the personal character of the leader towers above them all, and the signal honours which have been showered on Mr. Stanley since his return are the recognition by his countrymen and the world of qualities which are so rare and so eminent that they amount to greatness. No words of ours can add to his fame, but we should feel that we neglected a welcome task if we omitted to pay our tribute of applause to duties so manfully performed.

It is more within our own competency to remark that, in addition to the gifts of a great commander, to which we shall have occasion to advert, Mr. Stanley has shown in these volumes a remarkable degree of literary ability. To compose such a work within a few weeks, in the climate of Egypt, immediately after a most exhausting journey by sea and land, was a task of no small difficulty; and within

an incredibly short time—as he informs us, *within fifty days* —it was performed. Here and there we discover a few signs of haste; but no traveller has ever described his wanderings and adventures in a more perspicuous narrative, or in a more captivating style. The descriptions of the scenery of the dark forest, whether in sunshine or storm, are singularly picturesque and eloquent. He brings before our eyes the groups of malicious pigmies who track his march like the demons of the wood; and from time to time a reflection drops from him which shows a depth of feeling, a faith in his mission, and a sympathy with the dusky savages about him that savour of inspiration. The power to do great things consists in the union of minute administrative ability with a lofty and, so to speak, poetical conception of a grand object; but even then it is not always that the men who do these things can describe them.

The interest which has attached itself in recent years to the wilds of Africa suggests a comparison, or rather an instructive contrast, between the travels of David Livingstone and the expeditions of Henry Stanley. The ultimate purpose they had in view, and steadily pursued, was the same. It was to open unknown Africa to civilisation and mankind. But no two men could be more unlike, or more dissimilar in their methods of procedure. Livingstone advanced through Africa like an apostle—we had almost said a prophet. No deeds of violence marked his course. If danger threatened he avoided it by a temporary retreat, or disarmed it by the magical influence of his persuasive language. His followers were comparatively few in number. His desire was to gain the ear and touch the heart of the native tribes and their chiefs; and it must be said that the regions through which he passed were far less barbarous and savage than those of 'Darkest Africa.' The motive power of his life was, in the touching words inscribed upon his tomb, 'the hope to help to heal the great sore of the world.' The result was that his fame and influence spread abroad like those of a saint; and as he journeyed onwards he dropped the seeds of his own pure faith in the belief that he was spreading the light of the Gospel amongst a down-trodden and benighted race.

The expedition of which Mr. Stanley was the chief was not undertaken with any view to the conversion of the heathen or the advancement of trade. Nor was it a mission of geographical exploration, like those of his illustrious precursors, Speke, Baker, and Drummond, although by a

singular piece of good fortune he was enabled to see and to describe the mighty mountain range of Ruwenzori, which, veiled in clouds, had escaped their observation even when they were within sight of it. This discovery alone is one of the most important collateral results of the expedition, for it throws a new light on the Semliki valley and the highest sources of the Nile, from which the great lakes derive a portion of their huge volume of water. But these are secondary matters, although they add materially to the interest of the work before us and to the beauty of its illustrations. The primary object of the expedition was to convey a large supply of ammunition* to the relief of the beleaguered Egyptian forces in Equatorial Africa, whose communications with their base had been cut off by the fall of Khartoum, and secondly to afford to Emin Pasha, the governor of the province, means, which were entirely wanting to him, to evacuate his position and reach the eastern coast. It was, therefore, to all intents and purposes a military campaign, and the measures taken by Mr. Stanley in his order of the day of June 26, 1887, regulating the march of his advance column, are plainly those of an army in the field entering upon a long march through an enemy's country. The actual number of the forces engaged was small in comparison with the difficulties to be surmounted, but large in relation to the absence of all means of subsistence, except such as could be picked up on the road. The strength of the advanced column was 389 natives, commanded by five European officers and armed with 367 rifles. The rear-guards at Yambuya and Bolobo, which, however, failed to advance from the want of carriers, were 129 and 131 men respectively, chiefly Soudanese and Zanzibaris. If the carriers promised by Tippoo-Tib had arrived to bring on the whole of the baggage, they would have added 600 men to the rear column. Mr. Stanley was perfectly aware of the resistance he would have to encounter.

'A conception of the character of more than half of the country to be traversed may be had by glancing at our surroundings. It will be

* The quantity of ammunition actually delivered to Emin Pasha on January 17, 1889, by the second instalment of relief consisted of sixty-three cases of Remington cartridges, twenty-six cases of gunpowder, each forty-five pounds weight, besides cases of percussion-caps and other articles. This enormous addition to the baggage of the expedition itself had been borne on the heads of the native carriers through flood and fell, a distance of 550 miles at least, and probably as much again had been lost on the way.

a bush and forested country, with a native path more or less crooked connecting the various settlements of the tribes dwelling in it. The track now and then will be intersected by others connecting the tribes north of our route and those south of it.

'The natives will be armed with shields, spears, and knives, or with bows and arrows. As our purpose is to march on swiftly through the country we take the natives considerably by surprise. They cannot confederate or meet us in any force, because they will have no time. Whatever hostilities we may meet with will be the outcome of impulse, and that naturally an angry one. Officers must therefore be prompt to resist these impulsive attacks, and should at all times now see that their Winchester magazines are loaded, and their bearers close to them. Side arms should not be dispensed with on any account.' (Vol. i. p. 127.)

On the line of march 'all stragglers must be driven on 'at all costs, because the person left behind is irretrievably 'lost.' At every halt for the night a camp was to be formed on strict principles of defence, and sentinels placed as in presence of the enemy. These precautions had to be taken with unremitting care, for the enemy was everywhere. He lurked in the recesses of the forest, where no civilised man had ever penetrated; and though these savages had learned no other art they were practised in warfare, from the incessant hostilities of neighbouring tribes. Their arrows were barbed and poisoned with some subtle extract that touched, sometimes in an instant, the source of life. Their paths were beset with poisoned skewers, craftily concealed, to wound the foot of a stranger. By day and by night each successive tribe harassed the advancing column; and more than once, as it reached the open country, a chorus of war-cries pealed from the hills, and the advanced column had to encounter some 800 well-armed native warriors in pitched battle. The first impulse of these races is to fight; but in some instances the tact of Mr. Stanley succeeded in convincing them that there was nothing to fight about, and he drew supplies from the goodwill of tribes whom he had encountered a day before in mortal battle. The rifle of the Zanzibaris proved more than a match for the African arrow, and after a considerable loss of life the natives capitulated. But to the upper waters of the Aruwimi Mr. Stanley found, to his surprise, that the Arab man-hunters had already penetrated, and that being armed with muskets, they were masters of the country which they devastated, and of the aborigines whom they enslaved.

The resistance of the natives was by no means the most formidable obstacle the men of the advanced column had to

encounter. Their greatest peril was the want of food, which more than once brought them to the verge of extinction. Against this danger no provision had been made. It was impossible to carry with the heavily laden column the means of subsistence of several hundreds of men. This body of troops was entirely cut off from its base and from its objective. They advanced, each man carrying his baggage and his arms, at once a porter and a combatant. They relied exclusively on the produce of the land, and the produce of the forest was nothing. Here and there a native village, for the most part deserted, was found in a small opening planted with manioc; and wherever plantains and bananas were grown they were hailed as a feast. The food of the men seems to have been entirely vegetable. Flesh of any kind was extremely rare. There were no cattle; even fowls were scarce; and it is probable that this absence of domestic animals and the scarcity of game have driven the natives of the forest to cannibalism, as they have done in North Queensland.

This part of the narrative surprises us. It is difficult to conceive that the big game, which abounds in most parts of Africa to the east of the lakes, should be so absent in the forest region. Elephants are sometimes spoken of, but none were caught or killed. Birds appear to have been always out of reach. This is the more extraordinary as the line of march lay for several hundred miles along the banks of the Aruwimi or Ituri rivers. Most of the African rivers are said to swarm with aquatic birds,* and we cannot doubt that the waters abound in fish. Yet even when men were lying famished at Starvation Camp, on the shore, no attempt was made to kill hippopotamus or to fish. The passage of one guinea fowl, the chase of one deer, and the capture of one fine fish are recorded as extraordinary events. Mr. Stanley has none of the passions of a sportsman or a naturalist; he speaks with great contempt of the collectors of beetles and butterflies. He lays no claim to scientific research, but we

* On reaching the southern extremity of the Albert Edward Nyanza Mr. Stanley says, 'The river-like arms of the lake, now 'narrowing and now broadening, swarmed with egrets, ducks, geese, 'ibis, heron, storks, pelicans, snipes, kingfishers, divers, and other 'water-birds.' Were none of those fowls of air and water to be seen on the Arumwini? At some moments a fowling piece and a seine net would have been of more use than a rifle. In one place he mentions that he found some fresh fish in a basket net, to his great relief. Why not try to catch more?

are obliged to him for the passages in which he describes the geological features of the country he traversed, which are executed with precision and ability. Above all he deserves the greatest credit for his daily observations and his maps, which have cost him, he says, more time and labour than any other part of his literary work. The result is admirable, and will be of use to all future travellers, if any one cares to follow or to avoid a track marked by so many disasters.

The problem to be solved was, from a military point of view, of the most extraordinary kind, and Mr. Stanley, in dealing with it, displayed the talents and resources of a consummate general and leader of men—the more remarkable as the force under his command consisted entirely of Africans, 'with little or no reasoning faculties,' and but one degree more civilised than the savages of the woods. Into these Zanzibaris and Soudanese he inspired a sense of discipline, and a degree of confidence in their chief, which would have done honour to any soldier; and in bravery and endurance they were inferior to none. In fact, no Europeans could possibly have survived the trial to which these carriers and combatants were exposed. The problem, then, was how to conduct a convoy, burdened with supplies of ammunition, in addition to their own impedimenta, even including a Maxim machine gun* and a boat, through an impenetrable forest, entirely without baggage animals, for a distance of at least 600 miles, where the expedition wandered for 160 days, during which time they scarcely saw the light of the sun, always in presence of an insidious enemy, and ignorant, for the most part, of the means of obtaining food for the morrow, and this in one of the hottest regions of the globe, beneath the equator. The sacrifice of life was enormous. Of the 389 souls who marched out of Yambuya in June 1887 only 203 were alive when the column reached Fort Bodo in June 1888. The rest had fallen victims to sickness, to poisoned arrows, to famine, perhaps to despair. Had the rear-guard

* This Maxim automatic gun was a very formidable weapon, firing 330 shots a minute. We are not told whether it was ever brought into action, but it was carried by the expedition with a large amount of weighty ammunition, and it is evident that the fire of such an instrument on a band of natives would have been irresistibly destructive. The preparation of such a weapon shows that the mission of Mr. Stanley by the Emin Pasha Committee was intended to cut his way through the armed resistance of the tribes at any cost; and he did so.

marched, as was intended, with heavier baggage and in greater numbers, under a less able commander, they would probably have perished. Mr. Stanley says that during the whole of the forest march of 160 days they never saw a bit 'of greensward as big as the size of a cottage chamber floor.' This is hardly consistent with what he adds in the next page, that on the 30th 'they "lit" on a path which con-'nected fourteen villages, surrounded by their respective 'fields, luxuriant with crops of manioc or cassava.' But even within sight of Yambuya the fighting began, and in all Mr. Stanley's experience of Africa he had seen nothing like the resistance of the Yankonders to his advance. 'They 'were met by a volley from the riflemen, under cover of 'which the caravan passed through the burning town to a 'village at the eastern extremity, as yet unfired. Along the 'river the firing was more deadly.' In this manner, alternately carrying heavy burdens and dropping the burdens to use the rifle, the column advanced. We never heard of a more difficult operation of war, for it was accomplished entirely without commissariat and without transport.

It is needless to dwell on these incidents, which are familiar to the readers of the book; but it is necessary to remark, with a view to what we are about to say, that the difficulties Mr. Stanley had to meet far exceeded any that he could anticipate, and that his calculations and plans were in many instances baffled by the failure of other parties to obey his orders or to perform their promises. Thus the rear-guard never advanced at all, perhaps fortunately; and whereas Stanley did arrive at the Albert Nyanza within a day or two of the appointed time, Emin Pasha entirely failed to meet him, or to send down steamers and supplies, or to take any measure to forward the object of the expedition, which was his own rescue, although at that time he had ample means of doing so.

The march from Yambuya to the Nyanza was the first part of the problem; and that being accomplished at an immense cost of suffering, the main object of the expedition came in view, which was to find the means of transporting the Pasha, his troops and followers—amounting, as he said at first, to some 10,000 souls—from Equatorial Africa to Zanzibar. Had that been done the column of relief would have swelled to an army; and we suppose that to move such a mass of men, women, and children to the coast would have embarrassed even Mr. Stanley. Fortunately the mutiny of the troops which occurred six months later, and the

reluctance of many to leave the country, did ultimately reduce the Pasha's following to 550 persons. But after all these physical obstacles had been overcome, and the party were encamped on the plateau above the Nyanza, one obstacle remained which threatened to paralyse and nullify the whole undertaking, and that was the reluctance of Emin Pasha himself to leave the country. We infer from the narrative that if the troops under his command had not mutinied and deposed him, and imprisoned him, though they spared his life, he never would have left it at all. Amongst the numerous misconceptions which appear to have deceived the projectors of the expedition they omitted to ascertain whether Emin Pasha desired to be rescued, and they entirely failed to take into account the extension of the power of the Mahdists over Equatorial Africa, since it had established itself in Khartoum. That was a new element in the question, and it obviously became far easier for a powerful body of Arab soldiers to reach Wadelai and the Nyanza from Khartoum than to march a small caravan through the forest. This appears to be what occurred. The Egyptian troops looked to Khartoum and not to Zanzibar; and being of the same faith as the Mahdists, they were enabled, if they pleased, to join them, as many of them did.

It becomes us to speak with great diffidence on a question of strategics in so peculiar and almost unknown a country as Africa, especially when it has been considered by those who have most experience on the subject. Mr. Stanley repudiates Professor Drummond's wholesale description of the African continent, and observes with truth that Africa is about three times greater than Europe in extent, and is infinitely more varied. It presents the extremes of barrenness and fertility, from the Sahara to the fertile valley of the Nile, from the swamps of the Forest to the peaks of Ruwenzori. It is inhabited by millions of the native races; but these live under different conditions, from the pigmies and cannibals of the Forest up to what must be called the government of autocratic chiefs, some of whom, we are told, can bring into the field 200,000 spears. We have seen upon our own borders that Cetewayo had really created a great military power; and such powers do still exist in the interior. All these circumstances, and many more, have to be taken into account before any serious undertaking can succeed, whether for the purposes of conquest, of conversion to Christianity, or of commerce.

The impression we derive from the perusal of these volumes is that the plans sanctioned by the Emin Pasha Committee were far from judicious; and whereas the routes by the east coast and by the Congo were alternately taken, the measures rendered necessary by the change were not adopted. It is evident that these were not Mr. Stanley's plans, but with the fidelity of a devoted officer he was prepared to carry out the plan of campaign of the committee.

Four routes were proposed for the expedition, which Mr. Stanley considered almost equally feasible. The first—*viâ* Masai Land from the east coast to the north of Zanzibar—was rejected on the ground of want of grain and water. The second—*viâ* Victoria and Uganda (by far the shortest and best)—was rejected on the ground of the hostility of the then ruler of Uganda. It was not known at that time that the cruel king Mwanga was dethroned by a revolution. The third—by Kharagme and Ankori, through Unyoro to Lake Albert—was considered eminently dangerous from the persistent hostility of the tribes; yet this was the route by which the expedition did eventually return with Emin Pasha to the coast, with comparatively little difficulty, and this line was at first adopted by the committee. Large preparations were actually made at Zanzibar by the purchase of stores and the hire of men. But it was abandoned in consequence of the refusal of the King of the Belgians to sanction Mr. Stanley's prolonged absence by the eastern route. The King expressed his decided preference of the Congo route, and made a munificent offer to place the whole of his naval stock on the river at the disposal of the expedition. In point of fact the time consumed by the expedition was greatly prolonged, and the Belgian naval stock on the Congo fell short.

Mr. Stanley was convinced, without the least shade of doubt, that the Congo route was infinitely the best and safest, provided he could get a flotilla of fifteen whale boats, which would take the expedition within 200 miles of the Albert Nyanza. It ensured abundance of water, and he surmised, from the great fertility of the Upper Congo, that supplies of food would not be wanting. This route was, therefore, decided on. The expedition, which was prepared for a military march, became, or should have become, a nautical exploration. But the two essential conditions of progress were wanting. *There were no whale boats at all*, and the naval resources on the Congo were altogether inadequate. The sole advantage of the Congo route was that

it afforded water carriage for the expedition and its stores for 1,600 miles—from the coast to Stanley Falls. It does not seem to have been ascertained how much farther water carriage could have been used. Stanley Falls was occupied by Tippoo-Tib and his myrmidons. Mr. Stanley had invested him with the governorship of the Upper Congo, and an arrangement had been made that Tippoo was to supply six hundred carriers to convey the stores of the expedition to Wadelai, and these men were to bring back Emin Pasha's large stores of ivory. The rear-guard of the expedition, under Major Barttelot, was to carry out this plan. Meanwhile the rear-guard encamped at Yambuya, a position some days' march from Stanley Falls. This then became the base of the expedition, and Tippoo-Tib, by sending or withholding the carriers, had Major Barttelot in his power. A more insecure base could not be chosen, for the country had been ravaged by the Arab slave-dealers. Two years before the fort at Stanley Falls had been looted by them. An army of 2,000 Arabs encamped within a short distance of Major Barttelot's fort. His provisions were cut off, and Mr. Werner found him and his friends in a miserable condition, living on manioc, when he arrived there. For the rear-guard to advance under such circumstances was impossible. It was something to secure its retreat. Major Barttelot was murdered, but we think that the evidence shows the crime to have been committed out of private malice or resentment, and we do not see reason to suppose that Tippoo-Tib was privy to the murder, or had any interest in committing it. But undoubtedly Mr. Stanley's reliance on Tippoo-Tib was wholly misplaced.

When Mr. Stanley speaks of penetrating the forest, which no doubt he did, it should be remembered that the forest is penetrated by the Arumwimi and Ituri rivers, which extend about two-thirds of the distance between Yambuya and the Albert Lake. The rapids are not very numerous, and the portages far less severe than those of the Nile, up which the British army penetrated in their whale boats for three times the distance. Unhappily to Mr. Stanley and his men the whale boats were entirely wanting. Instead of navigating the river they were compelled, for the most part, to march along the banks of these streams, overgrown with dense vegetation, and through the marshes and tributary rivers along the shore. They occasionally derived some assistance from a few canoes, but these were rarely to be met with, and

were scarcely fit for navigation. It is evident that if proper means of transport by water had been provided, most of the perils of the expedition would have been averted. Men could not have deserted; the arms would not have been stolen; the enemy would have been checked by fire from the boats; and a supply of food could have been carried. Even if a delay of two or three months had been allowed for the construction of the whale boats, the expedition would have arrived in them sooner than it did by the tedious and terrific march through the forest. The first thirty whale boats built for the Soudan expedition by the British Government were ordered on August 12, and reached the Nile on September 22. The force of this remark on the importance of the boats which Mr. Stanley did not obtain is strengthened by the solitary exception to it. Messrs. Forest did supply the expedition with one steel boat only 28 feet long, 6 feet beam, and 2 feet 6 inches deep. It was divided into 12 portable sections, each weighing about 75 lbs. The fore and aft sections were decked and water-tight. Small as this craft was, it rendered incalculable services to the expedition. It was carried past the rapids; it served to tow the native canoes; and on leaving Ugarrowa's station out of 227 loads 180 were carried by water.

Upon reaching the confluence of the Ituri (which is the Arumwimi) and the Ihuru rivers Mr. Stanley 'saw at a glance 'that this was the end of river navigation by canoes,' for these great streams descended from the hills in tremendous cataracts. Nevertheless the little steel boat reappears in the upper waters, and a portion of the expedition advanced by water, whilst Mr. Stanley followed by land along the banks of the Ihuru, deviating to the north from his true course, in order to reach a settlement of the Manyuema, at which he found food. This deviation from the line of the Ituri may have been inevitable, but it was unfortunate. It is now known that the course of that river lies in a direct line towards the Nyanza. That of the Ihuru runs north-east. These rivers form a sort of fork, which the expedition, or portions of it, traversed more than once, and it was the scene of their greatest tribulations. The difficulties of the route increased enormously when the caravan left the river, and the march from October 7 (1887) to December 16 was one of the most dreadful crises of the expedition. The men suffered for 336 hours from unappeasable hunger, and were reduced to skeletons covered with ashy grey skins. The country had been visited and devastated by Arabian ivory-

hunters and slave merchants, who captured or destroyed the aborigines and burnt their villages.

Yet, curiously enough, it was to the temporary settlements of these migratory bands of armed ruffians that the expedition owed on more than one occasion its very existence. First at Ugarrowa's station, and subsequently at Ipoto, both held by the dreaded Manyuema, Stanley was well received and obtained much-nedeed food. The ravages of these invaders were frightful.

'Towards the Lenda and Ihuru rivers they had levelled into black ashes every settlement; their rage for destruction had even been vented on the plaintain groves; every canoe on the river had been split to pieces, every island had been searched, and into the darkest recesses whither a slight track could be traced they had penetrated with only one dominant passion, which was to kill as many of the men and capture as many of the women and children as craft and cruelty would enable them to do.'

These people could have made short work of Mr. Stanley's emaciated and divided followers. They might readily have murdered them all, and taken possession of their arms and stores of ammunition, which to them would have been an invaluable prize. But, for some reason which is not explained, they received the wanderers with kindness and hospitality. They sent men to bring up the detachment, which was perishing at Nelson's Camp, and they provided guides for the continuance of the journey.

But the fact remains that the upper waters of the Congo and the Aruwimi are held by an Arab force in an unapproachable position; and Mr. Stanley calculates that circles of 40,000 or 50,000 square miles are in the possession of a few hundreds of bandits, whose sole purpose is murder and the seizure of a few hundred tusks of ivory.

'All this,' he adds, 'would be clearly beyond their power if they possessed no gunpowder, and therefore the one efficient remedy for these wholesale devastations of African aborigines is the solemn combination of two European Powers against the introduction of gunpowder into any part of the continent except for the use of their own agents.'

We confess that we are not sanguine as to the result of such a combination, extending over a vast continent, with thousands of miles of coast; and all the less so since these coasts are largely opened to the trade of Europeans, and since gunpowder and arms are necessary in a land swarming with wild beasts and savage tribes, and are therefore the articles most in demand for the purposes of peace as well as of war.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Stanley into his personal differences and discussions with the officers whom he left on duty at Yambuya—with Tippoo-Tib, whom he placed in the responsible position of governor at the Stanley Falls under the Belgian flag, and with Emin Pasha himself on the Nyanza. If the difficulties he had to surmount in the forest were physical, the obstacles he met with in these cases were the results of egregious failures on the part of his subordinates to keep an engagement and respect a promise. These upset all Mr. Stanley's reasonable calculations, based on an amount of good faith which he did not meet with. He extricated himself from these embarrassments with tact, and apparently with temper. But of Emin Pasha it must be said that he had lived so long in Equatoria, and had become so africanised, that he had lost the sense of duty and the sense of gratitude of a European gentleman.

One of the most remarkable facts in the annals of the nineteenth century is the discovery of Africa, and the profound and passionate interest which has been gradually excited for the population of that mysterious continent. Scarcely a hundred years ago Europe knew nothing of regions extending over a third of the terrestrial globe, and containing perhaps one-third of the existing population of mankind. The coast had been touched on points at the north, the south, and the west; but the interior was a blank, and served only as an inexhaustible reservoir for the export of slaves. Abhorrence of the slave trade first awakened the sympathy of Great Britain for the African races. It began with philanthropy, and men reflected with horror that vast numbers of their fellow creatures were the victims of avarice and cruelty, and that the light of the Gospel had never shone over one of the most populous regions of the earth. The movement was fostered by the spirit of scientific exploration, and a long array of adventurous travellers began to lay open the secrets of Africa, by crossing its deserts and following the course of its rivers. It was found, within the last forty years, that three great streams, the Nile, the Congo, and the Zambesi, draw their mighty flood of waters from the centre of the continent, and that they rival or surpass the Amazon and the Mississippi in the length of their course. These were the gates and tracks through which it might be possible to penetrate; and in fact they had previously been opened to an invasion of Arab warriors and traders of the Mohammedan faith, somewhat less barbarous than the pure African tribes, and who used their superiority to crush and

enslave the primitive inhabitants. That conflict is still going on. The Arab power has now its centre in Khartoum; it reigns in the Soudan; it extends from the shores of the Red Sea to the banks of the Congo, and it is hard to say what part of Central Africa it does not reach. Meanwhile, however, the interest of Europe in the interior of Africa has assumed the form of colonial enthusiasm, aiming at territorial possession; and it has become necessary to establish by metes and bounds the tracts over which the great European Powers claim an influence.

Herodotus relates* that when Bathos, the prosperous king of the Kyrenians, invited the Hellenes to join with them in colonising Libya, the Pythian prophetess gave an oracle in these words:

> 'Who to the land much desired, to Libya, afterwards cometh
> After the land be divided, I say he shall some day repent it.'

We trust that no such evil consequence will result from the recent Anglo-German agreement, which is highly creditable to both the contracting parties; and as far as this country is concerned, we view with satisfaction the acquisition of influence on the trading places of the coast. The service rendered by Lord Salisbury's successful negotiations with Germany, France, and Portugal is that he has induced those States to concur with Great Britain in defining the limits of their respective pretensions and influence, and has thereby removed causes of difference between the European Powers. That is an object of far greater importance to the world than the nominal acquisition of large tracts of unknown lands; for when we proceed to territorial possessions of vast extent in the interior we think, as Lord Salisbury has very sensibly intimated, that the tenure of them by European States or adventurers is a very shadowy dominion. The exercise of any sort of dominion or jurisdiction over such territories, which are actually in the possession of native tribes and chiefs, must be upheld by conquest. If treaties are concluded with them, treaties must be upheld by competent forces, whether they be intended to protect missionaries, to encourage commerce, or to extinguish the slave trade. Disputes with the natives will infallibly arise, and the result of any attempt at an extended occupation would be a state of war, but of war which no European troops are in a condition to carry on. The natives have on their side

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* Book iv. cap. 159.

a climate deadly to Europeans and inexhaustible numbers of their own race. And even if it be assumed that the native tribes are conciliated or subdued, the European authorities would, ere long, find themselves in presence of the Arab power reigning in the Soudan, which has shown on recent occasions that it can encounter regular troops in the field.

We have read with much interest the circular addressed to secretaries of the British and American missions to foreign lands by the Rev. J. Crombie Brown, of Haddington, which has been circulated in the form of a tract. The writer sets forth the fatal effects of malaria in Equatorial Africa, and the tremendous loss of life which attends the efforts of the missionaries on the banks of the Ituri and the great lakes. It is a complete martyrology. Of forty-two missionaries sent to the Congo between 1877 and 1886 twenty-seven had died victims of the climate. None ever escape the malignant fever of the country, though a few recover, until a fresh attack carries them off. The settlements on the uplands are less pernicious, and are to some extent protected by belts of eucalyptus, but to reach these spots the traveller must pass through the most malarious tracts of the globe. Mr. Stanley's experience confirms this fatal report. Professor Marshall remarks in his 'Principles 'of Economics,' which is one of the most thoughtful publications of the present time, that 'much of the apparent 'attractiveness of tropical countries is delusion: they would 'give a very rich return to hard work, but hard work in 'them is impossible. A cool, refreshing breeze is as much 'a necessity of vigorous life as food itself.'

The volumes now before us and the numerous expeditions previously published do not appear to us to offer any encouragement to European emigration to Equatorial Africa. They are full of descriptions of forests, lakes, and mountains, interspersed with tracts of great fertility; but wherever the land can supply food, and even where it cannot, it is densely peopled; and these tribes and their native chiefs have undoubted rights of possession, with a species of government adapted to their condition. They are, unhappily, engaged in perpetual warfare among themselves, and although their weapons are inferior their numbers and the climate of the Equator render them very formidable enemies. As we have just said, to advance into the country against the will of the inhabitants can only be the work of armed men, and it supposes a state of war. This country will certainly make

no such attempt. But we are curious to learn whether the newly awakened enthusiasm of the Germans for colonial enterprise will induce any considerable number of full-blooded Germans to make a settlement on the shores of Lake Tanganika, or whether any body of European troops will be sent to Africa.

Hitherto all the expeditions, whether civil or military, of Portuguese, Germans, or English have been exclusively carried on by natives of Africa, led by a few European officers. Every page of these narratives relates that, except in a very few favoured positions, every man is struck down by fever; and as we have just seen in Mr. Stanley's book, even the natives perish in frightful numbers on a march. The impression he leaves on our mind is that no European can labour in Africa within three or four degrees of the Equator. Without labour, without health, the widest tracts of the most fertile land are absolutely valueless. In fact, colonisation means the application of intelligent labour and capital to the outlying regions of the globe. There are still vast regions in North and South America, in Australia, and in South Africa which invite the hand of man. Are we to suppose that settlements at all analogous to these colonies are to spring up round the Equatorial lakes of Africa? With the enthusiasm of a great discoverer Mr. Stanley bursts from the gloomy recesses of the forest and hails with rapture a hundred square miles of glorious country—'leagues upon leagues of green pasture land and 'softly sloping champaigns.' These he peoples in imagination with a peaceful and industrious race—the future population of an unknown world. We should be happy to share his sanguine views, but we confess that our own expectations are less encouraging, and the voice of the Pythian prophetess recurs to the mind.

The position of Great Britain at Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Witu secures to us an influence within our grasp, and will enable us to render the prosecution of the slave trade impossible on that coast. We may also be able to check the importation of arms, gunpowder, and spirits, as the King of the Belgians has done on the Congo. All nations have a common interest and the right to insist on the open navigation of the Zambesi by vessels under their flags, which has now been secured by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty; and no one will gain more than the Portuguese themselves if Mozambique or Quillimane should become important seats of trade, instead of miserable, half-starved settlements. The

navigation of the Zambesi should be regulated like that of the Danube and the Congo. Here and there, as at Blantyre, a modest missionary farm may spring up; and we are well aware that in the interior the French Catholic missions have shown great courage and skill in establishing similar centres of civilisation. These are admirable schemes and efforts to benefit and instruct the natives of Africa. We hope the recent arrangements will secure to them adequate protection, and we shall not be surprised if their pious and unostentatious labours accomplish more lasting results than more ambitious schemes of African colonisation.

Art. V.—1. *Bká Agyur.* A Collection of Buddhist Treatises in the Tibetan Language, in 100 volumes. (In the Library of the Secretary of State for India.)

2. *Bstan Agyur.* Encyclopædia of Religious, Philosophical, and General Treatises in the Tibetan Language, in 225 volumes. (In the Library of the Secretary of State for India.)

3. *The Tree of Cogitation.* A Tibetan Poem, in 108 cantos. (In the possession of Mr. A. Braunstein.)

4. *The Hundred Thousand Songs of the Reverend Milaraspa.* (Block-print in possession of the Reviewer.)

People, at the present day, are warmly interested in all that is to be learned concerning Tibet. She remains as of old a standing mystery. If you go to India, the adjoining country, you seem as far away as ever from reaching or understanding her. And yet Calcutta itself is distant not two hundred miles from the Tibetan border-line. You may ascend, moreover, to Darjiling, the hill-station nearest to the frontier; but the forbidden land shows there only as a chimerical region impenetrably locked away from exploration by gigantic *chevaux de frise* of mountain peaks, placidly combing the horizon.

Now, there at Darjiling, one of those giant sentinels—a five-headed monster—attracts your attention always. This mountain is the far-famed Kinchinjunga, the highest peak of which rises 28,156 feet above sea-level. The real name is Kang-chhen-dzönga; it is Tibetan, and signifies 'The Five 'Treasure Chests of the Great Snows.' There is, of a surety, a poetical ring about any such name as that; and, if we inquire more closely, we shall learn that the races

beyond those mystic heights are by no means destitute of poetry and fancy—nay, further, that they wrote whole bookfuls of verse and fable some time before our own old Chaucer flourished. As a matter of fact, a whole arsenal of surprises is stored behind those mountains in the Tibetan land. One of the most surprising, long known to the few, but little discussed, is this—that Tibet possesses an extensive literature.

Near as our territory abuts on Tibet, curiously enough the British Museum is still without a single Tibetan book; though of Chinese, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Sanskrit manuscripts we possess here the best collections in the world. A few scraps inscribed with Tibetan characters do indeed exist, hoarded away in a drawer in the Museum Library; but these are valueless—a dozen pages or so, torn from one of the commoner treatises. However, it may not be generally known, that in 1838 there were deposited at the old East India Company's House no fewer than 339 native-printed Tibetan volumes. These are no longer hidden away, but are now stored up at the India Office in the custody of Dr. Reinhold Röst. Probably the Oriental scholar hardly needs reminding that the bulk of these volumes form two works only, labyrinthine encyclopædias, the Bka-agyur (sounded Kan-gyur in modern Tibetan) and the Bstan-agyur (pronounced Ten-gyur). These two prodigious works to be found at our India Office are assuredly the classics of Tibetan literature;* but they do not, as is commonly thought by Orientalists, form even the bulk of the writings current in the country. Although the Kangyur and Tengyur comprise a complete library of treatises on every conceivable subject, so industrious has Tibetan authorship proved itself in the past two and a half centuries that the number of books, in every possible department, found outside those encyclopædias, reaches to more than one thousand volumes. Moreover, there is a peculiar value attaching to the later

* The copy of the Kangyur at the India Office has been bound, English fashion, in 100 volumes, whilst the 225 volumes of the Tengyur are kept in their original Tibetan coverings, each volume having the leaves loose like a pack of cards, rolled up in *yellow* cloth, the parcel being then placed, sandwich-wise, between two heavy boards. At Calcutta, the Asiatic Society of Bengal possesses an imperfect copy of the Kangyur in *red* wrappings, indicating its origin as from a Nyingma or heterodox monastery. This society is at present negotiating with Tibetan agents for a copy of the Tengyur for which 3,000 rupees are to be given.

productions, in that they are, many of them, historical works, and such as deal not alone with the affairs of Tibet, but also with the annals of China, Mongolia, and other adjacent lands.* Again, the strange phases of Buddhism, both philosophical and popular, which have developed themselves in those mysterious snowy fastnesses beyond the Himalayas, impart a unique interest to the more modern writings wherein alone they are set forth and explained.

Tibetan literature is chiefly Buddhistic, but not wholly so. The capital of Tibet, Lhásá ('the seat of the gods'), is indeed the Rome of Buddhism, and in no other country does that religion attract higher patronage, and nowhere else is its philosophy more ardently studied. Nevertheless, the whole of the inhabitants are not Buddhists. A considerable number of the people, estimated at one-fifteenth of the entire population, cling to the ancient faith of Tibet, the Bon religion. Now the Bon-pa, as they are styled, have books of their own, and their works are alleged to be directly opposed to Buddhism. Casual inquiry, however, goes to show that the Bon writings, though belonging to a system which existed long previous to Buddhism, are in their philosophy, which arose after Buddhism, mere imitations of that propounded by the later cult. Certain little tractates, however, exist which deal with specified necromantic rites quite unconnected with Buddhism; as, for instance, the cleansing of the hearth from pollution when milk has boiled over upon it, the offering of hogs, &c. Yet we shall be scarcely wrong in averring generally that, no matter what the branch of knowledge treated of, whether it be mathematics, medicine, or grammar, it is in a Tibetan book placed on a Buddhist basis. Thus it may be said that in Tibet every book is a religious book. It follows that the vast stores of works existing in that land derive their chief importance from their portrayal of the minutiæ and intricate philosophy of Buddhism, both ancient and modern.

The literature of Tibet may be conveniently divided into two great departments. One—comprising all the more ancient writings—consists wholly of translated works, the majority of which are faithful renderings of Sanskrit classics; but many others, of perhaps later date, are translations from

* Vast numbers of Tibetan works exist in the three great libraries of St. Petersburg—over 2,000 volumes. These were obtained chiefly from Buddhist lamaseries in Siberia and Mongolia. Professor Vasilev procured also hundreds of books at Pekin and many of the later productions by means of secret native emissaries despatched by him to Lhásá.

the Chinese. Some of these Sanskrit importations were not brought into Tibet until the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., and in those cases where the Sanskrit originals have been utterly lost, the Tibetan versions claim a special value. The second department embraces the purely native compositions, as well as the many works written in the Tibetan language by learned Mongol authors. Tibetan, it should be remembered, is the Latin of the Buddhists of both China and Mongolia, and is even to be heard in Europe in the temples of the Kalmuk tribes of Southern Russia.

We have no need to introduce here the narrative of the introduction of caligraphy and Sanskrit works and, together with these two, the Buddhist creed, into Tibet. Sufficient it is to remind our readers that the first department of Tibetan literature was chiefly due to the exertions and piety of the kings, Srong-tsan-Gampo and T'isrong Deu-tsan. Most of the translations were made by Indian pandits, who were assisted by Tibetan interpreters, known as *lotsawas*, between the years 650–800 A.D. King Ralpachan in the ninth century had these translations revised, adding as well a goodly number of new works, principally from the Chinese. All these expositions are of course Buddhistic, and include the main canon of the Sanskrit Buddhist Scriptures, but with interesting variations and considerable additions not to be met with in the Indian books. Numbers of these works were being continually introduced until the twelfth century closed. However, it was not until the fourteenth century that the whole of the translations (which existed as detached books in different monasteries) were massed together into series. Bu-ton, the Tibetan historian, is accredited with this herculean editorial task. He is reported to have collected all the compositions he could find, including many native Tibetan treatises, and at length to have compiled the two labyrinths of Buddhistic lore already mentioned. The Kangyur and the Tengyur are said in this way to have been first put into shape *circa* 1340 A.D. A recension of the text and the introduction of a few further works took place when the whole mighty series were printed for the first time in bulk at Narthang * between 1728 and 1740.

* Narthang is still the leading religious printing establishment in Tibet. It is a monastery in the province of Tsang; and the half million of heavy thick boards on which has been carved the letter-press of the two monster encyclopædias, and from which they are transferred to paper, have been stored in orderly stacks in the same buildings for the last 150 years. Other editions are printed at two

We now proceed to examine into the contents of the Kangyur and Tengyur; and it will prove worth while to do this somewhat analytically and categorically, pointing out at the same time those special features which render the Tibetan versions and narratives of much value in ascertaining the doctrines of early Buddhism and the historical positions derivable from such writings.

In the Kangyur are contained all the best known Sanskrit treatises, together with some the Sanskrit originals of which have been lost (that is, if they ever actually existed), but the contents of which are ascertainable by means of these Tibetan versions. The whole encyclopædia is divided into seven great sections:

I. Dulwa, 13 vols.
II. Sher Chhyin, 21 vols.
III. Phal Chhen, 6 vols.
IV. Kon-tsek, 6 vols.
V. Mdo, 30 vols.
VI. Myang-das, 2 vols.
VII. Gyut (*Rgyud*), 22 vols.

The first section, the Dulwa or Discipline, is held to be the Tibetan edition of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*, of which in lengthy portions it is a faithful rendering. Much of it, however, at present has not been met with in Sanscrit works. Here are set forth the rules of admission of male and female disciples to the sacred guilds which Shakyamuni is commonly believed to have personally instituted. Here, too, are to be found enumerated, and then in other volumes explained and illustrated, the duties and ceremonials, the virtues and vices, of these religious orders. The Tibetan Ge-long and Ge-long-ma, the male and female 'beggars of virtue,' are of course synonymous with the Indian Bhikshu and Bhikshuni. The rules of life and monthly ceremonial are nearly identical. At what period in the history of Buddhism these guilds and their ceremonial were introduced may be looked upon as a question almost incapable of solution. That the hero of this religion himself was the promulgator of them, no unprejudiced inquirer can profess to believe. If one tithe of the hostile criticism which has been exercised of late upon the books of our Old Testament were directed in a similar manner to the appraisement and analysis of the earliest Buddhist records and narratives, it is hard to say whether or not even a single legend or dogma found in these lucubrations could be fairly proved to have an origin anterior to the fourth century A.D. No anciently written manuscripts

other presses in Eastern Tibet—Choni and Chhab-do. At Pekin also a very illegible series of these works has been issued.

have been preserved to afford ocular and contemporary proof of the age and genuineness of Buddhism as set forth and developed in Buddhist writings. Even the inscriptions on Asoka columns and the sculptures in cave temples can only with difficulty be made to correspond with the guild rules and statements of supposed events contained in the books. The Tibetan versions, made in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., at least prove the currency of these works prior to that epoch in India. Then, too, if we may accept the more reasonable of the dates to which Chinese scholars of the less haphazard type have thrown back the Chinese Buddhist writings, we may put back the proofs to the fourth century. How long previously the Sanskrit and Pali originals were composed is decidedly not a question of actual evidence, but one of mere supposition and of fanciful theorising. We have in the case of the Buddhist compilations none of the dry historical facts and tangible documentary relics which have survived in such extraordinary abundance for the use of those who desire to prove the antiquity of the Hebrew Scriptures and the early composition of the books of the New Testament. We are, on the other hand, at least certain that nothing written in the Sanskrit language could have possessed any, save an oral, existence previous to the first century B.C., as it was not until that century that the graphic and literary arts were introduced into India. As to the guild rules and confessional rites for Bhikshu and Bhikshuni set forth in the books, the style of language used, as well as the incidental allusions in the text, preclude all possibility of their having been put into writing in the early ages of Buddhism.

Several volumes of the Dulwa are filled with descriptions of the offences, venial and heinous, which a Gelong or male member of the Buddhist guild may commit; and these faults are illustrated by anecdotes related at great length. Stories in unpleasant detail of immoral doings are chiefly narrated. Volumes ix. and x. are occupied with similar regulations and stories concerning the gallantries of female members of the community. For example, there is an extraordinary anecdote of twenty pages about one Gtsug Dgá-mo, who was eccentric enough to be content with apparelling her body in a single vestment of transparent muslin! Finally, 253 rules are laid down for the observance of the religious. These include prohibitions against the use of garlic and the wearing of gold rings; directions how mattresses and bedding may be freed from vermin, and as to the proper style of

clothing, no sleeves being allowed to be worn. Permission is granted to wear finger rings and seal rings of brass, horn, copper, or ivory, carved with a prescribed device. Moreover, the antiquity of umbrellas is clearly proved by the direction that each member may carry and make use of two, one to guard against the sun, the other against rain.

One cannot fail to notice in reading all these rules and stories, a something in their very atmosphere, as it were, which disagrees with that in which we have been brought up and which we have been taught to breathe as wholesome. The moral tone differs essentially from the morality and purity enjoined by Christianity and even by Judaism. In the anecdotes above referred to, the immoralities perpetrated are not spoken of as wrong in themselves or unworthy the noble standard a good man should set up for himself. They are alleged to be unholy merely because they are illusory and nourish the affections belonging to existence; and they are forbidden to a Gelong lest they should fill him, not with wicked, but with *human*, feelings. None of those wondrous histories wherein sin is shown to bring inevitably its own Nemesis of sorrow and retribution even in the lives of those otherwise good and noble, are ever to be met with in Buddhist narrative. Such fine moral lessons concerning sin and temptation and repentance as may be drawn, for instance, from the biographies of Jacob and David in the Jewish Scriptures, would be impossible in a Buddhist book, where indeed a Jacob or a David would have been represented as incapable of the weaknesses of ordinary humanity.

We must not forget to mention that the first four volumes of this Dulwa section are in great part taken up with a discursive presentation of events in the life of Buddha—or rather the Buddha of the current age—Shakyamuni, or Shakya T'ubpa as he is termed in Tibetan. These probably comprise the earliest-written accounts of the hero of Buddhism. There is given the history of the Shakya race, with a narrative of the birth of the hero himself, and his early career is slightly reviewed; after which follow lengthy recitals of how he was led to discover the hollow mockery of life—that age, disease, and death summed up the lot of man—that the only escape from these was to conquer the desire to live, and so be freed from the innumerable cycles of existence which await every living creature. The circumstances of the Buddha's life, as told in the Tibetan version, do not vary greatly from the history of Gautama as

set forth in the Burmese and other southern versions of the Pali school. There are the same meagre incidents, prolixity in describing petty matters, and utter absence of any connected style in the relation of events, as are common to all Indian narratives. Shakya T'ubpa is allotted three wives in the Kangyur history—Sats'oma, Grags-dzinma, and Sbedma. He has several children; but the name of only one is given, whom, after a seven years' absence from home, he accosts and converts to Buddhism. His Hamlet-like propensity to pause for the purpose of soliloquising upon the mysteries and troubles of life is well set forth; but there is this paradox: though Shakya is alleged to have been the one discoverer of the way of escape from misery, a Brahmin he consults seems to have known it all before him. None of the trivial parallel circumstances between the lives of Christ and Buddha, of which Arnold has made so much, have been found by us in these early Tibetan versions. It is only in the later biographies of Shakyamuni, wherein the simpler particulars are expanded and added to, that any of the alleged parallels are to be read. These amplified versions (two of which are included in the Mdo section of the Kangyur) could not have been written, as we know, until the fifth century A.D., long after the latest possible date to which the Gospels have been ever assigned.

Adjourning to the fifth section of treatises, we find a set of thirty volumes classified as Mdo, that is 'Sutras.' These are very important and are of much interest to the student as displaying Buddhism in its second age and stage, when it had fully passed from its pristine simplicity into a complex system which professed to explain and govern not only man's religious aspirations, but all departments of knowledge, both secular and spiritual. In this second era, moreover, began that dabbling in the magic rites and unmeaning mummery of the Brahmins, Shamans and Bonpa, which presently, under the guise of 'Tantrik ceremonial,' completely destroyed the loftier ethics of Buddhism, and which in our own time makes up nearly the whole of modern Buddhism. Expanded memoirs of Shakya's career were now composed. The disjointed fragments of his biography gathered from the earlier writings were pieced together, minute particulars introduced, and new stages in his life, such as the overthrow of demon tempters, invented. We have referred to these enlarged versions already. They are to be found in the second and twenty-sixth volumes of the Mdo section; the first of these being practically a Tibetan edition of the Lalita

Vistara of Sanskrit literature; and the second being the Abhinishkramana. It is from these Sanskrit works that Sir Edwin Arnold, following the lead of Seydel the German, has derived such of his 'striking parallels' in the lives of Buddha and Christ as have a more substantial origin than his own imagination. Volume viii. of this series relates in full the circumstances of Shakya T'ubpa's death under two sal trees at Rtswa Chhog in Assam. Many thousands of men, animals, birds, and even insects, are alleged to have assembled to mourn over the Buddha's departure from the world. The Tibetan narrative ascribes his death to some acute spinal disorder, in contrast to the Sin'halese accounts, which aver that he died from making an excessive meal of pork!

The assignment of an historical date to the period when the hero and founder of Buddhism actually existed on earth has long occasioned much controversy. Various fixtures ranging from 1054 B.C. to 380 B.C. have been proposed as the real year of his decease. However, if we are to accept the Tibetan canon as trustworthy, a still further reduction in the estimate of his antiquity will have to be conceded. In the Mdo Sutras we have more than one account of the Buddha during his mundane existence encountering King Asoka, who at the time of meeting was, it is there alleged, a young boy. Our most ardent Buddhist scholars do not venture to assign a date earlier than 280 B.C. to mark Asoka's birth. Consequently, accepting the Tibetan and Chinese anecdotes of the meeting with Asoka, the year of Buddha's demise will of necessity have to be brought forward beyond the latter date.

This point is a subject of some importance in the study of Buddhism; and, as the further advantage of introducing a specimen of Tibetan authorship will be likewise compassed, we make no apology for translating here the anecdote alluded to as given in Mdo, vol. xxviii. Ours is a close translation without embellishment:

'Chomdandas (i.e. *Bhagavan* or Buddha) was residing in a haunt of the victorious prince—the Garden of All Joy of Gonmedzasjin. During that period Chomdandas was once walking with Kungawo and collecting alms. Certain lads on the pathway were amusing themselves moulding with the soil, which they were fashioning into cottages and treasure chests and precious things. One boy said to the others: "I am very glad because I see Buddha (Tib. *Sangs-rgyas*) in the distance walking this way; and I am thinking of making him a present." Lifting up a handful of the earth which had formed a treasure chest, he prepared to offer it to Buddha. Being a small lad, not reaching to

any height, he said to one of his boy-companions : "Stoop down and I will climb upon you and pour the earth into the alms bowl." His friend replied : "Do so." The boy having climbed on the shoulders of his playmate, offered the handful of soil to Buddha. Buddha, lowering his alms bowl, accepted what was offered, and when he had received it handed it to Kungawo. "Make clay of this earth," he commanded, "and plaster it on the college temple (Sansk. *Vihara* ; Tib. *Tsug-lag-khang*). O Kungawo ! When you have received that which the little boy with joyful heart offered to me just now and have plastered it on the temple ; by the merit of that, many years hence, when I have been delivered from misery, he will become King Ashoka, so to be called. The other lad will be his chief minister. Ashoka will rule in Zambuling and proclaim the virtues of the Three Most Precious Things in all lands ; and sacrifices will be made universally to his relics. At Zambuling will be set up 84,000 different chhortens (i.e. Chaityas or cenotaphs). Thus will it come to pass."

'Kungawo, rejoicing exceedingly, spake these words to Chomdandas : "Has any Tathagata ever obtained such merit that so many chhortens have been erected over his relics?" Chomdandas replied : "Listen closely and hold it in your mind, and it shall be shown you ! Innumerable ages back there arose in Zambuling a king, Salt'ub by name, who ruled over 84,000 feudatory princes. At that time a Buddha, Bursha by name, appeared in the world. The monarch with his officers had prepared four different kinds of things and offered them to the Buddha and the assembly of gelongs. At that time the king and the men of the country used to meet with Buddha constantly, and did reverence and propitiated him. As to the principalities, the feudatory princes and men of barbarous lands, because they would merely sit down to obtain good luck, did not obtain it. The king accordingly revolved : "Figures of Buddha shall be drawn and presented to the vassals." Assembling many artists, he thus ordered : "Draw in pictures representations of Buddha." So the artists went into the presence of the Buddha, and having noted his characteristics and features, painted the picture ; but in drawing one part they made it out of proportion to the other. Thus the artists were unable to execute the picture. Then Buddha having himself prepared the paints, delineated his own figure and taught it those artists. 84,000 representations duly proportioned were executed, and to each feudatory prince was a separate one given. "Let the prince and all men of the country do sacrifice and homage to that picture with flowers and incense and all that is necessary !" Thus was it ordered. The feudatories and the men of those lands, when they beheld the figures of the Tathagata, rejoiced with exceeding great joy and did homage to them."

'Then King Salt'ub said : "From the merit of having drawn in that way the 84,000 figures of the Tathagata and bestowed them on the vassals and all men of those lands ; and having been born in every possible way and in the heavens born as Indra, I have now acquired the graceful contour, the thirty-two distinguishing marks, and the eighty exquisite symmetries : I myself am now manifestly Buddha."

When he was delivered from misfortunes about 84,000 chhortens were raised over his remains.'

The foregoing is a specimen of the kind of anecdotes with which all Buddhist works abound. Every opportunity possible is seized upon to introduce some story, which, as a general rule, seems to have no application to the statement which led to its being told. Prolixity and utter want of sequence in argument and illustration are the main features of Buddhist narrative and Buddhist philosophical disquisition. The ingenuity with which the translators in Max Müller's 'Sacred Books of the East' have supplemented and often completely built up the logic, or rather want of logic, of their authors, forms indeed a curious feature in the history of European interpretation of Oriental philosophy.

A great portion of the higher and mystical mythology of Buddhism is broached in these Tibetan Sutras of the Kangyur. What kind of being, as an example, it may be asked, is a Bodhisattwa? This species of creature, so frequently referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist literature, is fully dissected and described in volume v. of the Mdo section. By Tibetans he is known as Byang-Chhub-Sem-Pá, which signifies 'the brave-minded piece of perfection;' and in this volume we find discussed the various theories of their position and existence, and how the state is obtainable by certain men. In truth, a Bodhisattwa occupies a position in Buddhism not easy to define. He is loosely explained as a saint who has risen to the rank next to that of a Buddha. Shakya T'ubpa, in the earlier stages of his career, is often called by this title. As now understood in Tibet, however, the Bodhisattwa are those who, having attained to a sanctity deserving of Nirvana, voluntarily forego the reward from an insatiable desire to extend the blessings of the doctrine to all mankind. Thus, to our way of thinking, the Bodhisattwa fulfils a higher ideal in the system than any Buddha.

The particular Bodhisattwa who has taken Tibet under compassionate patronage is Spyan-ras-gzigs Dbang P'yug, or 'the rich mighty seer with a garment of eyes,' known colloquially as Chenráisi. He performs his missionary work by becoming repeatedly incarnate in the persons of the successive Grand Lamas of Lhasa. He is a Dhyani or celestial Bodhisattwa, asserted to have been begotten by the Dhyani Buddha Amitabha in the celestial region of De-wa-chen, where in some way he sprang forth from a lotos; and yet in opposition thereto, in one of the Tantras

(§ Rgyud : xiv. ff. 455–57), Chenráisi himself gives a glowing description of his mother.* He has 108 names and 1,000 arms, and is frequently represented with eleven faces. Every large temple in Tibet contains two or three effigies of this the patron saint of the land of snow, the Blessed Eleven-faced Chenráisi. In the 4th sutra of the 7th volume of the Mdo we can find a full history of the origin, life, and good works of the Bodhisattwa. His miracles and moral merits are specially dwelt upon, together with the efforts he made to rescue those gigantic demons the Yi-dák from torment. Altogether, this treatise may be regarded as the most popular sutra in Tibet, where it bears the name of 'Zamatog Kodpa.'

The last or seventh section of the Kangyur, styled Ryyud, is a collection of Buddhist Tantras. Tantras, as we know, set forth the ritual to be observed and the invocations and 'mantras' to be ejaculated in propitiating deities and coercing demons, together with other mystic ceremonies. One of their most important spheres, moreover, relates to the various methods of artificial meditation whereby miraculous powers may be acquired. These treatises resulted from the many fanciful channels into which Buddhism ran in the third or later period of its prosperity. At the present day in Tibet, the most honoured priests and those held to be the most learned are they who are most expert in Tantrik and magic ceremonial.

In order to understand the place which such knowledge and such services occupy in modern Buddhism and in the profound tenets of the different philosophical systems, one fact has to be remembered. When Buddhism was developed into a literate religion, it adopted much of the mythology of ancient India; and again, when introduced into other lands, the local deities of each country were forthwith incorporated and were utilised so as the more thoroughly to popularise the system in the inner life of the people. From the first, we find the greater deities of Brahminism mentioned in Buddhist writings. In the second volume of the Dulwa the cosmogony of Buddhist mythology is set on prominently. We have Mount Sumeru, the abode of the

* He is best known to Orientalists by his Sanskrit appellation of Avalokitésvara or *Padmapani* (the lotos-born). He is a popular saint in Japan as well as in Tibet. There is a very fine bell-metal image of him with sixteen faces in the British Museum, which was brought from Japan.

gods, the centre of the universe, localised by Indian writers as beyond the Himalayas near Lake Manasarowar in Tibet. And when Buddhism was introduced into Tibet, the people found this mythological mount as a real summit in their own country; and, though they knew better, they implicitly accepted all the legends concerning it.

On the top of Mount Sumeru or Rirab (as the Tibetans give the name) dwell the thirty-three principal gods of Buddhism, such as Indra (Gyá-jin), Vishnu (Kyab-jug), the Yaksha king Kuvera, &c. These are defended by the Four Dik Rajas or Protecting Kings of Buddhism (Tib. *Gyal-po Chhenpo*) who reside on the edge of the summit. Just below them down the slope, dwell the Lha, or lesser deities, in which class have been included the local gods of Tibet. These protect the summit of the mount from being invaded by the creatures who occupy the next highest stage on the slope. The latter are called Lhá-ma-yin (Sansk. *Asura*) and are ever engaging in battle against the Lhá. Below these again prowl the Noi-jin (Sansk. *Yaksha*), Shrin-po, male and female (Sansk. *Rákshasa*), Lu (Sansk. *Naga*) and Driza (Sansk. *Gandharva*), each in their own sphere of the mount.

All these beings play an important part in the vicissitudes of the celestial and terrestrial worlds and of the living creatures residing in both. In order to coerce and guide them to our advantage, to be protected from disease and to be saved from untimely death, these deities have to be cajoled and controlled by different rites and charms such as the expert lama well knows how to employ. Furthermore, to the saint their aid is invaluable in his endeavours to acquire miraculous powers. In the Tantrik treatises we have the ritual books and technical instruction connected with occult operations of that kind.

In the Rgyud division of the Kangyur are to be read many Tantrik manuals, but a much larger collection occurs in the corresponding divison of the Tengyur. However, the earlier volumes of this part of the Kangyur are not mere ritual books, but they deal with a subject of wide interest, entering as they do largely into the general principles of the opposing systems of Buddhism which had recourse to such rites. The history and philosophy of the Kála-chakra, Madhyamika, Prasanga, and Yogachárya systems are fully detailed; and a certain amount of information concerning the lives of the inaugurators of these the primitive schools

of differing thought is to be gathered in the course of their treatises.

Buddhism, it must be remembered, was from the sixth century onwards rent by schisms of a marked type, no history of which has yet been made available to European readers. The first controversies strove around such questions as the nature and origin of matter, whilst the problem of the immortality of the soul, which is distinctly avoided in the earlier Buddhist works, which pronounced no opinion on the subject, was soon likewise made matter for discussion. It is indiscreet in writers such as Mr. Rhys Davids to assume the position of being able to decide whether primitive Buddhism was or was not atheistic from the tenor of one or two isolated treatises which run on materialistic lines. Buddhism seems to have begun by laying down nothing dogmatic as to the continuance of individual consciousness in the subsequent births which would successively perpetuate the *karma* of the current life. She avoided legislating on such problems, probably in order that she might draw upon a larger constituency in converting men to her main and more important doctrines, evidently deeming the question beyond her province to adjust, at least in her opening days. Later, there can be little doubt that sides were taken on the subject of the soul's immortality; and thenceforward there can be as little doubt that non-materialistic views overwhelmingly predominated in the majority of Buddhist schools of thought. Moreover, to label modern Buddhism as anything but distinctly anti-atheistic and anti-materialistic, would be of course absurd. The religion of Oriental Buddhists at the present day decidedly regards the transmigration of *karma*, not in any abstruse psychical sense, but as the real transference of one's soul, in full consciousness, and as the veritable ego, from body to body.

The first important division in the Buddhist cult, however, was concerned with the method of reaching Nirvana. A new and more excellent way whereby the transit from one degree of sainthood to one still higher might be rendered more expeditious, was devised. The new path had also the merit of appealing more directly to the senses, as well as being more accessible to the general herd of mankind. This departure was designated the Mahâyana system —the system of the Greater Vehicle—the larger, swifter, and more popular conveyance from stage to stage on the upward pilgrimage; whilst the older, slower, and more exacting way was styled the Hinayana, or Lesser Vehicle.

It was the Greater Vehicle system which dealt most richly in the ceremonial of the Tantras, and it gave a fresh impulse to the concoction of new and elaborate forms of mysticism, and the incorporation of new orders of supernatural creatures into the Buddhist Kalendar. The Buddhism introduced into Tibet—primarily, as we have seen, during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries A.D.—was almost exclusively based on the Mahâyana system. But this system did not long, either in India or in Tibet, continue one and homogeneous. The Tantras formed the theme of endless controversy, and subsequently the cause of new subdivisions of the Mahâyana school. Nagarjuna (or *Lu-dub*, as he is named in Tibetan literature) is alleged to have so reformed and remodelled the system as to produce its most popular variety—that known as the Madhyamika school. Another schism presently followed, giving shape to the famous Yoga-charya sub-system, which in Tibet is now professed by all who belong to the great Nying-ma sect of unreformed Buddhists. The distinctive features of this school are: the division of tutelary deities into two great classes, namely *Zhi-wa*, or mild deities, and *Drag-shed*, or wrathful deities; its having thirteen stages to which saints attain in the progress towards Nirvana; and its eclectic or artificial methods of systematic meditation. Other offshoots from the Madhyamika philosophy were the Prasanga and Atiyoga (Tib. *Rdzogs-chhen*) sects; the latter founded by Padma Sambhawa, with a large following still existing in Tibet and Sikkim under the name of Urgyen-pa.

One developement further in general Buddhist evolution, as distinguished from the many particular sects peculiar to Tibet, remains to be mentioned. This is the Kalachakra system (Tib. *Dus-kyi Khorlo*), which launched into Buddhism the doctrine of a Supreme Deity with a dominion over the universe tantamount to that of the Hebrew Jehovah and Christian God. Adi-Buddha is this highest intelligence, and he seems to be assisted in his government of the world by the series of Dhyani Buddhas and Dhyani Bodhisattwas to which we have already made allusion, and who reside with him in the celestial region of Dewachen. These Dhyani Buddhas are the astral counterparts of the human Buddhas sublimated into nothingness in Nirvana. In a similar manner it is further taught that the greater saints on earth, by dint of strenuous meditation, beget a celestial copy of themselves which exists in Dewachen, with the Dhyani Buddhas, concurrently with their human form,

which continues its career on earth. As the ascetic on earth gradually acquires profounder powers of complete abstraction (*bsam-gtan*), so does his ghostly 'double' in the heavenly regions grow more and more perfect in the Buddhist sense—namely, by divesting itself of every personal quality, whether good or bad. This system is believed to have originated in Central Asia *circa* 900 A.D., and in many respects, it must be allowed, it bears singular analogy to the gnostic heresies prevalent among the Mesopotamian Christians five or six centuries earlier. Many of the Tantras in this section of the Kangyur are devoted to expositions of the tenets of the Kalachákra philosophy, and sublime ideas concerning the nature and influence of the Supreme Governor of the universe are enunciated in some of the volumes. When the Buddhist thus at length arrives at that profound conclusion to which all mankind seem eventually constrained to attain, his conception of the Deity is as fine as it is touching.*

The Tengyur is much larger in bulk and more varied in contents than the Kangyur. It is apportioned into three distinct sections, comprising respectively one volume, 87 volumes, and 136 volumes, which with the index make up a grand total of 225 volumes.

One large volume, the first of the series, forms the whole of Section I. It contains a collection of verses, hymns, and poems, mostly brief and dealing with a wide range of subjects. One of the poems seems to be a lengthy extract from the Mahábhárata. Many are of an adoratory character, such as:

'A Hymn unto Him whom the mind cannot understand.'
'A Hymn unto the holy wisdom of the Sacred Jampal.'
'A Praise concerning Shakya T'ubpa.'
'A Hymn concerning the Kon-chhog Gsum (Buddhist Trinity).'

Others partake of the nature of psalms, such as:

'Praises to be uttered on rising up very early.'
'Thanksgiving upon the deliverance of a Buddha from misery.'

The title of the whole collection thus contained in Sec-

* The finest Tantra in the whole series is one of the Dus-kyi Khorlo treatises contained in vol. vii. upon 'The True Knowledge of All Mysteries.' Csoma Körösi characterises it as being full of majestic thoughts concerning the Supreme Being. Other interesting Tantras in the Kangyur are found in vols. xi., xiv., xvii. and xviii. of the Rgyud section.

tion I. is 'Bstod Ts'ogs' (pronounced *Toets'o*) or 'Collection 'of Praise.'

In Section II. we have the Rgyud division of the Tengyur, in 87 volumes. These include innumerable Tantrik rituals, as already referred to above. Particular directions for constructing the magical geometrical figures around the images of deities to be coerced or propitiated, are here set out at large. Such figures differ in pattern according to the school to which the 'offerer' belongs. Some are circular, some elliptic, some square in their outline, which is to be traced in flour and in other powdery substances, often brilliantly coloured. All of them are styled Kyil-khor (in Sanskrit, *maṇḍal*), and the celebrant, who draws and decorates them with mystic syllables on the flooring of temples, much after the style of our London pavement artists, is said to *offer* the Kyil-khor or *maṇḍal*. Grains of wheat and other seeds are also arranged to form figures of this kind. Countless pages of these volumes are filled with endless strings of syllables to be uttered on these and other occasions. They are nearly all entirely meaningless, especially the Sanskrit ejaculations winding up each series. Men acquire fame by inventing fresh combinations of the magic words, which are really the famous Dhárani of Sanskrit philosophy, but which by the Tibetans are named *Sung-ngák* (gzungs-sngags, 'spell-holders'). Perfect accuracy is required in repeating whole pages of the syllabic incantations, and, particularly, correct pronunciation of the Sanskrit gibberish, concerning which the treatises lay down rules.

No fewer than 136 volumes are embraced in the third or Mdo section of the Tengyur. A great variety of subjects are here treated of. We have 'The Clearing-up of One's Sorrow,' 'The Ten Immoral Actions,' &c. A few treatises describe the different doctrinal schools, Sankhya and Madhyamika, in some fresh aspects. Other distinctive branches of knowledge and science are fully analysed. There are medical works, such as *Gso-wai Rig-pa*, 'The Art of 'Healing,' *Sbyor-wa Brgyad-pa*, 'The Eight Mixtures,' and another, 'The most powerful Elixir for subduing every 'Sickness and invigorating the Body.' Others are akin to these, but pharmaceutical, as the tract in vol. cxxiv. on the preparation of perfumes, and in cxxii. on the preparation of quicksilver.

The whole science of Tibetan medicine, we may here

remark, smatters of charlatanry and sorcery; * but for its more special characteristics, apart from the general theories of treatment derived from India, one must not consult the Tengyur expositions, but the later indigenous Tibetan writings by native writers. We may just enumerate among these the *Waidurya Ngon-po*, or 'Blue Lapis-Lazuli,' the *Shad-gyud*, the *Sman Ngag-gyud*, and the *Rtsa-rgyus*, or 'Directions for feeling and interpreting the Pulse.'

To proceed: there are several grammatical treatises in this section, together with Tibeto-Sanskrit lexicons and certain mysterious 'clear explanations' of words terminating in the magic syllable 'ti,' but quite beyond comprehension to the European inquirer. In other volumes are discourses upon the cosmogony of the world, the art of disputation, the calculation of the cycles of time in the kalendar, the prognostication of coming weather, mechanics, and ethics. One of the most entertaining, and, with modern Tibetans, certainly the most popular, work in the Tengyur, is that known as 'A Guide for the Journey to 'Shambhala,' contained in one of the concluding volumes of Section III. Shambhala is a supernal city, supposed to exist on the borders of Mongolia; and every Mongol pilgrim visiting Lhásá prays the great deities and the living celebrities of the place to grant that at his next re-birth he may be born in the blessed groves of Shambhala. This work is probably of Tibetan authorship.

However, the jewels of Buddhist literature have yet to be noticed. Difficult though it is to pick out much of real literary worth amid the general dross; yet gems—though rare gems—are certainly to be found. In the Tengyur are included two lengthy poems, which form marked exceptions to the mass of Buddhist lucubrations. The shorter of these poems is the Tibetan rendering of the popular Sanskrit epic by Kalidása — the *Meghadūta* or 'Cloud Messenger.' In the Tengyur it occurs under the designation Sprin-gyi-P'onya in volume cxvii., and the Sanskrit original is too well known to call for comment here. The second poem occupies an entire volume of more than 300 pages, and is deserving of high praise and more extended notice than can be admitted into the present article. The title may be rendered 'The Tree of Cogitation;' and the poem is ingeniously divided into 108 *yal-dab* or 'leafy

* But see a curious and perfectly accurate account of Tibetan medical science in Huc's 'Travels,' vol. ii. pp. 94–5.

'boughs'—each 'bough' being, as it were, a canto of the poem. A great deal of Buddhist history is introduced by the author, one Gewai Dbang-po, and the imagery in places is decidedly poetical. So elegant was this poem deemed, that a Sanskrit translation of it was circulated as the original work of the Kashmiri Kshemendra. Two manuscripts of the Sanskrit edition, under the title *Avadána Kalpalatá*, have long existed in the Cambridge University Library; and it is only lately they have been found to be identical with the 93rd volume of the Tengyur.* In order to illustrate the style of the composition, we have made a literal translation of a short portion, which we venture to quote forthwith. It affords a fair specimen of the grotesque patchwork to be found in the best of Buddhist writings—noble conceptions never worked out to any real conclusions, intermingled with a childish show of subtle philosophy and many flashes of genuine poetry:

'In the City of Ser-kya, so to be styled,
Situate in the forest of Nya-grodha;
In times gone by a thousand years,
Did Chomdendé † teach the Faith.
In cool shade like that of the sandal-wood tree—
Itself the refreshment of joyous throngs of lower beings—
The nectar of what can be spoken, whole granaries of what may be heard,
Were imbibed by those possessed of virtue.
Among such as came together to listen to the Doctrine,
Did King Zá-tsangma ‡ obtain happiness free from taint
From the waters which showed his destiny to be nigh.

* The full Tibetan title of the poem is, 'Byang Chhub Sems-dpa-i Rtogs-pa Brjod-pa Dpag-bsam-gyi aKri Shing-ma.' We are aware that it is now claimed to have been originally a Sanskrit production; and under this impression an edition, Sanskrit and Tibetan, in parallel columns, is in course of publication by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The internal evidence, however, proves it to be Tibetan. Curiously enough, there has been recently found in London another copy of this poem, which had been brought from Himis Monastery, Ladak, by a French marquis. It has been a most handsome specimen of Tibetan workmanship, consisting of massive ebony pages, the letterpress in embossed silver; but the damp has ruined it.

† Bchom-ldan-adás, one of the Tibetan appellations of Buddha, corresponding to the Sanskrit *Bhagavan*, and signifying: 'He who, possessed of victory, has passed beyond;' or, 'He who has passed beyond, sated with conquest.'

‡ The royal father of Chomdendé or Buddha, who is thus converted by his son.

Then did that king,
Born from the race of the great name of Shakya,
When there he had heard the precepts of Faith,
Proceed to his own home and say :
" Lo, indeed ! have we heard, with great profit,
" The words of him, who having gained and enjoyed
" The assembly of the blest and the doctrine of victorious Sang-gye,*
" Hath thereafter emerged to be Buddha.'
Then Da-od, the moonlight, his spouse,
When she had learned all those precepts in detail,
And had gained true conceptions of happiness,
Said to him :
" Ye beings possessed of a blessed destiny
" Are worthy to lay hold of
" The means ordained by Chomdendé.
" We women, being of inferior worth,
" Have no claim to his mystical guidance."
On hearing these words, did the husband reply :
" Good woman ! Not from persons of lofty rank
" To be recipients of his compassion,
" Doth Chomdendé make choice.
" To all he desires to show the light of the Sun ;
" From the clouds he would draw down the Rain.
" Commiserating every living creature,
" Chomdendé desires them as his witnesses.
" In the evening, after the shining of the Great Mistress of Mankind,
" Will be your opportunity (of coming)
" Unto Chomdendé."
Having heard the speech of the Master, those very words which King Zá-tsang was saying,
The mass of the women of Shakya,
Having performed circumambulation,
Thence to Chomdendé's Pure Forest of Virtue
Departed.
There the Tree of Cogitation and Courage was seen,
With fruits and flowers of Bravery most huge ;
With its elixir of Repose—with that poured forth in reality.
And, like as the tree was bent down by the wind,
So there, from afar, did they make salutation
With movements that stirred the jewels in their ears.
Then, as those decked with gems that gleamed with golden light—
As those became visible,
So was the darkness more completely dispersed.
Then the Gé-long Kungáwo, so to be styled,
To these striving after extra-adornment, remarked :
" Women, women ! This your apparel,
" Inflated with pride and devoid of restful excellence,

* Sang-gye, colloquial pronunciation of Sangs-rgyas, Tibetan equivalent of the title ' Buddha.'

" Has been gotten, where it should be hard to be had,
" In the forest—a place free from what burns in the human family.
" Here grow none of those trashy gewgaws
" By which Art has allured Lust;
" For we know they are not worthy to be grasped.
" They who live here possess faces
" Which are absolutely ashamed of a fine voice and fine figure.",
And thereupon, all being seated,
Chomdendé caused them to be taught purity.
He made a beginning by minute instruction
In the innate transitoriness of matter,
From which he caused them to comprehend
That when the love of life had been weakened,
They would live as if that which was eternal in itself
Were always essentially transitory.'

The earliest works, the *bonâ fide* composition of native Tibetans, are ascribed to King Srong-tsan Gampo, *circa* 640 A.D., and are of the deepest possible importance, as bearing upon the strange developements of Buddhism to be found in Tibet at the present day. One principal production is alleged to have been written by this monarch, and is known by the title of 'Chhos Skyong-bai Rgyal-po Bsrong-btsan 'Rgam-poi Bka-Abum' ('The 100,000 Words of Srong-tsan Gampo, the King who defended the Doctrine'). We have not personally been able to procure a copy from Tibet, but a Buriat lama, one Kalsang Gompo, long resident in St. Petersburg, has made an analysis of the twelve parts existing in the museum there.* It is evidently an historical compilation of much value. It contains a mass of curious information concerning the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet; a succinct retrospect of the original rise of that religion up to the date of such introduction; a description of the death of King Srong-tsan; and a copious explanation of all the meanings which are expressed in the famous formula of Tibetan Buddhism, 'Om mani padme Hum.' The latter exposition is of great interest. At every turn in Tibet is this saying of the king's presented to the eye—carved on stone slabs, painted on flags, printed in endless repetition on the paper scrolls in prayer-wheels, cut in gigantic letters on the face of cliffs; but, for all that, it is never once mentioned in Sanskrit classics, nor yet in the classical Tibetan works of the Kangyur and Tengyur. 'Om

* A translation of this work in the Mongol language, with the title 'Mani Kambum,' is one of the six Mongol manuscripts existing in the British Museum Library.

'mani padme Hum,' signifying 'O Jewel sprung from the 'Lotos!' was addressed by the king, in chorus with the petty deities, to Chenraisi when he made his first appearance on earth. It is therefore a prayer not to Buddha, but to the patron saint of Tibet. Prayer in this land is regarded not so much as petition to a divine person as coercion of him. The repetition of this invocation is to coerce Chenraisi's spirit, incarnated in the Dalai Lama, to favour the repeater. This can be accomplished with the lips, but more effectually by turning round a prayer-wheel cylinder which holds wound round its axis a scroll on which the prayer has been printed some thousands of times. Each revolution, of course, is thought to be equivalent to that same number of prayers. Large barrel prayer-cylinders, turning by the automatic power of descending mountain streams, are not uncommon in some districts. At the Darjiling Gompa, we have seen several large prayer barrels driven round by clockwork. Soon, perhaps, electricity and steam may lend their powerful aid to this wholesale prayer system—at least when Tibet lies open to Europeans!

Chronologically speaking, the next author to be named is Buton, an historian. He was born 1290 A.D.; and no fewer than forty volumes are to be found under his name. In the 'Chhos-jung' and 'Deb-ter Ngon-po' he has furnished details of all kings of Tibet from the earliest times to his own day. His chronological statements as contained in the 'Khapabka 'Ts'ad' are those which, through the medium of the Jesuit missionaries of last century, have found a place in most European summaries of Tibetan history. Buton was head lama of the Shalu monastery, still a flourishing establishment, twelve miles south-east of Táshi-lhümpo. We have previously referred to him as the editor of the Kangyur.

Buton was closely followed by one who made a much greater stir in the religious and literary world of his country. The famous reformer, Tsong-khapa, was the founder of the Gelukpa school of Buddhism, which is now the ruling and most popular sect in Tibet. This man, whose real name was Lobzang Gragspa Dpal, and who was a native of the valley of Tsongkha in Eastern Tibet, flourished 1380–1410 A.D. He was not the first reformer of the Tibetan developement of Buddhism. The whole country had become so absorbed in the sorceries and mysticisms of Tantrikism that two hundred years previously Atisha, the pandit from India, had striven to recall the metaphysical and moral teachings of the faith by the foundation of the Kadampa sect; and

Bromston, the philosopher, had refined and carried on the traditions of this school. However, it was reserved to Tsongkhapa to produce a reformation which should be at once popular and learned. He aimed at combining the metaphysics of the Madhyamika system and the soul-sustaining theories of Providence to be found in the Dus-kyi Khorlo philosophy with the ethics of primitive Buddhism. He certainly did not despise an ornate ritual, and the whole tribe of gods and goddesses peculiar to Tibet were given important positions in the services of the temple. He moreover established the Smon-lam Chhenpo, or annual season of intercessory prayer, when Chenráisi and the chief deities were to be worshipped simultaneously at Lhásá, at Tashi-lhümpo, and at all the great religious houses of the Gelukpa community in the land. Tsongkhapa wrote voluminous treatises, the originals of which are still preserved in the Galden monastery. These works include the 'Mnyam-med 'Tsongkhapa Chhenpos Mdzad-pai Byang Chhub Lam Rim 'Chhenpo' ('The Mighty Series of Stages to Perfection which 'the great unrivalled Tsongkhapa laid down')—a book of 491 leaves; the 'Sung Bum,' or '100,000 Sayings;' and the 'Dorje Chhang Chhenpoi Lam-gyi Rimpa'—the principal text-book on the Tantrik ceremonial practised by the Gelukpa school.* None of these works have been read, much less analysed, by European scholars as yet. The first of those mentioned is nevertheless celebrated throughout Tibet as the most important work of mediæval or modern times. The Abbé Huc, it may be remembered, asserts that these writings are in parts clearly traceable to the teachings of the Christian missionaries of the Middle Ages. Certain it is that the

* In 1888, strange to relate, copies of two of Tsongkhapa's works—the first and third of the three mentioned in the text—were discovered in an old hinduised temple, known as the Ghusari Bhot Math, situated on the banks of the Hugli, opposite to Calcutta. It seems that these books, as well as effigies of several Tibetan deities, had been placed in this temple 120 years ago, by a priest whose services had been utilised by Warren Hastings for the conduct of negotiations with the Panchhen Lama of Tashi-lhümpo in Tibet. Hastings provided the temple for the use of Tibetan traders to Calcutta at the request of the great Lama. These books are now in the hands of the Bengal Asiatic Society; but they are in poor preservation compared with the copies of Tsong-khapa's works belonging to the three Oriental libraries in St. Petersburg. Babu S. C. Dás is said to have been commissioned by the Asiatic Society to prepare the 'Lam Rim Chhenpo' for publication.

Nestorians, long before the time of Tsongkhapa, penetrated far into Mongolia, and most probably entered Tibet. Moreover, much of the ritual prevailing in the 'gompas' of the country at the present day, and alleged to have been introduced by the Gelukpa reformer, approximates in many particulars to the ceremonial of both the Nestorian and Armenian Christian Churches. Chandra Das epitomises the leading doctrinal rules set forth by Tsongkhapa somewhat as follows:

1. Constant meditation about the attainment of Bodhisattwa-ship.
2. Universal compassion towards all living beings.
3. Adoration of Buddha, his doctrine, and the church (i.e. the Buddhist Trinity or 'Three Most Precious Things').
4. Renunciation of both business duties and pleasure, and residence as far as possible in solitude.
5. The outward conduct to accord with the disciplinary laws of the Dulwa.
6. Practice of the meditative exercises, holding the while the orthodox theories of universal illusiveness and voidity.
7. Comprehension of the essence of the Mádhyamika philosophy, whereby ultimate saintship is made a certainty.

Perhaps the work which would shed most light on the asserted Christianised innovations is that which delineates the ordinary ritual introduced by the reformer, a copy of which is in the library of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. A huge biography of Tsongkhapa, in both the Mongol and the Tibetan tongues, lies also unexamined in the University of St. Petersburg. In the end, we know, he founded the Galden Monastery, still the headquarters of Gelukpa learning, where in a large casket of pure gold his remains lie embalmed, and his meditation cell with petrified footprints are pointed out. Life-sized images of the saint abound in all temples.

We ought now to refer to the writings which concern the peripatetic hermit Milaraspa, who, however, lived some time previous to Tsongkhapa. He is the poet laureate among Tibetan verse-makers; and his songs, his contentions with heretics, and his miracles, are mentioned with pride everywhere not only in Tibet but in the wilds of Tartary also. With regard to the compositions accredited to Milaraspa, they at least can claim the merit of considerable originality. The poet himself is reputed to have flourished in the eleventh century A.D.; and yet it is noteworthy that the works bearing his name are written in a vernacular differing little from that now generally current as the colloquial idiom of the

people, and for the same reason differing greatly from the old classical treatises both in grammar and vocabulary. Probably the writings ascribed to him were the productions of a later age. According to these texts, Milaraspa seems to have spent his days wandering from place to place chiefly in those districts immediately adjacent to the Himalayas. He preached in verse and dabbled in magic; his main efforts being directed against the adherents to the old Bon faith still lingering then as now in the remoter districts of Tibet. He was accompanied during his peregrinations by a large retinue of disciples, who divided their time between meditative exercises and listening to the sage's doctrinal expositions. In spite of the icy temperature of his favourite haunts, the ascetic went about clad only in one thin vestment. He thus describes himself in one of his exordia:

'I am Milaraspa great in fame,
The direct offspring of Memory and Wisdom.
Yet an old man am I, forlorn and naked;
From my lips springs forth a little song,
For all nature at which I look
Serves me for a book.
The iron staff that my hands hold
Guides me o'er the ocean of changing life.
Master am I of Mind and Light,
And in showing feats and miracles,
Depend not on earthly deities.'

The particular Buddhist sect to which Milaraspa belonged was a hybrid one, formed of the Ká-dampa school, already referred to, and the Ká-gyüd-pa school, which had been started in rivalry. A powerful deity, Lag-na Dorje, prince of the Noi-jin, or gods of the mountains, was held to preside over the sect, and was, in fact, the tutelary deity of Milaraspa. The leading theories set forth in the sage's songs are those of the universal illusiveness of all thoughts and possible conceptions as well as of all material things, and the advantages of various mechanical methods of meditation principally induced by suppressing one's breath, and so forcing it to enter certain specified bloodvessels of the body. On the first theory one of his many ditties thereanent may be extracted:

'My sons, depart not, depart not in the midst of a lesson!
For if you depart in the midst of instruction,
Sometimes there ariseth the semblance of Food.
Whensoever the semblance of Food shall arise,
Instead of Food, swallow untainted Contemplation;
Know all the sweetest flavours to be illusions.

Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Raiment;
Whensoever the appearance of Raiment shall arise,
Instead of Raiment, be clad in the blessed warmth of the Tumpo; *
Know all that is soft and fine to be illusions.
Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Wealth;
Whensoever the appearance of Money shall arise,
Instead of Money, seize on the Seven Jewels of the Saints;
Know all things costly to be illusions.
Sometimes there ariseth the appearance of Friends;
Whensoever the appearance of Friends shall arise,
Instead of Friends, confide in Wisdom that is self-sprung;
Know all comrades and friends to be illusions.
Sometimes there upriseth the appearance of a Lama;
Whensoever the appearance of a Lama arises,
Place your requests in the very crown of his imperishable head,
Meditate as it were in the depths of his unforgetful heart;
Yet even a Lama is an illusive dream.
Nevertheless, knowing all things to be illusions,
That which is profound may arise—the Hare with a Horn.
That Horn is like a king seated on the divan;
Behind, it is like a white flag uplifted on a hill;
In front, it resembles a mound heaped with precious things;
At the summit, it resembles a jewelled cock's-comb;
It is as officers bending low on seven mountains;
It is like a *mandal* of gold in a wooded meadow.
Those destined for conversion are on the shoulder of such a hill as that;
And you, when you have gone thither, accomplish their conversion.'

There can be no question that this quaint old sage had an eye for the beauties of nature—all nature, as he asserts, was to him a book—and therein consists his main claim to be deemed a poet. Tibet abounds with the most fantastic phenomena of geology—everything on a large scale, weird, forbidding, mysterious. The influence which mountains, darksome glaciers, and unfathomable gorges, exercised over the writer of Milaraspa's works is evidenced in almost every page. And it is this sense of the romance of God's handiwork in its wildest developements which justifies the claim we set out with in this paper—that the Tibetans are a people by no means devoid of poetical taste. The chief production ascribed to Milaraspa is the 'One Hundred Thousand 'Songs,' comprising a narrative of a portion of the worthy

* *Tumpo*, in the higher mysticism, is the delicious feeling of warmth and lightness which the blood and the whole body acquire by means of holding back the breath and drawing it inwards during meditation. See on this, 'Contemporary Review,' February 1890, p. 267.

man's wanderings plentifully interspersed with his ditties and metrical expositions of doctrine; these, however, number less than 200, instead of 100,000 as stated in the metaphorical title. A second work is known as the 'Namt'ar,' or autobiography of the saint, a smaller and scarcer book, more of a consecutive narrative than the Songs. Another Milaraspa volume is also reported, and this is said to be a narration of his miracles.* Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the sage's writings is the insight they afford us into the characteristics of that part of Buddhist mythology which is distinctively Tibetan. We may take a final glance at our author's style with a short translation made from a couple of folios taken by us haphazard from the first-named book:

'The Reverend Milaraspa was abiding on a mountain range, together with the various persons who were his own spiritual sons. It was a lonely place just on the border line between Nipal and Tibet—a lofty and rugged hill named Snyi-shang Gur-ta. Clouds and mist were creeping around; whilst snow and rain were falling without intermission. On a mountain to the right were high craggy rocks, where wild beasts were calling with hoarse voices, and vultures and eagles were soaring. On a mountain to the left were grassy hills, rich and smooth, where game—stags and gazelles and antelopes—were roaming at will, frolicking and playing. In front of them was a fine forest, wherein bloomed various kinds of flowers. There, long-tailed monkeys and apes were exercising with agility; and peacocks and jolmoes were uttering songs and lifting up their voices in harmonious chorus with long-drawn cries, fluttering and ever transposing their plumage. Down below, in front of the cavern where they were meditating, rust-coloured streams and snowy rills and slate-coloured rivulets were falling falling incessantly, throwing up tuneful talk as they descended. It was pleasant to the mind and lonely. They were in a cavern, Katya by name, a solitary spot which combined security with a favourable situation. Those who were not men of the white side† performed necessary duties as well as sat in the very depth of contemplation of the flowing of the waters.

'One night, up above that place, there arose the sharp sharp barking

* The full title of the first work is, 'Rje-btsun Milaraspai Rnam-'t'ar Rgyas-par p'ye-wa Mgur-abum.' Our own copy of the work, which is a block print of 264 leaves printed on both sides, was purchased from a Sikkim lama of Pema-yangtse Monastery. Our copy was printed in Khams; whereas the St. Petersburg specimens are the larger and partly illegible editions of Narthang, of 342 leaves. The second work has the title, 'Rnal-abyor-gyi Dbang P'yug Dampa 'Rje-btsun Milaraspai Rnam-t'ar' (Biography of the Holy Rich Power of Meditation, the Reverend Milaraspa).

† *White side*; a poetical term signifying the snowy land of Tibet.

of dogs, and, after that, a loud groaning voice. At first it came into the mind of the Reverend One: "There is a great increase of medita-"tive exercises in this place!" Then again he thought: "Is it some "accident that has occurred?" He went to the entrance of the cave, and on the side of a huge boulder sate engrossed in deep compassion, though without any exercise of the imagination.* Close in front of him there sprang up a black deer, to all appearance prostrate with terror, and with dusty drops falling from the roots of every single hair. Great and irresistible pity arose in the mind of his Reverence. The effects of the deeds of a former existence lay hold of the body like this! However innocent one may be in this life, still it is necessary to suffer unendurable misfortunes such as these—ah! poor creatures! Revolving the diffusion of plans for continual happiness by means of expositions of the doctrine of the Greater Vehicle † to such as these, he sang this ditty to the deer:

'"I bow to the feet of Marpa,‡ saint of the Southern Rock!
May the blessing be vouchsafed to mortals,
That their misfortunes may be soothed!
Thou, thinking creature, with a deer's body and a head of thorns,
Listen to Mila's song—'The Deer's Body and the Thorny Head.'§
While roaming to and fro in the outer world
You were unliberated from the diseases of Ignorance and Illusion.
Be not therefore disheartened when about to abandon the exterior body and mind!
When the time arrives for resigning Illusion and want of knowledge,
The real reward of one's deeds‖ is very swift.
The outward phantom body having fled, then is set free the important part.
On that flight, the inward Soul also takes its departure;
That very Soul passes on to the Place of Perfection.
The other,¶ when fled, though released, is deceived with desires:
It remains here with a mistaken mind.
As to you, on your now rising up,
To die will be intolerable to your heart;
But we each must pass on to the slope of some further hill,
When we have done with the slope of the nearer one;
And Hope and Fear from their very nature wander in circles.
To you have I now spoken and given a lesson in the Six Doctrines,
I have exhibited a meditation of the Great Sacred Seal."

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* The words we have thus translated form a technical expression of Buddhist philosophy, meaning the pity which the accomplished saint feels towards all beings, not from sympathy with their bodily sufferings, but because they are not as he is, but are still subject to ignorance and mistakes.

† The Mahâyana method for attaining Nirvana.

‡ Marpa was the teacher and spiritual father of Milaraspa.

§ It will be seen that the song or exposition which followed has nothing specially to do with the not unpoetical title he attached to it.

‖ I.e. the Tibetan *las* or Sanskrit *karma*.

¶ I.e. the phantom body.

'Thus he spake. And on hearing a song of Brahma such as this, it (the deer) listened and was enthralled; and because a song was uttered which stole away the mind, it went out from the path in which it was going. Later, the mind of the Reverend One calmed the fright and distress of the deer sufficiently for it to draw near. It shed a few tears; and casting aside its fear of the Reverend One, it licked his robe and remained lying down to the left side of him.

'It occurred to the mind of the Reverend One: "From that noise of dogs overhead, there was certainly some animal injuring and torturing this deer." He was on the point of reflecting "What was it like?" when a red bitch, with a collar made of the black tail of the yak twisted, and with its four claws torn by the rocks, and its foaming tongue lolling out a little, appeared. Emitting a violent cry with most angry dangerous intent, it sprang toward the deer with a flash like that of lightning overhead. Observing that this was about to occur—the perpetration of injury and torment to the deer, and that that which was a reality of the external world was decidedly this dog. Accepting it as a foe, he thought: "Would that I could soothe the anger of such a being, which is not separated from a wrathful disposition!" Accordingly he sang to the bitch a song which will ever extract all aversion from the mind and make compassion manifest.

. . . . . .

Thus he sang. And by virtue of the mighty pity of his Reverence, he spake the Doctrine in this song of Brahma. The bitch was soothed from her anger. Whining forth cries through her nose, she wagged her tail at his Reverence and licked his garments, making signs of respect of various kinds. Then, on the right-hand side of the saint, having thrust its muzzle between its two paws, its eyes overflowed with tears; and it lay down with the deer as if they had been mother and son.'

Other popular writers are Padma Jung-nai, whose sayings in the Padma T'ang-yig ('Lotos Picture Writings') are in the mouth of every traveller ascending the weary passes of the Himalayas; Kun-lek, a rhymester much quoted by the corpse-seekers and vagabonds of Lhásá; and the author of the *Rinchhen T'eng-wa*, or 'Precious Rosary,' a volume of sententious axioms.

Historical works form the most readable section of the indigenous literature. The various histories are valuable in studying the annals not merely of Tibet, but of the neighbouring kingdoms to the north-east and north-west. In chronology Tibetan writers are infinitely superior to Pali and Sanskrit authors, whose statements of dates and periods of years are grossly unreliable. We have in the Gyalrabs a history of the kings of Tibet written 250 years ago by the Fifth Grand Lama of Lhásá. It is replete with anecdote, and full of mythological ramblings; but in the chronicling of the landmarks of Tibetan history is fairly accurate. The

Waidurya Karpo, or 'White Lapis Lazuli,' is a chronological composition, giving under the different dates pithy summaries of events connected with the great men and leading monasteries of the country. It was written by the Lhásá Regent, Tisri, about two hundred years ago, in addition to his other works on political economy and medicine. Then also must be mentioned 'A Clear Mirror of the Race of Kings,' an account of the ruling monarchs of Ladak and Yarlung, a work which was discovered in Ladak by the brothers Schlagintweit, and subsequently published with a German translation by Dr. Emil Schlagintweit at Munich. In the eighteenth century another popular historian came to the front. This was Chhoi-kyi Nyima Pal Zang-po, of Amdo, who in 1740 A.D. produced some remarkable chronicles concerning the rise and progress of Buddhism in Nipal, Tibet, Mongolia, and China. He also wrote a history of the Bon religion, the primitive creed of Tibet.

We have no space to dwell further on these and other works. Medical writings would require a special section, and include such treatises as 'The Hundred Thousand Vegetables,' and those already mentioned above. The philosophical treatises and biographies written by the Pekin and Mongal Lamas likewise deserve mention. These number two hundred at least.

The days of Tibetan authorship have by no means passed away. Even in our own times ecclesiastics in Mongolia, as well as in Tibet, continue to busy themselves in the compilation of heavy tomes in the sacred language. One of the most interesting of modern works is a Life of Lobzang Paldan Yeshes, the celebrated Panchhen Lama, who visited China in the last century, a two-volume work of two thousand leaves. Chandra Dás mentions, moreover, in his Confidential Report to the Indian Government, that when, in 1882, he visited Táshi-lhümpo, he found the Abbot of the Ngag-pa Ta-tsang (the great Tantrik college of the monastery there) just about sending to press an historical work dealing with the eighteen schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Furthermore, it would seem, this learned individual was not so ignorant of European science as one might have imagined, as he is said to have been intent upon the production of another book also—on photography!

We are concerned in the present article solely with the writings of native authors. However, in referring to the production of modern works, it behoves us at least to men-

tion the translations of Holy Scripture, as well as numerous Christian tractates issued of late in the Tibetan language by the Moravian missionaries of Lahul. During the greater part of the year snowed up in the fastnesses of the Himalayas, these good men are at once their own bookbinders, printers, authors, and publishers. Through the industry of Messrs. H. A. Jaeschke,* F. Redslob, and A. W. Heyde, in this way many small educational works, secular as well as religious, have been composed and printed; whilst the Pentateuch and the whole of the New Testament have been translated and published; and the Psalms and Isaiah, prepared by the missionaries, are being printed at Berlin during the present year.† The correctness and purity of style of these books and translations have been remarked upon even by Tibetan Buddhists. In the version of the Bible the phrases of the modern colloquial have been judiciously combined with the formal and elaborate style of the ancient classics which every Tibetan deems essential in religious writings. Thus in our own time the most accurate and readable compositions in the language are the work of Europeans and non-Buddhists.

Taken as a whole the study of Tibetan literature must be pronounced disappointing, though only so far as the complete range of Buddhist writings, in whatever language they are written, proves disappointing to the most enthusiastic students. Admitting the existence of some poetical thoughts and certain novel philosophical tenets, we presently find how poor is the store of these, and with what perseverance and kaleidoscopic talent the meagre stock is arranged and rearranged. In this respect Tibetan history and biography, however, are superior in variety and originality to the same departments in Sanskrit literature. But neither the Tibetan nor—be it whispered—even the best Indian author has much notion of what a continuous and progressive narrative should be. He begins to recount a tale or write a biography, and, being apparently unable to carry it on, he diverges into stale Buddhist platitudes and vapid repetitions of what has gone before. The Arabic story spinner, or the Hebrew annalist, is capable of making progress with, and of inspiring

* Dr. H. A. Jaeschke, author of the voluminous and learned 'Tibetan Dictionary,' published by Government, died in September 1883.

† Of the original compilations, the best written are 'A Voyage to Europe,' by Jaeschke, and 'A Look into the Universe' and 'The Rope,' by Heyde. A collection of over two hundred hymns in Tibetan is another remarkable achievement.

real and human interest in, his recital; but all Buddhist and Hindu authors—Tibetan, Pali, or Sanskrit—seem utterly deficient in the faculty of 'getting on,' and almost as powerless to vary matter and style as an organ-grinder to alter the sequence of his tunes. Take the narratives—stirring, strong, and pithy—to be found in the Hebrew books of Genesis, Judges, and the Kings (written, perhaps, three thousand years ago, and yet thrilling to children and adults in England even now), and compare any of the stories there with selected passages from the Mahabhárata, written thirteen hundred years later; then where at all shall the latter be ranked? Let us read consecutively, for instance, the story of Esau's lost blessing, and the account of Shakyamuni's 'Great Renunciation,' even though embellished with Sir Edwin Arnold's choicest bathos. Can Sanskrit poetry take any comparable place beside Homer, Euripides, or the Persian 'Gulistan' of Saadi? We indeed speak feelingly, as having expended some years of our life over the turgid vapourings of Indian authorship. A vague fascination, a wild hope that something better is surely coming, keeps one up. Such trust is rarely rewarded. Still there is much that is alluring in the philosophical spirit with which these old writers set about examination into matter and spirit and all the occult problems of life. The grievance is that the promise is so great, the performance so little. Such elaborate preparations are made for any inquiry—the start is good—an intellectual treat, you imagine, lies in store; and then comes in the weakness of Indian logic—conclusions totally beside the subject, impotent, inadequate, childish. Nevertheless, the vistas opened out into unexplored regions of psychology are valuable, or at least suggestive, to the modern ethical student. In this respect the treatises of Tibetan writers, such as Tsongkhapa, composed about four hundred years ago, display an acute power of psychic analysis which one looks for in vain in the pages of the much-vaunted 'Prajña Paramitá.' If the Oriental scholars of Europe could only overcome that exclusive pedantry which keeps them chained to the narrow furrows of Pali and Sanskrit studies, they might discover, here and elsewhere, fields of curious learning equally, and even better, worth turning over than those where they have been so long ploughing.*

* The lectures of Sir Monier Williams on 'Buddhism' have been collected and republished in a volume of considerable learning and interest. But the author has acquired his knowledge of the Buddhist

ART. VI.—*The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1660–1783. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, United States Navy. Boston and London: 1890.

CAPTAIN MAHAN is the lecturer on naval history at the United States Naval War College at Newport, Rhode Island, and, in the volume whose title stands at the head of this article, has reproduced the substance of his lectures during the past three or four years. It is thus to be considered, primarily at least, not so much as a contribution to history as an exposition of the principles of naval strategy and tactics, and of the aims and methods of the science of naval war. On this account it has been suggested, more especially, we believe, on the other side of the Atlantic, that the title is misleading or insufficient. We understand it rather as implying that the author, in seeking a wider public, has wished to emphasise those parts of his work which have a wider interest—the discussion of causes and their results in preference to the examination of the manner in which these results have been brought about. But in either sense we have nothing but compliments to pay to the author on the ability with which he has fulfilled his task. In this country the circumstances of the book's origin are of little moment; what chiefly concerns us is its merit, which in its own line is unrivalled, and its interest which would always be great, but is particularly so at the present time, when the conditions of naval strategy have been and are still being discussed among us with reference to the important problems of national defence. It has, too, an additional value as the statement of conclusions arrived at by an expert who approaches the question without national bias, and who examines and criticises the war policy of England and of

texts either from Sanscrit translations of them or from the Pali records of Ceylon. He claims no acquaintance with Tibet or the Tibetan language and literature, and the lectures devoted to Tibetan Buddhism, or, as he calls it, Lamaism, are composed of materials taken from Koeppen, Csoma Körösi, Huc, and other writers. In our opinion, this is to omit the most essential part of the subject. The principal seat of Buddhism is in Tibet. Sir Monier says himself that the Tibetan language is the orthodox language of Buddhism, just as Latin is that of the Church of Rome. Yet our English Orientalists are far behind those of France, Germany, and France, in the study of it. They have been deceived by the theory that Buddhism is a developement of Brahmanism, instead of having recourse to the original sources and records of the Buddhist faith in Tibet.

France, of Holland, or of Spain with the same impartiality as if it were that of Rome or of Carthage.

From his position at the Naval War College, as well as from the title which he has given his work, it might be prejudged that Captain Mahan would lay great stress on the value of the lessons of history. His contention throughout is, in fact, that the principles of the science of war, by sea as well as by land, are immutable; are always and everywhere the same; are to be learned from history, and from it alone; and that what history teaches with respect to them is as applicable now as it was two thousand years ago. On precedents he lays comparatively little stress; the study of them is, he thinks, mainly valuable as an intellectual exercise, leading the trained mind to a rapid estimate of the difficulties or opportunities of any position or contingency; but the accidents of the age, the differences of motive power or of arms, are so great that points of divergence will commonly be more prominent than points of resemblance. The ancient or mediæval galleys have, for instance, been often compared with the modern ships of war as possessing motive power independent of the wind; but they differed in that power being essentially small and short-lived, and in the vessels themselves being but imperfectly seaworthy. Any precedent derived from their conduct can therefore be, at most, only suggestive. The difference between modern ships and the sailing vessels of eighty years ago has been more commonly dwelt on; but they possess the same capability of existing and of operating on the open sea, and for tactical purposes a modern superiority of speed is directly comparable with the weather gage of former days. Captain Mahan traces also a certain resemblance in the division of modern armament between long-range guns and torpedoes and that of sailing ships between long guns and carronades; their respective use involves the same tactical considerations, and the analogy, though it may be easily exaggerated, is, he says, 'real, not 'forced.' The tactical principles underlying the conduct of sailing ships or galleys in actual combat are thus, he urges, worthy of careful study, even though the essential differences between them and modern ships render it impossible to cite their experiences as tactical precedents.

'It is, however, in those wider operations of war which are comprised under the name of strategy, which embrace a whole theatre of war, and in a maritime contest may cover a large portion of the globe, that the teachings of history have a more evident and permanent

value, because the conditions remain more permanent. The theatre of war may be larger or smaller, its difficulties more or less pronounced, the contending armies more or less great, the necessary movements more or less easy, but these are simply differences of scale, of degree, not of kind. . . . The advance from the galley, timidly creeping from port to port, to the sailing ship, launching out boldly to the ends of the earth, and from the latter to the steamship of our own time, has increased the scope and the rapidity of naval operations without necessarily changing the principles which should direct them. . . . Before hostile armies or fleets are brought into contact (a word which, perhaps, better than any other indicates the dividing line between tactics and strategy) there are a number of questions to be decided, covering the whole plan of operations throughout the theatre of war. Among these are the proper function of the navy in the war, its true objective, the point or points upon which it should be concentrated, the establishment of depôts of coal and supplies, the maintenance of communications between these depôts and the home base, the military value of commerce-destroying as a decisive or a secondary operation of war, the system upon which that commerce-destroying can be most efficiently conducted, whether by scattered cruisers or by holding in force some vital centre through which commercial shipping must pass. All these are strategic questions, and upon all these history has a great deal to say.'

It has, for instance, to show how the battle of the Nile, by cutting Napoleon's communications with France, defeated his Egyptian enterprise, and that in all localities and in all ages a similar cause has produced a similar result.

One of the most interesting of the many interesting illustrations of this permanence of principle, on which Captain Mahan lays so much stress, is drawn from the second Punic war, the decision of which he conceives to have been mainly influenced by the Roman command of the sea, operating not in destruction, not in brilliant achievement, but by persistent pressure and by holding the lines of communication in overwhelming force. He points out that whether Hannibal had or had not other reasons for preferring the long and dangerous march into Italy, as the case stood he had no choice; for the Carthaginian fleet on the coast of Spain was distinctly inferior to that of Rome. Had it been otherwise, and had other reasons, of which nothing is known, not prevented his going by sea, he would have arrived in Italy at the head of 80,000 veteran soldiers, instead of 25,000 or 30,000 who crossed the Alps, while the Roman troops were being carried, at pleasure, between Italy, Spain, and the mouths of the Rhone. The continuance of the Roman command of the sea, which, after their experience of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians seem scarcely to have con-

tested, prevented Hannibal from drawing his supplies and reinforcements from Carthage, from Spain, or from Macedonia. A Roman squadron at Brundusium (Brindisi) prevented the Macedonians from moving, and though the Carthaginians did succeed in sending over a detachment of 4,000 men they found it impossible to do more. Mommsen has argued that they were prevented by the virulence of faction rather than by the Roman sea power, his contention being that, as they could land 4,000 men, they could have landed any desired number. This Captain Mahan does not admit.

'The control of the sea,' he says, 'however real, does not imply that an enemy's single ships or small squadrons cannot steal out of port, cannot cross more or less frequented tracts of ocean, make harassing descents upon unprotected points of a long coast-line, enter blockaded harbours. On the contrary, history has shown that such evasions are always possible, to some extent, to the weaker party, however great the inequality of naval strength.'

That the Carthaginians were conscious of the difference appears from the fact that when, at last, a great effort was made to send reinforcements, they undertook the long and difficult route by land, which, as is familiarly known, Hasdrubal failed to accomplish. In all this there is scarcely an incident that was not exactly paralleled in the wars of the French Revolution, or against Napoleon, whose career has been sometimes compared with that of Hannibal. A body of troops, under General Humbert, was landed in Killala Bay in 1798; but neither in Ireland nor in England did the French succeed in landing an army, although the number of their fleet in Brest was generally equal and not unfrequently superior to that of the English outside. The march to Moscow would probably—the fatal retreat would certainly—not have been undertaken could Napoleon have conveyed his troops to the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg by sea, had the command of the sea not been in the hands of the enemy.

In considering this permanence of strategic principles Captain Mahan justly refers to the proximity of the sites of battles so decisive in their respective epochs as Actium and Lepanto. 'Was this,' he asks, 'a mere coincidence, or 'was it due to conditions that recurred and may recur 'again? If the latter, it is worth while to study out the 'reason; for if there should again arise a great Eastern 'power of the sea, like that of Antony or of Turkey, the 'strategic questions would be similar;' and in a note he

points out that Navarino also was fought in the same neighbourhood. He might, indeed, have named many others, including those which ushered in the Peloponnesian war and Barbarossa's defeat of Doria, in 1538, fought in the very same waters as Actium. It thus appears that whenever Corinth has been held by a naval power the entrance of the Gulf of Patras has been the scene of contest—a fact that quite warrants Captain Mahan's suggestion that, should the existing conditions of sea power be modified by Russia obtaining possession of the entrance to the Mediterranean, this locality might again be the battle-field of the East and West, more especially as, with a little extension, it equally commands the fair-way of the Adriatic.

The number of battles in this vicinity may be fairly compared with that of the battles near the entrance of the Mediterranean itself, all fought, more or less, for the right of passing, during the last three hundred years: they range from the destruction of the Spanish fleet by the Dutch, under Heemskerck, in Gibraltar Bay in 1607, to Trafalgar in 1805, and Napier's action off Cape St. Vincent in 1833, not to speak of the capture of the English convoys in 1693 and 1780, and the numerous captures of Spanish treasure ships, which refer rather to the neighbourhood of Cadiz than the Straits. In the same way the neighbourhood of the Straits of Dover has been a witness to many engagements, and more especially in early times, counting from the annihilation of the French fleet in 1217 to the action which was not fought off Dungeness in 1744; and if, in more recent years, hostile fleets have not met in this locality, it is owing to the incontestable superiority which, for the most part, England has been able to establish in the narrow seas. Many other instances might be given, but these are sufficient, and point clearly enough to the fact that the approach to any important line of communication is of necessity the scene of the most active belligerent operations, and that, as heretofore so also in the future, the naval battles will be in the immediate proximity of those points which are, for the time being, the foci of navigation.

Geography, or rather topography, has always been accepted as pre-eminently a military science; but, by some confusion of ideas, it seems to have been concluded that it relates only to war by land. It really relates in an equal degree to war by sea; and in examining the conditions affecting the sea power of nations Captain Mahan properly ranks geographical position as the first. 'If,' he says, 'a nation be so situated

'that it is neither forced to defend itself by land nor in-
'duced to seek extension of its territory by way of the land,
'it has, by the very unity of its aim directed upon the sea,
'an advantage as compared with a people one of whose
'boundaries is continental.' 'This,' he adds, 'has been a
'great advantage to England over both France and Holland
'as a sea power.' He might have strengthened his argu-
ment by pointing out that though England has always
ranked as a sea power she scarcely began to develope her
maritime greatness till Scotland was neutralised by the
deposition of Queen Mary. This may perhaps seem a mere
coincidence; but very slight consideration will show that a
hostile or even a doubtful neighbour on the land frontier
would have acted on the naval power of England as it
unquestionably did on that of France.

Again, 'the geographical position may be such as of itself
'to promote a concentration or to necessitate a dispersion of
'the naval forces;' and in this respect also he considers
the British Islands have an advantage over France, whose
position, 'touching the Mediterranean as well as the Ocean,
'while it has its advantages, is on the whole a source of
'military weakness at sea.' Recent critics in England, and
notably Sir George Elliot, have called attention to the
advantage of the French position, but have ignored the
weakness. The teaching of history is that the weakness pre-
ponderates; that the French Mediterranean and Ocean fleets
have never been able to unite, except under circumstances
of gross negligence on the part of our Government; and
that failing to unite, they have suffered such crushing defeats
as La Hogue, Lagos, Quiberon Bay, and Trafalgar. Sir
George Elliot's contention would seem to be that, in view
of the possibility of the French fleets joining without our
knowledge, it would be necessary for this country to maintain,
both in the Mediterranean and in the Western seas, a fleet
equal to the joint force of the French two. History shows
rather that, with due care, a fleet equal to one is sufficient
for practical purposes; and that where there is not due
care danger, like love, will find out a way; if not that
intimated by Sir George Elliot, then some other: the
doubling of the fleet would of itself be no infallible safe-
guard.

England has further, Captain Mahan points out, the very
great advantage of controlling 'one of the great thorough-
'fares of the world's traffic.' In peace or war her position on
the Channel, with secure harbours and roadsteads as a basis,

has a very high strategic value. The position of Spain, commanding at once the route to the Mediterranean and to the Cape of Good Hope, to the West Indies and South America, is geographically of even greater value; but the loss of Gibraltar, he thinks, deprived her of the control of the Straits, 'and has imposed an obstacle to the easy junction of the two 'divisions of her fleet '—so long, that is, as Gibraltar is held by a superior power. But the naval weakness of Spain depends on conditions anterior to the loss of Gibraltar, and caused it, was not caused by it. Italy, Captain Mahan considers, 'is 'very well placed for exerting a decisive influence on the 'trade route to the Levant and by the Isthmus of Suez;' but the advantages of her position are largely neutralised by the loss of Malta and Corsica, islands 'naturally Italian,' and, 'from race affinities and situation, legitimately objects of 'desire to Italy.' This presentment of the facts is not strictly correct. Malta, by situation, is as much African as Italian, by historical association more so; by race affinity it is probably Phœnician; in their commercial instincts the people would seem to be akin to the Jews, and their language is a dialect of Arabic. Captain Mahan has probably been misled by the gross mistake committed many years ago by our Government in appointing Italian as the language of the law courts, thus giving a certain countenance to the pretension that the island belongs 'naturally' to Italy. But the consideration of Italy's position leads directly to a consideration of the part which the Mediterranean has occupied in the history of the world.

'Nation after nation has striven to control it, and the strife still goes on. Therefore a study of the conditions upon which preponderance in its waters has rested and now rests, and of the relative military values of different points upon its coasts, will be more instructive than the same amount of effort expended in another field. Furthermore, it has at the present time a very marked analogy in many respects to the Caribbean Sea—an analogy which will be still closer if a Panama Canal route ever be completed. . . . If a Central American canal be made, and fulfil the hopes of its builders, the Caribbean will be changed from a terminus and place of local traffic, or at best a broken and imperfect line of travel, as it now is, into one of the great highways of the world. Along this path a great commerce will travel, bringing the interests of the other great nations, the European nations, close along our shores as they have never been before. With this it will not be so easy as heretofore to stand aloof from international complications. The position of the United States with reference to this route will resemble that of England to the Channel, and of the Mediterranean countries to the Suez route.'

That is to say, the United States have a great natural advantage ; but at present they are weak, unprepared for war, and the Gulf coast has no ports combining security from an enemy with facilities for repairing ships of war of the first class. This is a great but not insuperable defect ; and 'with proper military preparation, for which she has all 'necessary means, the preponderance of the United States 'on this field follows, from her geographical position and 'her power, with mathematical certainty.'

Physical conformation, which Captain Mahan ranks as the second element of sea power, is also a question of topography. A country, he says, can have no sea trade of its own, no shipping, no navy, however long its sea-board, if it has no harbours ; and he instances the case of Belgium, when a Spanish and Austrian province, after the closing of the Scheldt by the treaty of 1648. In showing how, by this treaty, the sea trade of Belgium was transferred to Holland, he might have added that Holland, having obtained the advantage, jealously guarded it, and was aided in doing so by England. It was by the action of these two that the Ostend Company was put an end to in 1731. Had it been permitted to continue, Ostend might, notwithstanding natural difficulties, have been formed into a commercial port. In this respect also England has, and still more had, the advantage over France, which had no port on the Channel for ships of the line, whilst England had 'two great 'arsenals at Plymouth and Portsmouth, besides other har- 'bours of refuge and supply.' This defect of conformation has since been, to some extent, remedied by the works of Cherbourg. It may, however, be questioned whether, under modern conditions, Cherbourg would be a safe port, and whether the arsenal would long continue to be one if, in time of war, its destruction was attempted, say with the equivalent of such a force as was brought against Sveaborg in 1855.

Another geographical condition affecting sea power, on which Captain Mahan lays some stress, is the extent, fertility, and climate of a country—in a word, its ability to support itself. France, he suggests, is 'a pleasant land, with a delightful 'climate, producing within itself more than its people 'needed ;' they were, therefore, by no means eager to seek for riches and maintenance abroad. The instance, however, which is evidently repeated from a French source, is strained ; for no one familiar with the terrible accounts of the continually recurring famines in France can admit that the

French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were suffering from a plethora of the natural gifts of the soil, or would have disdained any known or available means of bettering their condition.

'England, on the other hand,' he continues, 'received from nature but little, and, until her manufactures were developed, had little to export. Their many wants, combined with their restless activity and other conditions that favoured maritime enterprise, led her people abroad, and they there found lands more pleasant and richer than their own.'

But all this is, on the face of it, a French presentment, and ignores the facts—which, as an American and a student of naval history, Captain Mahan must know—that the early English settlers in Virginia, for instance, did not find these pleasanter and richer lands; and that the French did, in the end of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, develope a remarkable maritime energy, which might have led anyone forecasting the future to predict for her the command of the sea. How completely she falsified this early promise is shown on almost every page of Captain Mahan's book; but the cause, both as regards France and England, must be looked for in the 'other conditions' here vaguely referred to. Applied to Holland, the proposition would seem more accurate.

'If England was drawn to the sea, Holland was driven to it; without the sea England languished, but Holland died. In the height of her greatness, when she was one of the chief factors in European politics, a competent native authority estimated that the soil of Holland could not support more than one-eighth of her inhabitants. The manufactures of the country were then numerous and important, but they had been much later in their growth than the shipping interest. The poverty of the soil and the exposed nature of the coast drove the Dutch first to fishing. Then the discovery of the process of curing the fish gave them material for export as well as home consumption, and so laid the corner-stone of their wealth. Thus they had become traders at the time that the Italian republics, under the pressure of Turkish power and the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, were beginning to decline, and they fell heirs to the great Italian trade of the Levant. Further favoured by their geographical position, intermediate between the Baltic, France, and the Mediterranean, and at the mouth of the German rivers, they quickly absorbed nearly all the carrying trade of Europe. The wheat and naval stores of the Baltic, the trade of Spain with her colonies in the New World, the wines of France, and the French coasting trade were little more than two hundred years ago transported in Dutch shipping. Much of the carrying trade of England even was then done in Dutch bottoms.'

Other conditions, more especially the temper and aptitude of the people, and a popular government which gave the natural genius free scope, no doubt co-operated with this geographical suggestion, with the result that the country arrived at a very high pitch of prosperity, in spite of the long and cruel war which it had to wage for national existence. This war the sea power thus early developed brought to a successful issue. Through the early part of the seventeenth century the Dutch fleets had everywhere the advantage over the Spanish; they cut the Spanish communications by sea, and finished with the overwhelming victory in the Downs in 1639. But, as Captain Mahan well points out,

'their whole prosperity stood on the sea power to which their poverty gave birth. Their food, their clothing, the raw material for their manufactures, the very timber and hemp with which they built and rigged their ships, were imported; and when a disastrous war with England in 1653 and 1654 had lasted eighteen months, and their shipping business was stopped, it is said "the sources of revenue "which had always maintained the riches of the State, such as fisheries "and commerce, were almost dry. Workshops were closed, work was "suspended; the Zuyder Zee became a forest of masts; the country "was full of beggars; grass grew in the streets, and in Amsterdam "fifteen hundred houses were untenanted." A humiliating peace alone saved them from ruin.'

This result, he argues, shows the weakness of a country depending wholly upon external sources, and continues—

'With large deductions, owing to differences of condition which need not here be spoken of, the case of Holland then has strong points of resemblance to that of Great Britain now; and they are true prophets, though they seem to be having small honour in their own country, who warn her that the continuance of her prosperity at home depends primarily upon maintaining her power abroad.'

The lesson, as it appeals to us, is too important to be lightly put on one side. We may contend that with a larger and richer country we have more resources than the Dutch; but we must bear in mind that our population also is much greater, and that, as one effect of our economic laws, we are more entirely dependent on external sources, not for prosperity alone, but for life, than ever were the Dutch.

When Captain Mahan goes on to apply his argument to the United States he is on his own ground; his statements are at first hand, and his position, though not new, is certainly not familiar to English readers.

'It is of more interest to Americans,' he says, 'to note that the result to France, regarded as a power of the sea, caused by the extent, delightfulness, and richness of the land, has been reproduced in the United States. In the beginning their forefathers held a narrow strip of land upon the sea, fertile in parts, though little developed, abounding in harbours and near rich fishing grounds. These physical conditions combined with an inborn love of the sea to keep alive all those tendencies and pursuits upon which a healthy sea power depends. Almost every one of the original colonies was on the sea or one of its great tributaries. All export and import tended toward one coast. Interest in the sea and an intelligent appreciation of the part it played in the public welfare were easily and widely spread; and a motive more influential than care for the public interest was also active; for the abundance of ship-building materials and a relative fewness of other investments made shipping a profitable private interest. How changed the present condition is all know. The centre of power is no longer on the seaboard. Books and newspapers vie with one another in describing the wonderful growth and still undeveloped riches of the interior. Capital there finds its best investments, labour its largest opportunities. The frontiers are neglected and politically weak—the Gulf and Pacific coasts actually so, the Atlantic coast relatively to the central Mississippi valley. When the day comes that shipping again pays, when the three sea frontiers find that they are not only militarily weak, but poorer for lack of national shipping, their united efforts may avail to lay again the foundations of our sea power. Till then those who follow the limitations which lack of sea power placed upon the career of France may mourn that their own country is being led, by a like redundancy of home wealth, into the same neglect of that great instrument.'

The general opinion in this country has, we believe, been that the decadence of American shipping is mainly due to the ravages of the Confederate cruisers during the civil war; that commerce, shy of the treatment it then received, sought refuge under other flags, and has never returned. Captain Mahan's contention throughout is that this is a false view; that, from the purely money conditions just stated, the American shipping interest was already declining; and that if the Alabama and her consorts quickened the decline, they had, at any rate, nothing whatever to do with the continuance of it. Another illustration from the American civil war bears directly on the controversy as to the possibility of a perfect blockade, of sealing an enemy's ports, which has excited so much interest here in England.

'Extent of sea coast,' Captain Mahan says, 'is a source of strength or weakness according as the population is large or small. A country is in this like a fortress; the garrison must be proportioned to the *enceinte*. A recent familiar instance is found in the American War of Secession. Had the South had a people as numerous as it was

warlike, and a navy commensurate to its other resources as a sea power, the great extent of its sea coast and its numerous inlets would have been elements of great strength. The people of the United States and the government of that day justly prided themselves on the effectiveness of the blockade of the whole southern coast. It was a great feat, a very great feat; but it would have been an impossible feat had the Southerners been more numerous and a nation of seamen. What was there shown was not, as has been said, how such a blockade can be maintained, but that such a blockade is possible in the face of a population not only unused to the sea, but also scanty in numbers. . . . Never did sea power play a greater or a more decisive part than in the contest which determined that the course of the world's history would be modified by the existence of one great nation, instead of several rival States, in the North American continent. But while just pride is felt in the well-earned glory of those days, and the greatness of the results due to naval preponderance is admitted, Americans who understand the facts should never fail to remind the over-confidence of their countrymen that the South not only had no navy, not only was not a seafaring people, but that also its population was not proportioned to the extent of the sea coast which it had to defend.'

Captain Mahan is here writing of a war with the details of which he is perfectly well acquainted, the history of a decisive part of which he has himself chronicled;* and though it may be suspected that, as a seaman, he is exaggerating the importance of the sea campaigns, it is certain that his contention is in perfect agreement with naval opinion in this country. The number of the population, considered as an element of sea power, is, of course, to be reckoned not so much by the grand total as by the men accustomed to the sea or readily available for employment on board ship. It is unnecessary to follow in detail Captain Mahan's argument that in this respect, up to the end of the wars of the Revolution, France was much inferior to England, although her gross population was much greater; and though by her system of maritime inscription she might have a temporary advantage at first, she had no reserve, no staying power. He adduces also the testimony of Admiral Jurien de la Gravière to the effect that in 1840, when war for a short time seemed imminent, and the French fleet in the Levant was in the highest state of efficiency,

'behind the squadron of twenty-one ships of the line which we could then assemble there was no reserve; not another ship could have been commissioned within six months. Our maritime inscription was so exhausted by what we had done, that the permanent lev

* 'The Gulf and Inland Waters,' vol. iii. of the series, 'The Navy in the Civil War.'

established in all quarters did not supply reliefs for the men who were already more than three years on cruise.' *

Among English naval officers the belief is now very general that we no longer have this advantage, partly on account of the decrease in the number of seamen properly so called, and still more on account of the greater difference between the training on board a man-of-war and a merchant ship. Captain Mahan, following the opinion prevalent in France, does not accept this view. He holds that men used to the sea in merchant ships or fishing-boats, or to callings which, like the sea, train the intellectual as well as the physical powers, are readily transformed into men-of-war's men; and he refers to the well-known case of Captain Pellew entering a large number of Cornish miners on board the 'Nymphe' and going out with a scratch crew, newly got together, to capture the 'Cleopatra,' a ship of the same force and a year in commission. Now, he continues,

'England is at the present time the greatest maritime nation in the world; in steam and iron she has kept the superiority she had in the days of sail and wood. France and England are the two powers that have the largest military navies, and it is so far an open question which of the two is the more powerful that they may be regarded as practically of equal strength in material for a sea war. In the case of a collision can there be assumed such a difference of *personnel* or of preparation, as to make it probable that a decisive inequality will result from one battle or one campaign? If not, the reserve strength will begin to tell; organised reserve first, then reserve of seafaring population, reserve of mechanical skill, reserve of wealth. It seems to have been somewhat forgotten that England's leadership in mechanical arts gives her a reserve of mechanics, who can easily familiarise themselves with the appliances of modern ironclads; and, as her commerce and industries feel the burden of the war, the surplus of seamen and mechanics will go to the armed shipping.'

Of course to develope this reserve time would be necessary, and that could only be obtained by means of a previously existing force strong enough to hold out until the resources of numbers and wealth came into play. If the country has not this force,

'if what force it has can be overthrown and crushed quickly, the most magnificent possibilities of natural power will not save it from humiliating conditions, nor, if its foes be wise, from guarantees which will postpone revenge to a distant future. . . . England to some extent is now such a country. Holland was such a country; she would not

* The original ('Guerres Maritimes,' vol. ii. pp. 248, 251) is still stronger.

pay, and, if she escaped, it was but by the skin of her teeth. . . . "The character of the Dutch," wrote De Witt, "is such that, unless "danger stares them in the face, they are indisposed to lay out money "for their own defence. I have to do with a people who, liberal to pro- "fusion where they ought to economise, are often sparing to avarice "where they ought to spend."'

National character, though an important element of sea power, is placed by Captain Mahan low down in his list, and apparently with good reason, if we may accept his view of the present decadence of the sea power of the United States, whose people are mainly of the same race as ourselves. Sea power, he considers, must be based upon a peaceful and extensive commerce, and therefore 'aptitude for commercial 'pursuits must be a distinguishing feature of a nation that 'attains it.' 'Maintains it' would perhaps be better. 'Save the Romans,' he adds, 'there is no marked instance 'to the contrary.' But the sea power of Athens was as artificial a thing as that of Rome, and both were for a time very real: both were also short-lived; they were not based on commercial prosperity. That of Rome proper died out with the necessity for it, and the fleets of the later republic were Roman only in name. That of Athens had no reserve of strength, and was virtually crushed in the disaster at Syracuse. That of Venice, in later ages, though originating in piracy, speedily established itself on commerce and endured for many centuries. That of Spain or of France was almost as artificial as that of Rome or of Athens and could not last. That of Holland, as we have seen, grew out of her commerce and died with it. The naval strength of England, springing in almost equal measure out of piracy and commerce, has depended on commerce for its maintenance; with her commerce it has grown, the two mutually supporting and depending on each other. But Captain Mahan adopts a very common error in regarding the claim of the kings of England to the 'dominion of the sea' as a claim of naval supremacy, and in speaking of the enforcing it under James I. as 'one of the earliest indications of the 'purpose of England to assert herself at all risks upon the 'sea.' The claim to the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas, which was certainly as old as the time of King John,* probably as old as that of the Conqueror, was territorial rather than naval, though it could only be enforced by

* Black Book of the Admiralty (Rolls Series), vol. i. pp. xlix and 129.

naval strength, which was not always present. It cannot be doubted that there were many early instances of the claim being enforced, disputed, or denied, though the records of them have not come down to us; but we have a notice of one in May 1449, when Robert Wenyngton, commanding a squadron for the 'king's service on the sea,' brought in a Hanseatic fleet of a hundred sail, for refusing to strike in the king's name of England.*

But side by side with the assertion of this territorial claim has marched the determination of our Government to maintain the naval supremacy, and this determination Captain Mahan traces successively through the Dutch wars of the seventeenth and the French wars of the eighteenth century down to recent times. About the future he speaks doubtingly; and the expression of his doubts, as those of a seaman and a foreigner—himself the subject of a democracy—is trebly interesting. He considers that the past maintenance of our sea power was largely due to the fact that our government was practically in the hands of a landed aristocracy, proud of the country's glory, jealous of its honour, imbued with a military spirit, rich, unaffected by 'the proverbial timidity of capital,' and yet watchful over the extension and protection of commerce.

'Since 1815,' he continues, 'and especially in our own day, the government of England has passed very much more into the hands of the people at large. Whether her sea power will suffer therefrom remains to be seen. Its broad basis still remains in a great trade, large mechanical industries, and an extensive colonial system. Whether a democratic government will have the foresight, the keen sensitiveness to national position and credit, the willingness to ensure its prosperity by adequate outpouring of money in times of peace, all which are necessary for military preparation, is yet an open question. Popular governments are not generally favourable to military expenditure, however necessary, and there are signs that England tends to drop behind.'

It is well that we should carefully weigh this impartial opinion, even though we ourselves may incline to the belief that at no period in recent history has the efficiency of the navy been so neglected as it was in the time of Walpole, or so basely sacrificed to the purposes of political jobbery as it was during the 'aristocratic' administration of Lord Sandwich. These detailed considerations are, however, outside Captain

* Wenyngton to Thomas Danyell, squire for the King's body, Sunday, May 25, 1449; 'Paston Letters' (Gairdner's Edition), vol. i. No. 68

Mahan's ground; and his remarks are to be understood as applying to the general tendency of England's policy, as it may appear to future ages, when passing defects have faded into oblivion. Similarly he is probably correct in beginning his examination of the developement of England's sea power at the Restoration, a date marked also in France by the king's personal assumption of the reins of government. Much, indeed, might be said of earlier times, but it would be rather as describing the infancy of navies than the struggle for sea power. In 1660 the French navy, after several brilliant flashes, had died out of existence, but sprang to life and full vigour, within a few years, under the splendid rule of Colbert. The war of conflicting interests between England and Holland had ended in the temporary exhaustion of the latter and in the organisation of the English navy on the actually existing lines, with a glorious prestige which Blake's later achievements still further increased. For the moment England's supremacy at sea was as absolute as the rude navigation of the age permitted; but Holland was rising again to contest it, and the succeeding struggle, with its changing coalitions and varying fortunes, is examined in detail through several chapters of Captain Mahan's work. It is curious to note that he attributes the downfall of Holland to the alliance rather than to the hostility of England; and the more so, if we consider only the result of the first Dutch war as already described. Captain Mahan has been impressed rather with the comparative failure of the English in the second and third wars, and the splendour of De Ruyter's campaign of 1673. But the inefficiency of the English admirals was not a thing to be counted on, and still less the impotence of the English Government, even though we admit the full force of Captain Mahan's argument.

'The friendship of France,' he says, 'ensuring peace on her landward frontier, would have enabled Holland, at least for a longer time, to dispute with England the dominion of the seas. . . . Sea peace between England and Holland was only possible by the virtual subjection of one or the other, for both aimed at the same object. . . . It was to England's interest that the United Provinces should not be trodden down by France; but it was much more to the interest of France that they should not be subjected to England.'

That the attack on Holland was a gross political blunder on the part of France is clear enough now; but Louis, having before him the two roads to power—by land and by sea—chose the former and failed, because his enemies, obtaining

the command of the sea, controlled the march of events on land. In 1672, when Colbert had restored financial order, it was France that paid the subsidies of Europe. The long war with England and Holland, beginning in 1689, reversed the position: England held the purse-strings, and England and England's commerce maintained the war.

'The sea power of England, therefore, was not merely in the great navy with which we too commonly and exclusively associate it; France had such a navy in 1688, and it shrivelled away like a leaf in the fire. Neither was it in a prosperous commerce alone; a few years later the commerce of France took on fair proportions, but the first blast of war swept it off the seas. It was in the union of the two, carefully fostered, that England made the gain of sea power over and beyond all other States; and this gain is distinctly associated with and dates from the war of the Spanish Succession. Before that war England was one of the sea powers; after it she was *the* sea power, without any second.'

This developement of English commerce is the more remarkable as, during that war of the Spanish Succession, French effort by sea had been almost exclusively directed against it. After the battle of Malaga in 1704, indecisive as it was, the French fitted out no fleets: as a State they equipped but few cruisers; their ships of war were lent or hired out to private venturers. The number of English merchant ships captured was very great, but the number that escaped capture was, out of all proportion, greater. The number of French ships captured was, absolutely, not much larger than that of the captured English; but it was their all: very few escaped when the command of the sea was once established. In England a great deal was heard of the English losses, which excited much indignation and had a considerable share in the overthrow of the Churchills; but the fact remains that English commerce grew whilst it was being preyed on, and that English wealth and English sea power increased enormously. The consideration of this naturally introduces the question of commerce-destroying in general as a principal operation of war. The French have repeatedly resorted to it, and have, during recent years, announced their intention of resorting to it again in time of need, and their thorough belief in its efficiency.

'It possesses,' says Captain Mahan, 'the specious attractions of economy, for it involves only the maintenance of a few swift cruisers, and can be backed by the spirit of greed in a nation, fitting out privateers without direct expense to the State. . . Such a war, however, cannot stand alone; it must be supported, to use the military phrase; unsubstantial and evanescent in itself, it cannot reach far from its base.

That base must be either home ports or else some solid outpost of the national power, on the shore or the sea; a distant dependency or a powerful fleet.'

In the war of William III.'s time, and again in that of American Independence, the enemy's cruisers did us an enormous amount of damage. They were supported by powerful fleets, and on one occasion in both these wars—in 1693 and in 1780—a most serious blow was given to our commerce by a fleet, composed of the enemy's whole available strength, dominating the ocean highway past Cape St. Vincent. It is interesting to note that the enemy's policy on these most fatal occasions was essentially that prescribed for the 'B' or 'hostile' fleet during this last summer's manœuvres, and which was pronounced unreal by the critics of the day; the idea of employing battle-ships to do work which, in actual warfare, would be exclusively performed by swift cruisers being, it was said, utterly ridiculous. But, in fact, as a large and important part of the trade of Europe passes the west coast of the Peninsula, giving Spain the geographical advantage already referred to, that fleet which was able to take, or even to dispute, the command of the sea has, under the modern conditions of commerce, always endeavoured to maintain itself there.

The alliance with Portugal, which has continued since the time of Queen Anne, has practically given England that geographical advantage which Spain has not been able to use, and Lisbon has frequently been a base for her naval operations; but, independently of that, Cape Finisterre on the north, as Cape St. Vincent on the south, was a favourite station for our squadrons waiting for Spanish treasure ships; and in the absence of an English, the locality was occupied by a French squadron, as in 1744, under Count de Rochambeau, when Sir John Balchen drove it back to Cadiz, as his last service previous to being lost on the Casquets on the night of October 4–5. Of course the object specially in view, and the intelligence sent from home or brought in by the outlying frigates, regulated the exact position; but the cruising-ground, in general terms, was ordered by the laws of nature and geography. It was thus that Anson captured the French convoy off Cape Finisterre in May, 1747; that in October of the same year Hawke crushed L'Étenduère a little to the north; that in 1755 the French convoy from Cadiz, by keeping well to the west, succeeded in getting into Brest, while Hawke, tied by his instructions, was cruising between Ushant and Cape Finisterre, and sending in some

three hundred captured French merchant ships, though he missed the grand *coup* that had been intended. But the history of the century and a quarter of European war from 1689 to 1815 abounds with instances in which one or the other of the hostile navies has endeavoured, sometimes with success, sometimes with disaster, to command the line of waterway extending, roughly speaking, from Cape Clear to Cape Spartel and the Straits of Gibraltar.

That a modern illustration of this old and oft-repeated endeavour was what the Admiralty intended last summer was patent to every student of naval history. What was unreal in the manœuvres themselves, and did unquestionably deprive them of some of their interest, was the absolutely artificial route which was prescribed. This was done, we understand, in order to avoid interference with the ordinary course of merchant ships, and prevent all idea of those 'captures' which, in former years, had appeared farcical; but it had the perhaps unexpected effect of unduly lessening the possibility of intelligence, and still more of entirely eliminating the geographical considerations which always have guided, and must guide, the respective commanders-in-chief. But this was certainly not understood by the general public; and even in naval circles Cape Finisterre was spoken of as the place where the 'B' fleet ought to have maintained itself, and where the 'A' or British fleet ought to have looked for it; it was said that, instead of doing this, the 'B' fleet went away into the wilderness of space south of the Azores, where no merchant ships were to be found; ignoring the fact that by the instructions, and in the prescribed route, there were neither Finisterre nor Azores, but merely two straight lines diverging into mid-ocean, and the intervening water hypothetically alive with the commerce of the world.

Still, it may be doubted whether the 'B' fleet, steaming straight on end, in close order, and at a speed of eight or ten knots, where the prescribed route was 300 or 400 miles wide, was, according to the spirit or even the letter of the instructions, maintaining its position on the trade route in such a manner as to have the sea-borne trade following that route at its mercy; and it may equally be doubted whether the 'A' fleet, in omitting to watch, by means of its cruisers, the movements of the enemy during the allotted twenty-four hours' grace, and in afterwards spending six out of ten days in searching and researching the neighbourhood of the Scilly Islands, was not doubly committing what in

real war might be a fatal blunder. For no lesson of history has been more often repeated than this:—that touch with an enemy's fleet, once lost, can only be recovered in a definite time under very exceptional circumstances, or with very exceptional good luck. This was proved over and over again during Lord Howe's Channel command in 1793; by the Mediterranean cruise of Bruix in 1799, and that of Ganteaume in 1808; by the more celebrated escape of Villeneuve in 1805, and by countless other incidents of the same or older wars; and it is equally well established that no enemy's fleet will venture into the narrow seas unless with very great superiority, real or supposed. But the enforced consideration of questions such as these must be reckoned among the many valuable lessons of even the most imperfect simulation of war.

Clearly, however, the attack on an enemy's commerce by a large fleet and its outlying cruisers is a very different thing from that commerce-destroying, that *guerre de course*, which the French have repeatedly aimed at and have recently threatened. Examining that by the light of history, Captain Mahan pronounces that 'even for its own special ends such 'a mode of war is inconclusive, worrying but not deadly,' and is quite incapable of producing any decisive effect upon the general ends of the war. This is so contrary to the popular opinion that it will be well to summarise the evidence on which it is based. That evidence is taken almost entirely from the experience of our enemies, for England has only once, in 1667, attempted this 'economical' way of carrying on a naval war, with the result that 'her coast was 'insulted and her shipping burned almost within sight of 'her capital.' The French, on the contrary, have attempted it several times, and most notably in the war of the Spanish Succession, when they waged a *guerre de course* with great energy, skill, and success, and unquestionably inflicted much loss on the English. The result, according to Captain Mahan, was that

'the navies of England and Holland, unopposed, guarded the coasts of the Spanish peninsula, blocked the port of Toulon, forced the French succours to cross the Pyrenees, and, by keeping open the sea highway, neutralised the geographical nearness of France to the seat of war. Their fleets seized Gibraltar, Barcelona, and Minorca, and, co-operating with the Austrian army, failed by little of reducing Toulon.'

And this with reference only to the military object of the war; for, as has been already pointed out, while the French

cruisers were battening on English commerce that commerce, and with it the English sea power, was increasing enormously. Many other instances are, and more might be, adduced; but the one most interesting not only to Americans, but to us also, is drawn from the war of 1812. The American privateers swarmed over the seas, and from the smallness of the American navy the war was essentially a cruising war. The injury done to English commerce was very great; but it ought not to be overlooked that the American cruisers were virtually supported by the French fleet, which tied the English to blockade duty. As soon as the downfall of Napoleon released him,

'our coasts,' writes Captain Mahan, 'were insulted in every direction, the Chesapeake entered and controlled, its shores wasted, the Potomac ascended, and Washington burned . . . while in the South the Mississippi was entered unopposed, and New Orleans barely saved. When negotiations for peace were opened, the bearing of the English toward the American envoys was not that of men who felt their country to be threatened with an unbearable evil.'

And similarly in the American Civil War the cruises of the 'Alabama,' 'Sumter,' and other such vessels, notwithstanding the undeniable injury they inflicted on one branch of the nation's industry, were irritating rather than weakening, and 'did not in the least influence or retard the event of the 'war.' Captain Mahan, then, distinctly controverts the opinion largely held by the French, and still more widely spread in the United States, of the efficiency of commerce-destroying, 'especially when directed against a commercial 'country like Great Britain.' He says:—

'The harassment and distress caused to a country by serious interference with its commerce will be conceded by all. It is doubtless a most important secondary operation of naval war, and is not likely to be abandoned till war itself shall cease; but regarded as a primary and fundamental measure, sufficient in itself to crush an enemy, it is probably a delusion, and a most dangerous delusion when presented in the fascinating garb of cheapness to the representatives of a people. Especially is it misleading when the nation against whom it is to be directed possesses, as Great Britain did and does, the two requisites of a strong sea power—a wide-spread, healthy commerce and a powerful navy. Where the revenues and industries of a country can be concentrated into a few treasure ships, like the flota of Spanish galleons, the sinew of war may perhaps be cut by a stroke; but when its wealth is scattered in thousands of going and coming ships, when the roots of the system spread wide and far, and strike deep, it can stand many a cruel shock and lose many a goodly bough without the life being touched. Only by military command of the sea, by prolonged control

of the strategic centres of commerce, can such an attack be fatal; and such control can be wrung from a powerful navy only by fighting and overcoming it. For two hundred years England has been the great commercial nation of the world. More than any other her wealth has been entrusted to the sea in war as in peace; yet of all nations she has ever been most reluctant to concede the immunities of commerce and the rights of neutrals. Regarded not as a matter of right, but of policy, history has justified the refusal; and, if she maintain her navy in full strength, the future will doubtless repeat the lesson of the past.'

In this country, commercial sensitiveness has led many to believe in and to dread the application of what may be called the French theory of commerce-destroying, or, in more modern phrase, of swarms of 'Alabamas;' but that the Government has never, since that fatal 1667, attempted to put it into practice is, in itself, a sufficient proof that our Admiralty has all along recognised the truths which Captain Mahan has so clearly and forcibly stated. The fact is that our Admiralty, though often the victim, and sometimes the tool, of jobbery and corruption, is and always has been largely composed of naval officers of ability and experience, and has generally been abreast of the situation, so far as the restrictions of the Treasury have permitted. And although it has always been perhaps the best abused body of men in England, and though proposals to reform it out of existence are continually cropping up, it is well to remember that it was under the government of such a board that, during the last two hundred years, our navy has grown to be the splendid service which it actually is, and has won for the country that gigantic sea-power which our foreign critics admire and envy.

It is not only with regard to this 'Alabama' theory that Captain Mahan is led by historical deduction to the result which our Admiralty arrived at long ago. He expresses himself as still more strongly opposed to the theory, formerly much in favour with the French, of sacrificing every other possible advantage to a gain of position. He quotes Ramatuelle as saying, 'The French navy has always preferred 'the glory of assuring or preserving a conquest to that, more 'brilliant perhaps, but actually less real, of taking some 'ships, and therein has approached more nearly the true 'end that has been proposed in war;' and remarks:—

'The justice of this conclusion depends upon the view that is taken of the true end of naval war. If it is merely to assure one or more positions ashore, the navy becomes simply a branch of the army for a particular occasion, and subordinates its action accordingly; but if the

true end is to preponderate over the enemy's navy, and so control the sea, then the enemy's ships and fleets are the true objects to be assailed on all occasions.'

The French, however, acted systematically on the principle laid down by Ramatuelle; for them naval war was a war of posts; the action of fleets was subordinated to the attack or defence of posts, and thus, as opposed to hostile fleets, was purely defensive. They preferred the position to windward only so long as it enabled them to avoid fighting; when the battle was forced on them they preferred, and if possible took, the position to leeward, as best suiting their defensive tactics. They seldom fought an action to a decisive issue, if they could avoid doing so; and they not unfrequently brought on themselves loss and ruin by the neglect of opportunities which did not return. It was thus that La Galissonnière at Cape Mola chose rather to allow the five ships of the English van to escape than to risk continued and decisive action; it was thus that D'Estaing refused to attack at Sandy Hook, and engaged in a very half-hearted way at St. Lucia and at Grenada. So also De Grasse off Fort Royal on April 29 and 30, 1781, at St. Kitts in January 1782, and again, off Dominica, on April 9, 1782. Three several times had he it in his option to inflict a severe, if not a crushing, blow on the English fleet, and three times he sacrificed the opportunity to distant views of military policy. The result was that on April 12, 1782, the option which De Grasse had thrice refused fell to Rodney, who promptly and at one stroke crushed both the French fleet and the policy for which it had sacrificed so much.

Captain Mahan maintains—we think most rightly maintains—that the only true policy of a naval force is to fight whenever opportunity offers; to seek for the advantage and to use it to the utmost in crushing, in destroying the enemy's fleet. But he is far from ignoring the vast preponderance of the work done without fighting at all, and the importance of that command of the sea held by the mere presence or threat of the presence of a superior force. A few years ago Admiral Aube, then at the head of the French navy, announced that, as a consequence of the introduction of ironclads, there could be no great battles in the future; for the weaker belligerent would recognise the enemy's superiority and keep its ships in harbour, as was done by the Germans in 1870 and by the Russians in the Black Sea in 1877.* He

* Revue des Deux Mondes, 15 mars 1882.

might have added from his own recollection that it was done by the Russians in both the Black Sea and Baltic in 1854, before ironclads were thought of; and his reading might have reminded him that it, or something very like it, was done also by the French after 1704, after 1759, and after 1806. It has, in fact, always been an essential condition of naval war for the distinctly inferior power to admit its inferiority; and it is then, when, according to Admiral Aube, the *guerre de course* finds its opportunity, that according to Captain Mahan's more approved argument, the acknowledged sea power exerts its influence, silently, without dispute, but with an ease 'which calls to mind the stories of 'the tap of a tiger's paw.' The instances he gives are numerous and striking, though, as he justly points out, from their unobtrusive nature they have escaped popular notice and are often to be traced only by their results. It was thus, he thinks, that in 1720 the Baltic was prevented from becoming a Russian lake by the silent pressure of an English fleet, rather than by the ostentatious boast of French diplomacy; but the instance which, when clearly understood, will carry most weight with Englishmen refers to the establishment of our Indian Empire. Many among us have been accustomed to consider this a purely military achievement. It is thus put by Captain Mahan:—

'The kernel of the question before Dupleix was not how to build up an empire out of the Indian provinces and races, but how to get rid of the English, and that finally. The wildest dreams of sovereignty he may have entertained could not have surpassed the actual performance of England a few years later. European qualities were bound to tell, if not offset by the opposition of other Europeans, and such opposition, on the one side or the other, depended upon the control of the sea. . . . As everywhere and always, the action of sea power was here quiet and unperceived; but it will not be necessary to belittle in the least the qualities and career of Clive . . . in order to prove the decisive influence which it exerted, despite the inefficiency of the English naval officers first engaged and the lack of conclusive results in such naval battles as were fought.'

And, as further illustrating this view, he quotes a letter from Clive himself to Pitt, of date January 7, 1759.

'Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour. The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on that coast will be furnished with from this province [Bengal], while the enemy are in total want of every-

thing, without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as, if properly attended to, cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every other part of India.'

Ten years before this time the silent power had acted in a similar way, but with more immediate consequence. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle Madras was restored to the English in exchange for Louisbourg. The colonists regretted the loss of their prize; but they could understand the circumstances, and they knew that, with the naval power of England at their back, the place could always be retaken. With Madras it was very different.

'How profound must have been the surprise of the native princes at this surrender, how injurious to the personality of Dupleix and the influence he had gained among them to see him in the very hour of victory forced, by a power they could not understand, to relinquish his spoil! They were quite right; the mysterious power which they recognised by its working, though they saw it not, was not in this or that man, king or statesman, but in that control of the sea which the French Government knew forbade the hope of maintaining that distant dependency against the fleets of England.'

Another instance, perhaps even less generally understood, is that of the expedition against Quebec in 1759.

'All Wolfe's operations were based upon the fleet, which not only carried his army to the spot, but moved up and down the river as the various feints required. The landing which led to the decisive action was made directly from the ships. Montcalm, whose skill and determination had blocked the attacks by way of Lake Champlain the two previous years, had written urgently for reinforcements; but they were refused by the Minister of War, who replied that, in addition to other reasons, it was too probable that the English would intercept them on the way, and that the more France sent the more England would be moved to send. In a word, the possession of Canada depended upon sea power.'

We have dwelt more especially on these instances not as being in themselves exceptional, but on account of the greatness of the results, and because the relation of our sea power to them is commonly ignored. As Captain Mahan observes—

'Just because sea power is so quiet in its working it is the more likely to be unnoticed, and must be somewhat carefully pointed out. . . . During nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, with the exception of the American revolutionary struggle, the overwhelming sea power of England was the determining factor in European history, maintaining war abroad while keeping its own people in prosperity at home, and building up the great empire which is now seen; but from its very greatness, its action, by escaping opposition, escapes attention.

On the few occasions in which it is called to fight its superiority is so marked that the affairs can scarcely be called battles; with the possible exceptions of Byng's action at Minorca, and Hawke's at Quiberon, the latter one of the most brilliant pages in naval history, no decisive encounter between equal forces possessing military interest occurs between 1700 and 1778.'

These last words must be understood strictly within the expressed limitation, for there were very decisive and important battles between unequal forces, such as those of Anson and Hawke in 1747 or of Boscawen in 1759, where, indeed, the inferiority of the French is itself a point of naval interest; and the indecisive action off Toulon in 1744 is one of the most interesting of the naval problems of the century. To the tactical details of these, as well as of those before 1700, and still more of those of the War of Independence, Captain Mahan has devoted a large, perhaps even an undue, part of the book. His examination evinces much pains and care, but the result is not quite satisfactory. And the reason is, we think, not far to seek. Writing in America, without the facilities of reference which, in this country, are open to every student, he has not been able to attain the accuracy at which he has aimed; and he has trusted almost exclusively to French accounts, which are at least as one-sided as the English. It is unfortunately the case that the French have paid much more attention to this department of literature than the English, and that French naval histories are, as a rule, better written and more elaborately reasoned out than the corresponding works in England. But few French writers have worked from original materials —perhaps none, except Captain Chevalier; and Troude, on whose 'Batailles Navales de la France' Captain Mahan chiefly relies, is frequently very incorrect in his facts, which we, in England, are the better able to examine, as, independent of our records, we possess a mass of printed matter, official or polemical, with which nothing in France can compare, and from which the truth can generally be drawn with an accuracy of detail that no mere rounded periods can give. This is made up of the minutes of courts-martial and the hundreds of pamphlets—recriminations, invectives and arraignments, apologies, contradictions or justifications—which were showered on the public after every one of the many miscarriages during the period embraced in this volume. Many of these are now scarce, and though copies are preserved in the libraries of the British Museum or the Royal United Service Institution, it may

well be that Captain Mahan has not been able to examine this literary dunghill, which, like its analogue of the farmyard, however disgusting in itself, enriches the work of the honest labourer.

We have no intention of examining in detail Captain Mahan's tactical and necessarily technical descriptions of the several battles; but we may briefly notice that the Four Days' Fight, June 11–14, 1666, was not fought in the Straits of Dover, but broad off the mouth of the Thames; that after the battle of Stromboli, January 8, 1676, De Ruyter did not sail to Palermo, but took up a position at Melazzo, flanking the passage through the Straits, and so compelling Duquesne to go round Sicily; that the Count of Toulouse did not sail from Toulon in order to retake Gibraltar, but was already at Barcelona when he received the intelligence; that at Porto Bello, in 1726, Hosier had not 'the strictest orders not to fight, only to blockade,' but was ordered 'not to commit any hostilities unless you should be 'obliged to it;' that previous to the battle of Toulon, February 22, 1744, the Spanish ships had lain there, not for four months, but for two years, and that when the allied fleet put to sea the English fleet was not cruising off Hyères in observation, but was at anchor in the roadstead, and was delayed some time in getting out; that the wind in the battle of Cape Mola, May 20, 1756, was not east, but south-south-west to south-west, and the ships' heads were towards the north-west; and that in Rodney's action of April 17, 1780, the fleets were on the starboard tack, with their heads to the northward, not on the port tack, heading to the southward, as shown in the diagram.

These and similar errors—for many of which Troude is responsible—are of little consequence in themselves, and of absolutely none in respect of the principles which Captain Mahan has wished to illustrate. There are, however, others, involving personal as well as historical considerations, which ought not to be passed over. Of these the first, and perhaps the most important, is the account of the battle of Beachy Head, which appears to be written under a misapprehension of the actual facts. It is certainly not correct to speak of the defeat as 'decisive,' for it decided nothing and led to no results beyond the loss of eight ships, only one of which was English. Captain Mahan was probably influenced by Troude's extraordinary misstatement that the allies lost seventeen ships, nine English and eight Dutch, and that Tourville afterwards burned twelve English ships

of the line at Teignmouth. The twelve ships burned at Teignmouth were fishing-boats, and nine of the seventeen ships lost in or after the battle existed only in the imagination of the French chronicler. It may be laid down as a positive canon of historical criticism in such cases that the numbers or the losses of a fleet can be but vaguely guessed at by the enemy, and that to arrive at any exact estimate the nominal lists of each side must be referred to. If Captain Mahan had steadily borne this in mind, he would have been spared some confusion and some uncertainty. But in discussing the battle of Beachy Head he seems to have been influenced by the popular outcry against Herbert, which has received new life from the brilliant invective of Macaulay. In point of fact both as a strategist and tactician Herbert was much in advance of his time, and being in command of a fleet which, through the bad judgement and personal antagonism of the Secretary of State, was much inferior to that of the French, and one-third Dutch, while a strong English squadron had been sent to Gibraltar, under Killigrew, he proposed to act on the defensive, in a manner which elicits the warmest approval of our modern experts.*

Captain Mahan has altogether omitted all reference to the consideration of this most important and interesting illustration of strategic principles; and, confining himself to the bare account of the battle, adversely criticises the manner in which it was actually fought. He refers to Father Hoste as saying that Herbert intended to fall mainly on the French rear, and to this end closed the centre to the rear and kept it to windward, 'so as to prevent the French 'from tacking and doubling on the rear.' We fear that Captain Mahan forgot to 'verify his reference;' for what Hoste really says† is something very different—'to prevent 'the French from taking advantage of the gap left in his 'line, and doubling on the Dutch,' who formed the van. This is what was actually done, and what Hoste approves of, following, no doubt, the opinion of Tourville and D'Estrées; but Captain Mahan thinks that while it was quite right to bring the main attack on the French rear it was quite wrong to make this gap and to attack also in the van; that the Dutch ought to have attempted nothing beyond 'containing'

* See Admiral Colomb, in the Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine, vol. iii. p. 1818 (December, 1889).

† L'Art des Armées Navales, p. 387.

—that is, holding in check the French van. Herbert thought so too. What Captain Mahan says he ought to have done is exactly what he ordered to be done; but the jealousy of the Dutch, who would not endure being left, as they conceived, in the background, spoiled his plan, and compelled him to adopt the course which Hoste commends, and which, under the circumstances, was the best thing he could do. But he cannot, in fairness, be blamed for the bad discipline of our allies and for the inherent 'flabbiness'—the word is Captain Mahan's—of a coalition. The intrinsic weakness of a combined force by land has been the theme of many historians; by sea it is still more marked. The whole range of naval history does not record a single advantage gained by a combined fleet by virtue of the combination. A French officer of our own day—Captain Chabaud-Arnault—has said—

'United by momentary political interests, but at bottom divided to the verge of hatred, never following the same path in counsel or in action, they [combined fleets] have never produced good results, or at least results proportioned to the efforts of the powers allied against a common enemy. The navies of France, Spain, and Holland seem, at several distinct times, to have joined only to make more complete the triumph of the British arms.' 'When to this well-ascertained tendency of coalitions,' continues Captain Mahan, 'is added the equally well-known jealousy of every country over the increasing power of a neighbour, and the consequent unwillingness to see such increase obtained by crushing another member of the family of nations, an approach is made to the measure of naval strength required by a State. It is not necessary to be able to meet all others combined, as some Englishmen have seemed to think; it is necessary only to be able to meet the strongest on favourable terms, sure that the others will not join in destroying a factor in the political equilibrium, even if they hold aloof.'

We quite agree with the two foreign critics on the main point, though their argument is perhaps overstated. No doubt such motives as they have alleged have often most seriously weakened alliances that seemed extremely formidable; but there have been other instances in which such causes did not act, and the battle of Beachy Head may be cited as one. It is unnecessary to discuss whether the Dutch did not individually hate the English, and were not jealous of England's maritime strength; it is quite certain that their fear and hatred of the French were at the time dominant, and that they would gladly have destroyed the French fleet if they could. Their failure points out a further weakness of coalitions, which Captain Mahan has

not touched on, although it is more purely naval. The commander-in-chief advises rather than commands; the allied admiral exercises his own discretion; he is jealous of his country's honour, and prefers his views of its requirements to the exigencies of tactics or discipline; the signals and the manœuvres of the one are strange or distasteful to the other, and blunders or misunderstandings are almost certain to arise.

Captain Mahan speaks strongly of the 'flabbiness' of maritime coalitions, the inefficiency of combined fleets; but he has failed to notice how it conduced to the disaster at Beachy Head, or tended to neutralise the advantage at Barfleur, where the Dutch, again in the van, were 'contained' by an inferior division of the enemy whilst they attacked the English centre with superior force, leaving the English rear, which had fallen some distance to leeward, out of the action. It was not till towards evening that a slight shift of wind permitted it to lay up and pass to windward, so placing the French rear between two fires; but, just as this was done, the fog settled down and put an end to the fighting. The French had lost no ships, but they were tactically defeated, and acknowledged it by taking to flight the moment they could see to do so. The destruction of their fleet followed at Cherbourg and La Hogue. The part of the Dutch throughout was so small that it is difficult to suppose the result would have been different had their twenty-seven ships remained in their own ports. The English would still have had fifty-six against the French forty-four, and, at any rate, the French would not have been able to boast that, with forty-four ships, they held their ground all day against eighty-three. But, had Russell been by himself, he would certainly have formed a connected line on the leewardmost squadron; while, having the Dutch with him, he could not feel sure that they would not hold their wind and again raise the outcry that they had been sacrificed by the cowardice of the English admiral.

We have already referred to an inaccuracy in the diagram of Byng's action off Cape Mola, which, however, does not injure its relative correctness. But some of the accompanying details have a personal importance, as virtually impugning the decision of the court-martial, which has ever been, in England, a point of almost sentimental interest. Captain Mahan says, for instance, that when, on May 19, Byng reached the neighbourhood of Port Mahon, 'a practicable 'breach had been made in the fortress a week before;' that

'when the English fleet came in sight La Galissonnière 'stood out to meet it and bar the entrance to the harbour;' and that, in the action, the 'Intrepid,' having 'her foretopmast 'shot away, flew up into the wind and came aback, stopping 'and doubling up the rear of the line.' These statements, if accepted, would prove that Byng's failure to relieve the beleaguered fortress was ruled by conditions or accidents beyond his control; but they are all most distinctly and positively contradicted by the evidence before the court, from which it appears that there was not a practicable breach before June 27; that at no time was the French fleet in the harbour, and on the forenoon of May 19 was not in sight of it; that there was then nothing to hinder free communication between the English fleet and the fort; and that when the 'Intrepid's' foretopmast was shot away, the wreck was immediately cut clear and the foresail set, so that the accident did not 'occasion any impediment to 'the admiral and rear division.'

It is in the presentation of such details that Captain Mahan falls somewhat below his usual high level; he is at his best on his proper ground in the discussion or illustration of causes and effects, and his criticisms are at once apt and suggestive. This is especially so in reference to the war of the Austrian Succession and the battle of Toulon.

'In England,' he says, 'as well as in France discipline and administration had been sapped by the long peace; the inefficiency of the armaments sent out was notorious, and recalls the scandals that marked the outbreak of the Crimean war; while the very disappearance of the French ships led, by the necessity of replacing them, to putting afloat vessels superior singly, because more modern and scientific, to the older ships of the same class in England. . . . The general inefficiency and wide-spread misbehaviour of the English captains, after five years of declared war, will partly explain the failure of England to obtain from her undoubted naval superiority the results she might have expected in this war; and they give military officers a lesson on the necessity of having their minds prepared and stocked, by study of the conditions of war in their own day, if they would not be found unready and perhaps disgraced in the hour of battle. It is not to be supposed that so many English seamen misbehaved through so vulgar and rare a defect as mere cowardice; it was unpreparedness of mind and lack of military efficiency in the captains, combined with bad leadership on the part of the admiral, with a possible taint of ill-will toward him as a rude and domineering superior, that caused this fiasco.'

And it was not only off Toulon that this inefficiency mani-

fested itself. In the Channel and in the East and West Indies, as well as in the Mediterranean, there were many instances of disgraceful misconduct, which it would be ignoring the character of the average Englishman to attribute to cowardice. They resulted rather from criminal negligence and ignorance, but they enraged the nation to the point of passing the law under which Byng suffered.

Of equal excellence is the author's discussion of the many naval problems connected with the War of American Independence, and more especially of the policy and strategy of the several belligerents. In England there has been, perhaps, a certain tendency to consider the war as, in the main, a war by land, waged against the revolted colonists. Those who have more closely examined the history of the period know that, on the contrary, by far the more serious part of the war was naval, waged against the French, Spanish, and Dutch, and that the issues on shore were practically decided at sea. Captain Mahan is fully sensible of this, and says—

'The alliance with France, and subsequently with Spain, brought to the Americans that which they above all needed—a sea power to counterbalance that of England. Will it be too much for American pride to admit that had France refused to contest the control of the sea with England, the latter would have been able to reduce the Atlantic sea-board! Let us not kick down the ladder by which we mounted, nor refuse to acknowledge what our fathers felt in the hour of trial.'

Many of the questions which present themselves in the consideration of this war are of the gravest importance. Its conditions were more purely maritime than had been the case since the earlier Dutch wars; for France, for the first time, had no Continental entanglements to distract her energies in another direction. Her efforts by sea were thus far greater than ever before; her fleets were more powerful and more numerous. And at this very time the navy of England was at its lowest ebb, so that when the crisis came everything was wanting: ships were rotten, storehouses empty, men diseased, officers disaffected. Spain, eager to recover Gibraltar and having a navy numerically strong, joined with France, the two forming a coalition formidable in appearance, and actually so under existing circumstances. England was compelled to act on the defensive, and in doing so distributed her navy in the different quarters of the globe. This Captain Mahan thinks was a radical error; she had not the force to do it, was everywhere in the minority, and ought to have been everywhere beaten in detail. 'Howe at

'New York in 1778, Byron at Grenada in 1779, Graves off 'the Chesapeake in 1781, Hood at St. Kitts in 1782—all 'were inferior at the same time that the allied fleet in 'Europe overwhelmingly outnumbered the English.' He conceives that the 'objective' of England was to break down the naval combination of France and Spain, and that her true policy would have been, abandoning America—we might, perhaps, prefer to say maintaining there a purely defensive attitude—to have concentrated her force in European waters, and have crushed the French or Spanish fleets at home; that, in fact, the struggle for the West India Islands and the coast of North America should have been off Brest or Cadiz, not off Martinique or Cape Henry. The strategy of the allies he considers even more faulty. Their proclaimed object was to break down the maritime power of England, and they had a superiority of force which might have enabled them to do so; but they frittered it away, 'nibbling at the outskirts of the British Empire 'and knocking their heads against the Rock of Gibraltar.' He says:—

'The plan adopted by the English Government left its naval force in Europe hopelessly inferior in numbers year after year; yet the operations planned by the allies seem in no case seriously to have contemplated the destruction of that force. In the crucial instance when Darby's squadron of thirty sail of the line was hemmed in the open roadstead of Torbay by the allied forty-nine, the conclusion of the council of war not to fight only epitomised the character of the action of the combined navies. . . . There was at no time practical recognition of the fact that a severe blow to the English navy in the Straits, or in the English Channel, or on the open sea, was the surest road to reduce Gibraltar, brought more than once within measurable distance of starvation.'

The refusal to fight Howe, when with thirty-three ships of the line he relieved Gibraltar in the actual presence of a combined fleet of forty-six, is even more marked than the resolution not to attack in Torbay; and many other instances might be given, all illustrating the view which Captain Mahan puts forward. Another explanation of the unwillingness to engage is, however, to be found in the extreme inefficiency of the Spanish ships, which the French were well aware of,* though none of our admirals seem to have fully realised it till Jervis first published it to the world in 1797. So far the French were, perhaps, sometimes war-

* See the report of M. de Beausset, quoted by Chevalier, p. 183.

ranted in their apparent shyness; but on some occasions, and especially when not joined with Spaniards, as at Grenada and Fort Royal, their refusing decisive action was part of their avowed policy, and it is that which Captain Mahan distinctly condemns.

'The phrase "ulterior objects" embodies the cardinal fault of the naval policy. Ulterior objects brought to nought the hopes of the allies, because, by fastening their eyes upon them, they thoughtlessly passed the road which led to them. . . . Their object was "to avenge "their respective injuries, and to put an end to that tyrannical empire "which England claims to maintain upon the ocean." The revenge they had obtained was barren of benefit to themselves. They had—so that generation thought—injured England by liberating America; but they had not righted their wrongs in Gibraltar and Jamaica; the English fleet had not received any such treatment as would lessen its haughty self-reliance; the armed neutrality of the northern powers had been allowed to pass fruitlessly away; and the English empire over the seas soon became as tyrannical and more absolute than before.'

Amid so much matter of prime importance we have been able to touch on only some of the points which are more especially of English interest. But the whole book is of English as well as of naval interest, for it traces the growth and developement of England's sea power, and examines the manner of its action with a fulness, a professional insight, and a literary skill altogether foreign to our naval histories. The interest, however, is also general; and the more so, perhaps, because the author's sympathies are very commonly with the French even when his approval is with the English. He has, of course, had the circumstances of his own country definitely in view; and it is allowable to suppose that in publishing these lectures he has hoped to rekindle in the hearts of his fellow-citizens some desire to contest the supremacy of the seas, in so far, at any rate, as the necessities of home defence render it advisable and geographical conditions may render it feasible. The great preponderance of sea power is at present ours. To predict the future is impossible; but the light of history's lamp shows us that we have enormous advantages to assist us in maintaining that sea power which is the life of the empire; it also shows us that these advantages will not maintain it of themselves; that care, forethought, and vigilance are their necessary complements; and that its converse is as true as the maxim—

'Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia.'

ART. VII.—1. *Notice Historique sur la Vie et les Travaux de M. Victor Cousin.* Par M. MIGNET. Académie des Sciences Morale et Politique. Paris: 1869.

2. *Victor Cousin et son Œuvre.* Par M. PAUL JANET de l'Institut. Paris: 1885.

3. *Victor Cousin.* Par JULES SIMON. Paris: 1887. (Les Grands Ecrivains Français.)

4. *Philosophes Français du XIX^e^ Siècle.* Par M. TAINE.

5. *La Philosophie en France au XIX^e^ Siècle.* Par FÉLIX RAVAISSON. Paris: 1885.

6. *Moralistes et Philosophes.* Par AD. FRANCK. Paris: 1886.

THE fame of a great writer, and the measure of his influence on contemporaries and succeeding generations, is not to be estimated by his ability to construct a system or found a school. Some of the most potent inspirations that have stirred human thought, and even modified its course, have emanated from men who left behind them no completed scheme of thought, and no band of followers devoted to its propagation as soldiers enlisted under a flag. This truth finds in Victor Cousin an illustration hardly to be paralleled by any other eminent thinker of the present century. Even before his death in 1867, his own philosophical doctrines, considered as doctrines, were already extinct; and yet the principles, the tendencies, the intellectual excitation, the spiritual *vis viva* of his thought, have exercised a power whose extent and profundity are incalculable, and whose influence remains as yet wholly unexhausted. Scarcely a French scholar, thinker, critic, or *littérateur* of any mark could be named who does not owe something to Cousin in the way of thought, or method, or inspiration. With his usual far-sightedness Sir William Hamilton discerned how much the prophet was likely to transcend the lawgiver in Cousin. In a note added to the well-known article contributed to this Journal in 1829 he says: 'Were M. Cousin's speculations on the Absolute 'utterly abolished, to him would still remain the honour of 'doing more himself, and of assisting more what has been 'done by others in the furtherance of an enlightened philo-'sophy than to any other living individual in France—I 'might say in Europe.' A review of Cousin and his work thus becomes virtually an estimate of the most powerful and

prolific, as well as the most elevating and refining, energy which has animated French thought during the present century. While for English readers it possesses the additional advantage of presenting for their consideration just those elements and forces of thought in which our current English philosophy is most particularly lacking. Partly for this reason—surely in itself of sufficing obligation—partly because, as our readers may see from the works enumerated at the head of this article, special attention has recently been devoted to the life and work of Cousin, we think it right to call their attention to the true significance of the career and teaching of one of the most illustrious philosophers of the nineteenth century.

It seems needful, however, to premise a word as to the plan pursued in this paper. Cousin's philosophy we have already admitted is for the most part extinct. This is especially true of the speculations on the Absolute, which he derived from Schelling and Hegel, and which were criticised by Sir William Hamilton in this Journal. M. Paul Janet has pointed out that this German portion of Cousin's metaphysics was virtually abandoned by himself before the end of his life, and it was the Cartesian Idealism from which he started which formed the final stay of his metaphysical faith, as well as its principle of continuity throughout the whole of his speculative career. To review what Sir William Hamilton has criticised would be presumptuous; to lay stress on what Cousin so largely modified would be needless. But while we do not purpose to notice this exploded portion of Cousin's philosophy, we do not intend to treat at length even those more prominent features of his teaching which have survived to our own day; we shall merely consider such of them as throw light on Cousin's intellectual character and his philosophical method. Under this head will fall, e.g., his acceptation of Eclecticism as a guiding principle in philosophy, and the accusation of Pantheism with which his Theodicy was charged in his lifetime, and which M. Simon has repeated in his pithy and entertaining, but often prejudiced Life contributed to 'Les Grands Ecrivains' series.

Victor Cousin was born in 1792. He was the son of a working jeweller—not of a watchmaker, as some of his biographers have asserted, likening him in this particular to J. J. Rousseau, though it may have been, as M. Simon remarks, that his father worked for a watchmaker. M. Damiron assured M. Simon that his mother was a laundress,

and Cousin himself informed him that the staircase to his parents' dwelling consisted of a ladder. All this merely implies that his birth and parentage were of the humblest description. Cousin was too thorough a philosopher and too genuine a man to wish to disguise the poverty of his early surroundings. He was proud of his descent from a father who was an ardent, but very harmless republican, and who imbued him with those principles of the Revolution in respect of civil and religious liberty to which he remained faithful all his life. This pride finds expression in the following sentences which we quote from M. Mignet's magnificent eulogy :—

'I was born with the French Revolution. From the moment when my eyes were opened, I saw its flag floating, by turns gloomy and triumphant. I learned to read in its *chansons*. Its fêtes were those of my childhood. At ten years of age I knew the names of its heroes. I still hear, at the Champ de Mars and the Place Vendôme, the funeral eulogies of Marceau, Hoche, Kléber, and Desaix. I am present at the reviews of the first consul. I see that grand countenance pale and melancholy, so different from the imperial figure—especially as he appeared to me the last time on the terrace of the Elysée at the end of the Hundred Days. My patriotic instinct did not permit itself to be caught for a moment by the splendour of a military dictatorship, which I could not comprehend. I neither understood, nor did I love any triumphs but those of liberty.'

Cousin received his earliest education at the Lycée Charlemagne. His progress there was so brilliant that in the year of his leaving, in 1810, he obtained all the first prizes of the school with the exception of one, that for Latin verse. This, it is said, would also have fallen to his share but for an allusion—the subject was the cemetery of Père-Lachaise—a little too vivid and precocious, to Héloïse, destined, as was wittily remarked of this occurrence, 'to 'bring misfortune on philosophers.' Cousin's reputation was already so great that he was offered the place of auditor to the Council of State, an appointment charged with the likelihood of a brilliant career, but he preferred entering the Normal School, which he did soon after its foundation in 1810. We may consider this offer of an important post as a merited tribute to the young scholar's extraordinary ability, without adding M. Simon's qualifying sarcasm, 'Les hommes étaient 'alors si rares.'

The unusual splendour of young Cousin's career at the Lycée Charlemagne was not only continued, but enhanced, by his two years' course at the Normal School. M. Villemain

who had been, as Professor of Rhetoric, his teacher at the Lycée, was now master of debates (maître de conférences) at the Normal School. Hardly had Cousin's own studies been completed when he was called upon to act as Villemain's deputy in the chair of Greek Literature. He told M. Simon that he was offered at this time the Chair of Philosophy at the Communal College at Rome, but added, 'I did not wish 'to quit the streets of Paris.' His early lectures on classical subjects do not seem to have excited much interest either in Cousin or his audience. It was not as a teacher of Greek and Latin that he was destined to set the young intellects of Paris aglow with the fire of his thought and the splendour of his eloquence.

We are now come to the period of Cousin's conversion—as it may well be called—the moment of his enthusiastic initiation into the seductive if somewhat labyrinthine paths of mental philosophy.

'There remains,' says Cousin, 'and ever will remain in my memory with a feeling of gratitude, the day when, for the first time, in 1810, being then a pupil of the Normal School engaged in the teaching of literature, I heard M. Laromiguière. That day decided my whole life. It took me away from my first studies, which promised me peaceful achievements, to throw me into a career in which antagonisms and storms have been my lot. I am not a Malebranche, but I experienced, in hearing M. Laromiguière, that which Malebranche is said to have experienced when he opened by chance a treatise of Descartes. M. Laromiguière taught the philosophy of Locke and Condillac, happily modified on certain points, with a lucidity and grace which to all appearance removed its difficulties, and with a charm of sprightly kindliness which penetrated and subdued the hearer.' (Fragments, vol. i. p. lviii.)

But M. Laromiguière was only one of Cousin's early teachers. He had two others, each of whom boasts a name graven in imperishable characters on the philosophical culture of France, MM. Royer-Collard and Maine de Biran. From the former Cousin learnt that if the mental faculties require to be stimulated by the senses in order to discharge their functions, they are themselves subjected in their action to certain conditions, laws, and principles, which sensation does not explain, which resist all analysis, and which are, so to speak, the natural patrimony of the human mind. From Maine de Biran he acquired the method and power of analysing the phenomena of the will. 'That admirable 'observer exercised me,' remarks Cousin,' 'in disentangling, 'in all our acts of knowledge, and even in the simplest facts

'of consciousness, the part of the volitional energy—that 'energy in which is manifested our personality.'

Those of our readers who have but a moderate acquaintance with the history of philosophy, either at large or in the individual thinker, will not need to be told that Cousin's progress in this 'triple discipline,' by which he admits he was formed, was in a continuous and straight course. It was in the direction of a metaphysical conception of the inborn faculties and tendencies of the human mind. He thus adopted at the outset of his philosophical career the standpoint and method which it was the aim of his whole subsequent research to confirm, amplify, and consolidate. In point of fact Cousin is a second Descartes, the restorer of metaphysics in France after its complete subversion by the sensational and materialistic thought of the eighteenth century. We shall have occasion to touch on this point again when we come to note the effects of his teaching. Now we pass on to the other impulses, chiefly from foreign teachers, which served not only to modify, but to confirm him in the metaphysical course he had already chosen.

The first foreign teacher whose thought influenced Cousin was Reid, to whom he was probably introduced by the most illustrious disciple of the Scotch thinker then or since, M. Royer-Collard. Cousin's own researches in mental procedure penetrated in after-life so far beyond the cautious common-sense limits of Reid's system that we probably underrate its real effect; but it seems to us that it was Reid to whom he was mainly indebted for that method of eclecticism which he subsequently adopted as his own. It suggested his finding in the *common thought* of the best thinkers those guarantees of truth which Reid discovered in the *common sense* of mankind in general. It was with these systems fermenting in his mind—not without promise of early maturity and power—that Cousin commenced that office of teacher of philosophy, for which, as the event speedily proved, he was so pre-eminently fitted. Royer-Collard having decided to enter that political life which he so conspicuously adorned, both by his oratory and his advocacy of liberal principles, confided to Cousin, then scarcely twenty-three years of age, his post of Professor of the History of Philosophy to the Faculty of Letters. It was in the half-ruined chapel of the old College of Du Plessis, where the Faculty of Letters then held its meetings, that Royer-Collard's young deputy made his first appearance before the public of Paris.

'The same thing happened to him,' says M. Ad. Franck, 'as to Savonarola when he preached his first sermon in the chapel of Saint Mark in Florence. The gloomy limits of the chapel proved too narrow, and the continually increasing audience were compelled to find a more suitable meeting-place in the enormous amphitheatre of the Sorbonne. It was there that Cousin's eloquence first approved itself what it was destined to become later on—ardent, inspired, almost prophetic, and at the same time self-contained, disciplined, sure of itself, as the utterance of a master ought to be who is persuaded of his doctrine and knows his superiority—*quasi auctoritatem habens*. Men were surprised and charmed with those sparkling illustrations, which, without destroying their character, gave movement and life to the boldest abstractions of metaphysics.' (Franck, 'Moralistes et Philosophes,' p. 294.)

As an historian of philosophy Cousin took a profound and characteristic view of his work. Nothing could have been more opposed to his disposition—keen, eager, vivacious, incisive—than being a mere passive chronicler of the tenets of some outworn creed, with no more living interest in the enumeration than the painted board on which in our old churches the Apostles' creed used to be lettered. Before all things Victor Cousin was a critic; indeed, in the department of philosophy he is the master critic of modern France. Hence, with a few reservations of metaphysical standpoints and principles in which his early convictions never faltered, Cousin's first lectures are more destructive than constructive. Condillac, Reid, and later on Kant, were the objects of a free, searching, and trenchant criticism, in which vigorous logic was so blended with erudition, luminous exposition with felicitous illustration, stately eloquence with rhetorical glow, that his hearers were no less ravished than instructed. M. Mignet describes this primary tuition of Cousin and the formation of his school in language that merits quotation:—

'He convinced and inspired at the same time, he won over intellects, started new mental careers, rendered men's capacities fruitful. In this way he formed his brilliant school. At the head of the first generation of his pupils he could count the thoughtful and acute Jouffroy, the wise and learned Damiron, the pious Bautain (the well-known abbé and liberal churchman), and had as well, both as hearer and admirer, Augustin Thierry, whom an overmastering instinct allured soon after towards history (p. 64).

After two years of arduous work at the Normal School and Faculty of Letters, during which continuous teaching was combined with a no less continuous increase of philosophical acquirement, the young professor found himself in need of a holiday. He resolved to make a philosophical

pilgrimage to Germany. This is one of the most interesting and important episodes in Cousin's life, and his narrative of his repeated German visits remains one of the most fascinating, and not the least profound, of his many writings. Germany was at this time the European centre of attraction for all intellectual and aspiring spirits. Its culture, both in literature and philosophy, had attained a climax of achievement which marks the commencement of this century as its Augustan age. Never before had such a galaxy of luminous and profound intelligences adorned any European country at one time. Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Schiller, Jean Paul, Herder, Goethe, took the lead of its poets and romancists; Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel headed its thinkers. Every name bore then the impress and presage of the immortality it has in part since achieved. That a mind so ardently impulsive, so susceptible of every form of culture, so insatiable in its curiosity, so indefatigable in its search for truth as was Cousin's, should have been irresistibly drawn towards this paradise of learning and speculation, was inevitable. It was, therefore, with the enthusiasm of the young knight-errant in the middle ages starting for the Holy Land, that Cousin proceeded, in 1817, to take his first journey into Germany.

M. Paul Janet directs attention to the rare combination of personal and mental qualities which rendered this novel enterprise successful. That a young man of twenty-five should have had the audacity to go in search of the most illustrious men in Europe, should have made them talk sometimes in bad French, sometimes in Latin, sometimes with the necessity on his own part of employing bad German, should have extorted from these Germans, unapt to talk, indisposed to be communicative, their confidences respecting their ideas, their systems, their persons—needed the boldness, the resolution, the spirit, at once overmastering and seductive, of a Victor Cousin. The reminiscences of his journey continued to be among the most pleasant and indelible of his life-impressions. Looking back regretfully upon it in after-days, he wrote: 'There is but one spring-time in 'the year, one youth-tide in a life, one transient moment of 'confidence between the members of the human family.'

Cousin commenced his pilgrimage at Frankfort, where he interviewed the historian Schlosser. His opinion of Cousin's errand was hardly encouraging. 'That which you know of 'German philosophy,' he said, 'viz. Kant, is just that which 'is best of it; the rest is not worth learning.' Frederick

Schlegel, whom he also saw at Frankfort, gave this estimate of the philosophers of his time: 'Fries and Krug are 'mediocrities, Bouterwek is superficial, Hegel is subtle; at 'Berlin you must see Schleiermacher. The only eminent 'men in Germany are Jacobi, Schelling, and Baader.' At Heidelberg—Cousin's next stage—Daub, the theologian, recommended him, as interested in philosophy, to make the acquaintance of Hegel, then a comparatively unknown man, whose name Cousin had only once heard from Frederick Schlegel. His interview with Hegel was the central event of interest in his journey. During his two days' stay at Heidelberg the two thinkers initiated and cemented a friendship which ended only with life. It is a merited tribute to Cousin's philosophical insight that he at once foresaw and boldly announced the coming fame of his new friend. He was equally prompt in his diagnosis of Hegel's inexorable logic. A child of the Revolution, as Cousin always called himself, it was natural that he should admire in Hegel 'a spirit of 'unbounded liberty, which subjected to its speculation 'everything—governments, religions, arts, sciences—and 'which placed philosophy above all.' At Göttingen Cousin fell in with Schulze, the famous author of 'Ænesidemus,' a work which reduces the Kantian philosophy to absolute scepticism. He told Cousin that there were only three philosophies in Germany, the old Kantism, the Pantheism of Schelling, and the sentimental teaching of Jacobi; but he added to these three philosophies a fourth, viz. his own, which, he said, destroyed all the others. Schleiermacher and De Wette, whom he met at Berlin, were among the German *savants* who impressed Cousin strongly. His conversations with the former he recounts with some fulness. It ranged over topics which never ceased to interest him to the latest moment of his life. He found De Wette singularly outspoken on the merits of Schelling and Hegel. To Cousin's question, 'What do you think of Schelling's 'philosophy?' De Wette replied, 'That it is folly' (un délire); 'and of that of M. Hegel?' continued the questioner. 'That he has demonstrated the absurdity of Schelling: I 'have read Hegel's writings; they seem to me nonsense,' was De Wette's uncompromising answer.

Though Cousin's primary concern was with the philosophical culture of Germany, it was impossible for the young pilgrim not to visit that shrine of all others which at that time most filled the imagination and awoke the reverence of literary Europe—Goethe and Weimar. Cousin's narrative of

his visit is too long to quote at length, but there are a few sentences in his description of Goethe which merit extraction, not only for their bearing on the great patriarch of German culture, but as showing the insight and delicacy of Cousin's observation. The psychological significance of the passage is best preserved by quoting the original :—

'Sa démarche est calme et lente comme son parler ; mais à quelques gestes rares et forts qui lui échappent, on sent que l'intérieur est plus agité que l'extérieur. La conversation, d'abord froide, s'anime peu à peu ; il parut ne pas trop s'y déplaire ; j'ai joui quelques instants de Goethe se développant avec plaisir. Il marchait et s'arrêtait pour m'examiner ou se recueillir et enfoncer toujours plus profondément sa pensée, en chercher une expression, en donner un exemple et des détails. Le geste rare mais pittoresque, et l'attitude générale grave et forte.'

The exact amount of Cousin's obligation incurred on this and subsequent occasions to German philosophy has always been a moot-point among his critics. Unlike our own Coleridge, whose borrowings from Schelling are hardly distinguishable from gross and overt plagiarism, Cousin's debts were less those of the letter than of the spirit. That he had received an intellectual and spiritual impulse of a marked, vivid, and considerable intensity is unquestionable ; that his subsequent teaching—especially the celebrated course of 1818—betrays large obligations to his German friends is equally undeniable ; but to assert, as M. Simon does, that Cousin on his return 'found himself a new man,' is self-evident exaggeration. He might just as well say that the young man who returns home from a foreign tour somewhat taller and bigger than when he started 'finds himself a new 'man.' Cousin was the same man, but of larger growth. His mental stature had increased, but the growth had been on the lines of his own idiosyncrasy. He was already a psychologist with strong metaphysical tendencies before he started for Germany ; his metaphysics had developed under the fostering influences of Hegel and Schleiermacher into a transcendental ontology, at least for the time being. He had already chosen eclecticism as his philosophical method, and this early resolution was confirmed by his intercourse with German thinkers. The man, in short, was the same. He had but added a trifle to his metaphysical stature. As M. Janet rightly remarks—

'Cousin's contact with German philosophy helped to enlarge his thought and to develope within him that fire which was destined to blaze forth with such power and success in his coming lectures. . . .

It was his conversations with Hegel and Schleiermacher that struck forth that celebrated Trilogy which will remain his title to honour in the History of French Philosophy.'

The 'Trilogy' was the Course of 1818, which afterwards saw the light under the title of 'Du Vrai, du Beau, du 'Bien.' Of all Cousin's philosophical works this is the most important in itself and the most characteristic of its author. It presents us, in a summary and attractive form, with Cousin's method, spirit, and philosophical conclusions. At the close of his opening lecture he tells his readers: 'Vous 'verrez donc ici, rassemblés en un court espace, nos principes, 'nos procédés, nos résultats;' and though the book has been largely recast on two separate occasions—in 1845 and 1853—we may accept his testimony as substantially true of its latest form. This master-work, the 'Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien,' has been so long before the highest culture, not only of France, but of Europe, as to render a criticism of it needless; at the same time it is so closely related to Cousin's own thought and the changes it underwent that we cannot pass it by in silence. The chief feature of the book, and one of its crowning excellences, is its persistent and sublime elevation of thought. Cousin remarked of Fénelon, 'Sa belle âme habite toujours les régions les plus 'élevées,' and the same partiality for the high latitudes of speculation is a characteristic feature of his own thought. Lofty comprehensive views, large sympathies, exalted and refined ideas, stimulating and ennobling fancies, formed both the breathing medium and favourite aliment of his soul. In Wordsworth's language they were—

> 'The self-created sustenance of a mind
> Compelled to be a life unto himself,
> And unrelentingly possessed by thirst
> Of greatness, love, and beauty.'

These are the qualities which, embodied in his 'Trilogy,' give the work its stimulative, dynamic, intellectually exhilarating force. To read its glowing periods is like breathing the bracing atmosphere of some lofty mountain pass. Its method is a reflex of its author's mind, an embodiment in glowing diction of Cousin's intellectual formation. Thus he does not weary and depress his reader with a long chain of ratiocination, demonstrating an abstract proposition by others still more abstract and intangible. Cousin's appeal is not to the intellect only, but to the intellect endued with, cultivated, refined, and elevated by, the

religious, moral, and æsthetic sentiment common to all thoughtful men. Thus it is less a treatise of philosophy than a *sursum corda* of philosophic, ethic, and æsthetic devotion. 'It is calculated,' as M. Mignet remarks, 'to form 'noble minds, to elevate men's souls, to regulate their life, to 'cause them to love the true, to relish the beautiful, to search 'for the good, to open up sure approaches towards God, and 'satisfactory prospects for the future of man.'

But the Course of 1818 has further interest for us in its reflected light on the growth of Cousin's mind. It discloses the mode of his passing from psychology to ontology, of the logical need of which he had already satisfied himself before his journey to Germany. The transition was effected by his theory of the impersonal nature of the human reason. Some of Cousin's critics, notably MM. Ravaisson and Jules Simon, animadvert in severe terms on this phase of Cousin's mental growth as that initial false step which led him to mysticism in philosophy and pantheism in theology. In our opinion, all that his critics prove is their own inferiority to Cousin as mental philosophers. Cousin knew what every genuine metaphysician soon becomes aware of, that in the formation of any abstract notion possessing universal attributes, the thinker must needs merge himself in his conception. Take, e.g., such an abstraction as being, or still better such a one as universal mind or reason, it is obvious that the latter conception implies an absorption of the individual reason—the temporary disappearance of self-consciousness. The eye that surveys a picture, or whose vision is absorbed by a magnificent piece of scenery, does not for the time being think of itself as an organ of sight. The visual consciousness is suspended—merged in its engrossing object. In truth, Cousin's critics find fault with him for not performing such an impossible feat as jumping over his own shadow. They are angry that he recognises the impossibility—employing Kant's well-known simile—of the dove transcending the atmosphere in which she soars. Apparently they would insist on the dove scaling a higher altitude than the medium which supports her wings, and taking a calm bird's-eye view of the atmosphere spread below her. The thinker who is unable to merge himself in his thought will assuredly never become a pantheist or a mystic. The restrictions on his transcendental career will commence earlier. It is impossible he should be a metaphysician, or even a genuine philosopher.

Before leaving the 'Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien' we feel

compelled to note what may be termed the theological significance of the book. We do this by way of protest against the accusations of pantheistic atheism so often founded upon it, but of which Cousin is no more and no less guilty than Augustine, Fénelon, Bossuet, or any other thinker who has reasoned out the problem of Deity from the Infinite data available for its solution. In the work before us all Cousin's ratiocination and speculation tend towards Deity, whom he conceives and addresses in as personal a form as any great intellect could employ on a subject so charged with mystery. The True, the Beautiful, and the Good are to him as they were to Plato—partly the earthly images of celestial types, partly the appointed ladders by which men are privileged to ascend to God. His Trinity of sublime abstractions lead up to and imply the One Divine Unity. So far from erecting ideals even in ethics and æsthetics, which should be independent of Deity, Cousin manifests almost an undue eagerness to make every moral principle and artistic feeling find its supreme source and consummation in Deity. Instead of being defectively theological he is almost superfluously so. Our readers will understand what we mean when they peruse the following eloquent passage from his chapter 'Du Beau dans les objets' (p. 171):—

'Oui, Dieu est pour nous le type et la source des deux grandes formes de la beauté (le beau et le sublime), parce qu'il nous est à la fois une énigme impénétrable et le mot le plus clair encore que nous puissions trouver à toutes les énigmes. Êtres bornés que nous sommes, nous ne comprenons rien à ce qui est sans limites, et nous ne pouvons rien expliquer sans cela même qui est sans limites. Par l'être que nous possédons, nous avons quelque idée de l'être infini de Dieu; par le néant qui est en nous, nous nous perdons dans l'être de Dieu; et ainsi toujours forcés de recourir à lui pour expliquer quelque chose, et toujours rejetés en nous-mêmes sous le poids de son infinitude, nous éprouvons tour à tour, ou plutôt en même temps, pour ce Dieu qui nous élève et qui nous accable, un sentiment d'attrait irrésistible et d'étonnement, pour ne pas dire de terreur insurmontable qui lui seul peut causer et apaiser, parce que, lui seul, il est l'unité du sublime et du beau.'

It seems strange that Cousin, who is almost as much 'a 'God-intoxicated man' as, in the language of Schleiermacher, Spinoza was, should share with the last-named thinker the reproach of atheism. We may, perhaps, accept it as one of many similar proofs that theological condemnations are less dictated by insight and ingenuousness than by blind prejudice. Few readers of average religious sensibilities could peruse Cousin's 'Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien,' on which the

charge of atheism has mostly been founded, without feeling themselves compelled to admit that their conceptions on the noblest ideals of humanity had thereby been elevated, and that they had been brought into more intimate relation with the Eternal Being.

The success which attended Cousin's course of 1818 and the year following was rudely interrupted. He was removed in 1820 from his lectureship, and his enormous audience of between 800 and 900 young Parisian citizens was suddenly deprived of their teacher. This high-handed proceeding was not the result of Cousin's active intervention in the then turbid course of French politics. It was dictated by the uneasy instincts of the Jesuits and despots who at that time contrived to possess themselves of supreme power, and who were aware that the legitimate outcome of Cousin's instruction could be nothing else than political and intellectual freedom. His friends, MM. Royer-Collard and Guizot, shared with him the persecuting attentions of the Government. In his own case the Jesuits would fain have suppressed not only the teacher, but the teaching. The appointments of his pupils and the professors formed under his tuition were either revoked or suspended. In M. Mignet's summary terms, 'War was openly declared with the pro-'gress of Intelligence.' In connexion with this episode in Cousin's career M. Janet has appropriately reminded us of the interesting reminiscences M. de Rémusat gave in his response to M. Jules Favre, when that statesman succeeded to Cousin's chair in the French Academy in 1868. The anecdote serves to show how Cousin regarded from his own serene heights of spiritual philosophy the political questions and aspects of his day. It may also help to explain—if not, from their standpoint, to justify—the action of absolutist ministers in gagging utterances so impregnated with the spirit of liberty.

'Judge of our feelings,' says M. de Rémusat, speaking of Cousin's course of 1815 in connexion with the intellectual and political perplexities of the time, 'when we see rising before us a young man ardent and grave, serious and impassioned, who from the elevation of the professor's chair addresses us in an impressive voice:—"Resume "your courage and lift up again your souls. Nothing perishes of that "which is sacred. The accidents of Force and of Fortune have no "power over Truth. Far above Politics and War, Philosophy points out "to us the unchangeable idea of Right, of which Politics and War "ought to be the servants if they would not be despicable. Let all "that has perished guide you to that which is imperishable. With "eyes fixed upon Right, dedicate yourselves to her cause. Return to

" those teachings which, in the contemplation of necessary truths, will " discover the real origin of the Reason, and render to it at the same " time its prerogatives and its laws. Thus you will resume the " interrupted task of the French Revolution by purifying and reaffirm- " ing its principles. Too long have we wished to be free men with the " feeling and instincts of slaves. (Trop longtemps nous avons " voulu être libres avec la morale des esclaves.) It is time to " inaugurate a philosophy which may be, in the language of Plato, the " philosophy of men who are free." '

Remembering that these glowing exhortations fall upon ears of men disheartened, bewildered, and enervated first by the unrestrained anarchy of the Revolution, and next by the false glamour of Bonapartist militarism, we can in some degree realise their solemnising and soothing effect. At the same time, we can imagine the noble *rôle* Cousin would make philosophy assume in the political vicissitudes of his country. The voice of the young teacher, the gist and tone of his argument remind us of a Hebrew prophet proclaiming the inherent vitality and ultimate triumph of righteousness and godliness to the Jews disquieted and disorganised by political disaster.

Debarred from public teaching, Cousin utilised his enforced leisure in fresh philosophical studies and literary activities. Apparently his intention of thus employing the time his enemies would not permit him to devote to his lectures in the Sorbonne had become known, and the 'Moniteur' in its note of November 29 adroitly made use of the knowledge in order to soften Cousin's disgrace to his hearers and the public at large. The note itself is such a delightful specimen of the crafty wiliness with which Absolutism is occasionally compelled to season its arbitrary proceedings that we must place it before our readers. The only data they will need for understanding it are: (1) that Cousin had already been *invited* not to continue his lectures in the Faculty of Letters; and (2) that his position then was as a deputy of M. Royer-Collard. The note is as follows:—

'L'annonce publiée par quelques journaux d'une suspension que le conseil de l'instruction publique aurait prononcée contre M. Cousin n'a aucune exactitude. M. Cousin, qui n'est pas professeur, n'aurait pu, même dans aucun cas, être l'objet d'une semblable mesure. Occupé de travaux importants sur d'anciens ouvrages grecs relatifs à la philosophie, il ne remplacera pas cet hiver M. Royer-Collard.'

No part of M. Janet's extremely meritorious biography is

fuller of combined interest and insight than the chapter in which he comments on this event, and which he entitles 'La 'Disgrâce.' He rightly lays stress, as evidence of the sterling and solid qualities of Cousin's character, on the calm philosophic demeanour with which he accepted, in the very height of his popularity and usefulness, his deposition from his chair in the Faculty of Letters. He contrasts Cousin's severe disdain of the methods then current among French politicians and public men to tide over an unwelcome period of forced retirement, with the conduct in similar circumstances of Thiers, Carrel, Mignet, and Lamennais. Cousin at once gave himself up—in entire seclusion from the political and literary world—to the study and publication of the manuscripts of Proclus, 'in favour of 'which,' as M. Janet satirically says, 'the Government 'had kindly created for him the needed leisure.' Together with his edition of Proclus he completed the translation of Plato, which still retains its place as one of the most successful reproductions of the Greek philosopher in a modern tongue. In this work he was largely assisted by some of his disciples.

The suspicion and disfavour, culminating in harshness and injustice, which Cousin experienced in his own country he was destined to find still more emphatically in a foreign land. On a visit to Germany, in October 1823, he was suddenly arrested by the Prussian police at Dresden and conveyed to the State prison at Berlin. The proceeding was conducted with so much secrecy and mystery that Cousin was unable to ascertain the reason of his arrest; nor was the intervention of his friend Hegel more successful. At length it came out that he was suspected of being connected with certain secret societies. The sole apparent ground for the charge was Cousin's friendship with the Count of Santa Rosa, chief of the Piedmontese Insurrection of 1821. Cousin did not allow the event, vexatious as it was, to disturb his philosophical equanimity. After an indignant expostulation with the Prussian authorities for their arbitrary and illegal proceedings, he resumed his customary serene dignity. He occupied his lonely prison hours with a translation of the 'Symposium' of Plato, and by turning some of Goethe's poems into French.

The imprisonment of an illustrious Frenchman on mere suspicion was nothing less than a European scandal, and the Government of France found itself compelled to inter-

vene. Cousin's German friends, and especially Hegel, were also actively engaged in his behalf; but it was not before Cousin had been in prison six months that he succeeded in obtaining his release. He then returned to France, where he was received with enthusiasm as a martyr to the cause of free thought and justice.

Cousin lost no time in recommencing his interrupted studies and literary labours. He began the publication of the 'Fragments Philosophiques.' In form the work is desultory. Cousin himself put the 'Fragments' forth as *mémoires pour servir*; but, in point of varied interest, the collection stands highest of all Cousin's writings. It is also important for Cousin's own career as containing, more than all the rest of his works, his personal experiences and reminiscences. Not that these are wholly biographical. For the most part they are philosophical. Indeed it is the happy blending of biography with philosophy—personal narrative alternating with, and occasionally forming part of, reminiscences of philosophical culture and ratiocination—that gives the work its peculiar charm. Nor is its utility less than its fascination. We have no hesitation in saying that to the student who desires to gain an adequate conception of Cousin, not only as a philosophical thinker and teacher, but as a scholar with large literary interests and sympathies, the book is indispensable. Other works of Cousin's bring us nearer to their objects—philosophy, theology, biography—what not. The 'Fragments' bring us closer to Cousin himself.

Besides commencing the 'Fragments,' Cousin issued his well-known edition of the works of Descartes in eleven octavo volumes. It was then, and still remains, the only complete edition of that great thinker's writings. In this laborious task of collecting, editing, and annotating a considerable mass of varied works, Cousin had the double incentive of rendering a tribute of personal regard to his own master in metaphysical philosophy, and of patriotic duty in raising a worthy literary monument to one of the most illustrious of Frenchmen. The revived attention paid to Descartes and his thought since Cousin's time has, it may be feared, had the effect of obscuring his own early and varied contributions to the history of Cartesianism and its founder; but it should not be forgotten that it is Victor Cousin, more than any other single writer, that we have to thank for the insight which recognised in the resuscitation of Cartesian principles and methods the best means of

opposing and vanquishing the materialism of the eighteenth century.

The dissolution of the French Chambers and the beneficent change of government which took place in 1827, had the effect of restoring Cousin—and with him Guizot and Villemain—to their respective chairs in the Faculty of Letters. Cousin's return to his old post and to his favourite *rôle* of philosophical teaching, partook of the nature of a public triumph. The event was described to the readers of this Journal by Sir William Hamilton in October 1829 (Cousin having recommenced his professorial work on April 15 of the preceding year), and we must ask leave to recall the great critic's description of Cousin's magnificent reception and the marvellous success of his course of 1828.

'The delivery of these lectures excited an unparalleled sensation in Paris. Condemned to silence during the reign of Jesuit ascendency, M. Cousin, after eight years of honourable retirement, not exempt from persecution, had again ascended the chair of philosophy; and the splendour with which he recommenced his academical career more than justified the expectation which his recent celebrity as a writer, and the memory of his earlier prelections, had inspired. Two thousand auditors listened—all with admiration, many with enthusiasm—to the eloquent exposition of doctrines intelligible only to the few; and the oral discussion of philosophy awakened in Paris and in France an interest unexampled since the days of Abelard. The daily journals found it necessary to gratify, by their earlier summaries, the impatient curiosity of the public, and the lectures themselves, taken in shorthand and corrected by the Professor, propagated weekly the influence of his instruction to the remotest provinces of the kingdom.'

Sir William Hamilton's account is derived from hearsay. Hence it may be as well, inasmuch as this turn in his fortunes constitutes the grand climacteric of Cousin's public career, to complete it with the vivacious and picturesque narrative of M. Jules Simon, who, it would seem, was present on that occasion.

'When he (Cousin) appeared to view in the grand amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, the crowd which overflowed into the outer court burst into frantic cheers. He stretched out his hand to enjoin silence, and then—in the midst of those young men charged with enthusiasm, of these elder men who had come back to these seats to hear him, of those *savants*, of those adversaries—in a voice vibrating with emotion, with mostly a deliberate utterance as of a man who is still in search of ideas, and in a style manly, picturesque, and solemn, he promulgated his oracles. A hearer might suppose he was present at the birth-throes of his thought; in reality he was only present at their exhibition. The spectacle was affecting. When from time to time Cousin suddenly

unfolded a vast horizon (of speculation), or when he found one of those formulas which engrave themselves for ever on the memory, and which stimulate thought and fancy, the enthusiasm of his hearers rose to its extreme height. He was spare in person; he appeared to be ill; his whole frame was shaken by that famous metaphysical fever, more intense than the poetical fever, and just as prolific of great results. His eyes literally shot forth flames; he smiled but seldom, spoke rarely with impetuosity, and yet one felt him to be capable of every kind of brilliancy.' (P. 77.)

Entering as we now are on Cousin's political life, though in truth it was only a continuation or transference to a wider practical scope of his philosophical life, it may be useful to enumerate the stages of which it was destined to consist. His entry into the Royal Council of Public Instruction in 1830, was followed in 1832 by his admission into the Chamber of Peers. In the same year he devised, in combination with Guizot, the system of primary instruction on a free and Protestant basis, which is not the least of his many titles to the gratitude of his country. In 1834 he became the head of the Normal School and President of the Committee for choosing the professors for all the colleges and lyceums in France. In 1840 he became for a short time Minister of Public Instruction, so that, in point of fact, he may be said to have largely dominated over the higher educational interests of France for a period of nearly twenty-five years.

No part of Cousin's career has excited so much unfavourable criticism as his conduct, first as member of the Council, secondly as Minister of Public Instruction. The object of loud controversy at the time, its echoes, little hushed by the intervening years, are found in Cousin's latest biographies and criticisms. Of the biographers, in our list, M. Janet takes one side as resolutely as M. Jules Simon defends the opposite. The general scope of the accusation against Cousin may be thus stated. He endeavoured, it is alleged, to establish an official philosophy, a philosophy of the State, a system of dogma, a catechism. He had sacrificed freedom of scientific research to the dogmatic conclusions of a philosophical orthodoxy hardly different from religious orthodoxy. The accusation was clearly capable of being drawn out into more or less extravagant forms. A writer in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement*, November 11, 1881, thus amplifies and varies the general charge :—

'As to philosophy, M. Cousin and his staff have once for all determined it, for the use of the Lyceums. They have assigned it fixed limits, and have decided that it shall go thus far and no farther. The

Professor must therefore demonstrate the soul's immortality by officially recognised arguments, he must prove free will by order, search substance and find deity by command—in fine, he must altogether abandon himself and abandon his disciples to eclecticism, and to doctrines breveted by Government guarantee.'

What gave a particular sting to the accusation was the implied contrast between Cousin as the teacher of philosophy, and Cousin as the administrator of philosophical education for all the schools and colleges in France; between the advocate of free research—'the Child of the Revolution,' and the champion of arbitrary and restrictive measures in the intellectual training of the nation. Even if the charge of deteriorated *morale* by promotion to place and power could be substantiated in Cousin's case, it could hardly be said to be anomalous. Unfortunately for any lofty ideal of humanity, instances are depressingly numerous of fairly strong men becoming enervated, demoralised, and hopelessly stunted by officialism, whether political or ecclesiastical. In Victor Cousin's case, however, the charge—as it seems to us—is demonstrably unjust. He was much too vigorous and self-reliant—too much, in fitting phrase, of a philosopher—to be driven from his course by a puff of royal or administrative favour. M. Janet has investigated the whole subject with a knowledge of the attendant circumstances, and an insight into Cousin's mental idiosyncrasy that is unequalled; and the result of his finding is that he is wholly innocent of any attempts to tyrannise over, or in any other than a helpful and beneficent manner to coerce, the philosophical teaching of France. He sums up the results of Cousin's work as an official administrator of education in the two following propositions:—

'Victor Cousin accomplished for the teaching of philosophy that which Descartes had done for philosophy itself. He separated and freed it from theology.

'Like Descartes also, he came to a final rupture with scholasticism, and introduced into the schools the liberal spirit of modern philosophy.'

It would take up too much of our space to follow the historical and critical exposition by means of which M. Janet fully establishes these two points. We must content ourselves with referring our readers to his work. A passing word of explanation, however, seems needed as to the exact nature of the claim he thus puts forward, that Cousin freed philosophy from theology. By this he means that, as

Descartes before him, Cousin made his teaching independent of the dogmas of ecclesiasticism. It cannot mean that there was no theology, in the highest sense of the term, in Cousin's own speculations. As we have already seen, his metaphysics and his general philosophy were charged with theological implications, and found their natural outcome in theological conclusions. But Cousin was, before all things, a metaphysical philosopher, and it was from this standpoint that he surveyed the whole universe of human thought and human belief. His theology, in truth, transcended the limits of any human institution as much as the starry heavens transcend the groined roof of a cathedral.

The measure of the impulse imparted by Cousin to the philosophy of his time is proved by M. Janet in the only way in which it is capable of proof. He contrasts the condition of philosophical culture in France when Cousin first began his lectures at the Sorbonne with its condition when he retired, first from its actual teaching, and secondly from its general direction. He has no difficulty in showing that, in point of inspiration, of profound and widely diffused interest, of distinct and varied attainment, Cousin's influence was as unmeasured as it was important and beneficent. It was not so much the promulgation of a new doctrinal system —the formulation of a body of philosophical *credenda*—that Cousin made the object of his energy, as the imparting the free spiritual force which should rule all philosophical culture. He did not furnish the measures of meal so much as the leaven which should quicken and transmute its whole mass. This was in harmony with the undogmatic, purely critical, training which he endeavoured, as we shall see farther on, to impart to his pupils. His aim was to elevate all human speculations—the intellectual procedure which is the method of philosophical enquiry, the thought and feeling which form the bases of human conduct, the imagination and ideality which are the standards of æsthetic culture —into a loftier region. With a philosopher's instinct he traced the degradation of French thought in the eighteenth century—its ignoble conception of human interests and duties—to the superficial sordid materialism then current. His adoption of psychology as the true mode of philosophical culture was not only justified by his own deliberate choice, but by the fact that it was the most efficient counteractive for this speculative abasement that it was possible to find. It is only by remembering this that we are able to explain the stress which Cousin laid on the teaching of psychology,

both as lecturer and in his ministerial capacity as director of the philosophical studies of France. No doubt the method was novel; and partly for that reason, and partly because Cousin's insistence on it seemed carried to an unduly arbitrary extent, it was unfavourably criticised; but no one who knows the history of French philosophy during the nineteenth century will be inclined to condemn a method of teaching which, even if insisted upon with severity, served to restore the balance of philosophical culture for France and for Europe.

Another and still greater novelty in French philosophical training—for the restoration of the psychological method was, in truth, only a return to Descartes—was Cousin's stress upon the history of philosophy, regarded not as a means of information, but as a *method of culture*. Few characteristics of his *régime* as educational administrator of France gave more umbrage than this. His clerical critics especially were bitterly hostile to allowing the youth of France to ramble at will through the wild domain of human speculation, wherein, as in the original paradise, trees of forbidden fruit were interspersed carelessly among trees whose fruit was enjoined, and trees of life grew side by side with those of the knowledge of good and evil. But apart from the fact that no other mode of philosophical culture agreed with his own eclectic method, Cousin was fully persuaded of the true disciplinary value of such an education. It was the intellectual cosmopolitanism which ruled the energies of Hellenic culture and resulted in the marvellous developement of its multiform products. It was the analogue—in mental training—of the education acquired by personally intermingling in human affairs. It had been Cousin's own educational process—a careful selection or rejection, as the case might be, of what came before him in the form of mental aliment. A special objection to this free culture was the sceptical effect on the youthful mind of unrolling before it 'ce tableau des aberrations humaines,' but, as M. Janet well replies:—

'The history of philosophy is not a school of scepticism, but a school of liberalism. Just as the observation of facts, so the knowledge of thought-systems enlarges the mind, and sets it free from prejudices and intolerance. In finding that the greatest of men have been deceived, one learns to believe that he himself may be deceived as well. One learns also to respect the thought of another, to admire the energies of the human intellect even in enterprises apparently fruitless. But one learns something more—namely, that in spite of

the diversity and contradiction of systems, they have truths in common and truths which grow with the progress of time; that each may possess a portion of truth which does not exclude the truth of the rest; in short, that there is in all schools of thought something to be selected, and all have subserved the cause of the human reason. It is therefore a school, at one and the same time, of equity, charity, and fraternity, as well as of liberty.'

Under the suggestive titles of 'Le Régiment' and 'Les 'Batailles,' M. Jules Simon treats this administrative portion of Cousin's career with more than his usual severity. He not only shares, but accentuates with needless asperity, the customary judgement of unfavourable critics, that, as a minister, Cousin was transformed from a philosopher to an educational martinet, from a teacher of the absolute in philosophy to the asserter of absolutism in every department of human learning. His strictures are anticipated by M. Janet, and are ably answered by M. Ad. Franck in the second of his 'Nouveaux Essais.' Little that is absolutely new can now be added to a controversy which was practically exhausted during Cousin's own life; and those of our readers who would enjoy the doubtful pleasure of resuscitating the memories of spent conflicts and animosities have now an opportunity of estimating the merits of this controversy which even Cousin's contemporaries did not enjoy. But, with all his disposition to severity, M. Simon renders an occasional, if unwilling, tribute to his old master's pre-eminent qualifications as Minister of Education. Thus he tells us that Cousin

'knew the name and qualifications of all his soldiers, As to the pupils of the Normal School, he had them for three years under his own very direct and efficacious superintendence. He had examined most of the others for their license. He had studied them on their admission, and some—unlucky beings—several years in succession. As regards the regents of the communal colleges (they were then called regents—a very ridiculous title—now they are styled professors), who were neither licensed nor admitted, he was obliged to refer for them to the notes of the rectors and inspectors. If one of them had published a notice, an edition, an article with some claim to importance, to say nothing of a book, at once Cousin read it, or at least, to use his own term, took a sniff at it *subodorait*. If it was worthless, the man was doomed. If it showed any trace of talent, Cousin became at once his tyrant and his protector. He gave him no peace till he had compelled him to impart all that he could impart, and, in return, until he had secured for him a position worthy of his talent. In one way or other there was no professor of a college, royal or communal, whom he did not know at his finger-ends. He had no need of notes; his memory sufficed. As soon as you had pronounced the name of

a professor, he could tell you his residence, his history, the steps in his career, with the dates of his examinations, his merits, his defects, and, if he was an author, the list of his books or of his pamphlets, and all this with an accuracy of memory and a critical precision which it was impossible to surpass.'

The most interesting feature of M. Simon's book—which will probably suffice, notwithstanding its carping and satirical tone, to impart to it some measure of vitality—is its collection of anecdotes, in the pithy and picturesque style of which M. Simon is the acknowledged master, of every phase of Cousin's life and character. Most of these are personal reminiscences either of M. Simon himself or of those who shared with him the honour of being Cousin's favoured disciples. That these stories are wholly free from the unfortunate animus which underlies the greater part of his book we dare not affirm; but, bearing that animus in mind, they have a sufficient amount of probability to be accepted as illustrating one phase of Cousin's character. The following anecdote relates to his demeanour as Minister. It seems to us to show indirectly how the prevailing opinion of Cousin's arbitrary and tyrannical dealing with those under him may have originated among the pedants and dunces who had brought themselves under the lash of his justifiable severity.

'I recall,' says M. Simon, 'the adventure of one of my comrades, a very distinguished man, who was titular professor in a provincial Faculty. Cousin was at that time Minister. It was at one of his evening receptions. The *salons* were crowded with great personages, members of the Institute, peers of France, deputies and professors as well, because it was then the Easter vacation. The other arrived, all covered with dust, in an overcoat—I think I see him now—an overcoat that flapped against his heels, with a great parcel under his arm on which he founded his hopes of success and of fame. He marched up straight to Cousin, ignoring all the world around him, and without even caring that he interrupted a conversation:—"Monsieur le Ministre," he said, in his loudest tone of voice, "here is *my book*. You have the first copy of it. I request of you the chair of —— which is vacant." Everyone was now silently intent, hearing and noting this perfect model of a clownish pedant. "Monsieur," said Cousin to him, in a voice higher than his own, "you will commit your book to one of the ushers in my antechamber. As for yourself, I advise you to think a little more of your intellectual and moral advancement, and somewhat less of your material advancement.'

Cousin's official duties necessarily curtailed his activities as a thinker and writer on philosophy, but did not wholly extinguish them. Philosophy was the master passion of

his life, and his devotion to her cause was just as great while he was at the head of the educational administration of France as it was during his enthusiastic lectures at the Sorbonne so many years before. Indeed, it was precisely his strong conviction of the needs of French philosophy, and his determination to supply those needs, that prompted those decrees and injunctions which seemed to others, less gifted with his insight, so narrow and arbitrary.

But though philosophy possessed the largest share of his affection, his devotion to it was only one—albeit the chief—of his various literary interests. Throughout his life Cousin cherished a profound love for historical and general literature. The golden age of French literature for him was, however, not the eighteenth but the seventeenth century. Corneille was his favourite poet; Descartes and Pascal his favourite thinkers. He was never tired of expatiating—it was his most congenial theme—on the political, ecclesiastical, and social celebrities of that magnificent period. It is to this feeling that we must ascribe the remarkable series of books which occupied the later leisure of his life on the female celebrities of that age. The primary suggestion of the series seems to have been accidental. Like St. Paul, who in his reasoning continually goes off at a word, Cousin in his researches was frequently started on a novel enterprise by some chance incident. It was a manuscript of Abelard, found unexpectedly in an obscure library, that originated those researches into the great mediæval thinker and that magnificent edition of his works which are not the least of Cousin's many claims to the gratitude of posterity. It was the discovery of Malebranche's letters that revealed to him the interesting personality of Père André, whom Cousin rescued from unmerited oblivion. Similarly it was the discovery of the Pascal MS. that first impelled him on that course of investigation and study which bore as its first-fruits his invaluable works on Pascal, and, as its further outcome, his series of female biographies. Behind the Pascal of tradition Cousin discovered another Pascal, greater, nobler, worthier of philosophic and literary fame than the pious and feeble *simulacrum* that had hitherto occupied his shrine. While thus employed in restoring to French thought the genuine lineaments and fair proportions of one of its greatest ornaments, Cousin found himself introduced to Jacqueline Pascal—the worthy sister in intellect, piety, and suffering—of her famous brother, to whom he dedicated the most thoughtful and philosophical, if not the most fas-

cinating, work of his illustrious female series. 'From that 'noble martyr of a too rigid creed,' says M. Mignet, 'the 'historian passed to heroines less pure, but all of whom 'shared intellectual distinction, were possessed either of 'excellences of character or charms of beauty, and were 'interesting by the incidents of a life associated with events 'of history and the commotions of the State.'

Of this bevy of fair ladies the most attractive to Cousin's platonic affection was Madame de Longueville; and perhaps the most charming of all the series is the volume wherein Cousin recounts the graceful story of her youth. M. Mignet, in this part of his *Notice Historique*, animated, as it would seem, by a needlessly tender regard for the memory of his friend, has transmuted Cousin's admitted devotion into a conditional possibility. He cautiously says that Madame de Longueville would have gained her historian's heart altogether had it not been for certain political and personal drawbacks to her fair fame. We fear it must be admitted—and we do not conceive the admission to be a serious impeachment of Cousin's moral character—that he actually professed himself jocularly to be this fascinating lady's adorer. We need hardly be surprised, still less shocked, at a flirtation so venial. We have no ground for supposing that philosophers are more exempt than ordinary beings from the seductions of feminine grace and beauty, wit, and vivacity, even when imperfectly qualified by austerer excellences; and a chivalrous gallantry to the fair sex, both living and dead, was one of M. Cousin's characteristics. MM. Janet and Jules Simon have treated this platonic and literary devotion as though it indicated culpable weakness. The latter remarks that Cousin was 'probably 'the only man who was ever in love with a mistress who 'had been dead for 200 years.' A more unfortunate or untrue assertion is hardly conceivable. Most men, gifted with some power of idealising the events and persons of the past, and with rudimentary susceptibilities of human passion, have found themselves lovers of some one or other, probably of more than one, of the great heroines of history. M. Mignet is on safer ground when he goes on to point out the historical significance of Cousin's female biographies:—

'In these different works,' he says, 'M. Cousin has portrayed the manners as well as the ideas of that time; he has penetrated to its lowest depths that French society, then so elegant and still more so vivacious, whose true likeness he has sketched in the two very curious

volumes, wherein, availing himself so felicitously of the "Grand Cyrus" of Mlle. de Scudéry, he has completely depicted it.'

This seems to us to afford a clue to the real source of Cousin's interest in the lady leaders of French society in the seventeenth century. It was not exclusively or even primarily of a sentimental kind. These ladies were convenient and fascinating centres of attraction around which Cousin delighted to group his studies of the great personages and events of their time—suns of radiance and beauty around which he conceived the human planets and asteroids of the seventeenth century to revolve.

That Cousin's female biographies were regarded at the time, and by many are still held to be, an eccentric deviation from his own proper *métier* of philosophising is well known. M. Jules Simon, with his customary liking for sensational chapter-headings, gives this portion of his work the too suggestive title, 'Les Amours,' and agrees with M. Taine and others, that this episode discloses a perversity—perhaps a trifle suspicious—in Cousin's character. The answer given to these charges by M. Mignet seems to us satisfactory. He asks whether Cousin had not done enough for philosophy. before he entered, may we say, 'the primrose paths of 'dalliance,' wherein alone he could have met Madame de Longueville and Madame de Chevreuse. Besides, did not Cousin subsequently—perhaps cloyed with his fair but somewhat frivolous companions—return to the severer and serener walks of philosophy by editing his five volumes of 'Fragments'? Thus substantially M. Mignet. But there is another plea for Cousin, which, as we have never seen used, we may take this opportunity of suggesting. We should term this episode in Cousin's literary career, the natural if not inevitable effect of intellectual expansion. Many famous thinkers devoted to abstract reasoning or philosophical speculation, whose intellectual powers were accompanied by vivid imagination and profound feeling, have manifested a desire for forms of literary expression outside the scope of their usual activities. Thus we may regard these biographies of Cousin's as natural *parerga*—efforts of the historical-novel species—graceful essays in which faculties restrained by philosophical theorising found freer vent, and a long converse with philosophical idealities of every age was exchanged for the actual personages and events—in their most fascinating guise—of the France of the seventeenth century.

The fall of the Thiers Cabinet in 1840 was the starting-point of a gradual withdrawal from public and official

duties, and a return to the philosophical and literary pursuits of his earlier life, though his interest in the stirring political events of French history from 1830 to 1851 remained active as ever. He was still a peer of France, and up to the Revolution of 1848 a member of the Council of State, and he was not the man to regard such offices as purely ornamental, or to discharge whatever duties they might involve in a perfunctory manner. After the Revolution of 1848, almost the only official tie he retained was that which still connected him with the University of Paris, for he remained titular professor in the Faculty of Letters. This nominal office, however, he resigned after the *coup d'état* of 1851. The remainder of his life was devoted, with little abatement of its consuming energies and his marvellous power of work, to his studies and writings.

Of his sudden death at Cannes on January 14, 1867, there are many accounts contemporaneous and subsequent, almost all marked by appreciation and regret. Among these M. Mignet's narrative seems to us the most noteworthy in point of dignity and solemn pathos, and in the consecrating warmth of a close and devoted friendship. As M. Mignet's notice is only to be found in the official report of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, we give our readers a translation.

After speaking of Cousin's work in editing the five volumes of 'Fragments,' M. Mignet continues:—

'Besides giving himself up during the summer and autumn of 1866 to that laborious enterprise, Cousin made a recast, in a seventh edition, which deserves to be definitive, of his "General History of Philosophy." In that excellent work, of which every page attests his genius and his art, he had introduced developements of the highest interest in Greek philosophy before, as well as on, Sokrates, and had set forth conclusions of the rarest stability on the nature, the object, the right, and the influence of philosophy itself. The Academy, in two of its sittings, listened with appreciation, and I do not fear to say with admiration, to those vigorous thoughts, which his too near death was destined to make the philosophical testament of M. Cousin.

'It was on the 17th of December, after bidding adieu to the Academy by communications so noble, that M. Cousin quitted Paris for Cannes, where for some years his health had compelled him to pass the dismal and harsh months of winter. One of his dearest friends and most learned disciples, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire accompanied him, and he was to reside in the pleasant neighbourhood of M. Mérimée, his gifted fellow-member of the French Academy. He thus passed a few weeks in the delights of friendship, the charms of conversation, the pure pleasures of work and of thought, under a sky

overflowing with light, in a region where even winter was a spring-tide. He was happy and confessed it. Up to the fatal day when it was destined to be extinguished, that fair light continued to flash forth its vivid rays. Even on the 12th of January, at a pleasant *soirée*, his intellect and wit were brilliant as ever, and he ravished all present by his amiability. During the night he had one of those attacks of insomnia which nerves more and more agitated, and the activities of a brain for ever in motion, frequently caused him. In the morning, feeling himself fatigued, he rose an hour later than usual, and began his accustomed work. He was still occupied with a task which it might have seemed he had already brought to perfection, for he retouched and completed a few chapters of his "General History of Philosophy." After this—his last labour—he came downstairs to breakfast—a meal he was to share with M. Barthélemy St.-Hilaire. He took his place at the table with good humour, and chatted away with gaiety, but all the while he complained of a lassitude which he ascribed to the insomnia of the preceding night. Towards the end of breakfast his head inclined on his breast, as if he yielded to an unconquerable need of sleep. But the sleep from which neither the anxious cares of friendship nor the vain resources of art could arouse him was the sleep of death. M. Cousin had, alas! succumbed to a sudden stroke of apoplexy—a fate of which he had long had a presentiment—and he expired on the 14th of January, 1867, at 5 o'clock in the morning, aged 65 years, one month, and sixteen days.'

To few deaths of eminent men could the epitaph of Tacitus on Agricola be more congruously applied: *Felix non vitæ tantum spatio sed etiam opportunitate mortis.* Though he had not attained longevity, Cousin had lived an eminently full and prolific life, and he died with all his great mental powers still at their best. He was subjected to no saddening reminders, in the decay of memory, of introspective keenness, or sustained reflection, that his failing intellect was anticipating the decease of his physical life. He was not required to witness the interment of his mind before his body had become fitted for the grave. Indeed, he possessed so much exuberance of life, vivacity, and vigour, that one can hardly conceive him as an old man. As to the manner of his decease Cousin fell—as a warrior falls in the battlefield—by the death which best befitted his life. A thinker and intellectual worker from his earliest years, he fell a victim to a disease caused by and appropriate to incessant mental labour—the sudden collapse of a brain too persistently exercised to endure longer such a continuous and powerful stress.

We conclude by a few general remarks on Cousin as a man, and secondly, on his work.

The greatest, most preponderating feature in Victor

Cousin was his marvellous personality. Great as a thinker, greater as a writer, he was greatest as a man: in his attractive and fascinating presence, in the inexpressible charm of his demeanour, in his profound and multifarious knowledge, his inexhaustible vivacity, and in his wonderful talent for conversation. No one who knew him personally will ever forget the seductive grace of his bearing and conversation—the fire of his eye, the ceaseless change of his mobile features, his irrepressible gaiety, his winning smile, his comic expression of mirth or mockery, his glance of horror or scornful disdain, his graceful and appropriate gestures, the perpetual permutations of voice and expression that ranged irregularly, but continuously, over the whole gamut of physiognomical and vocal expression. Differing in so many other features of Cousin's life and character, all his biographers are unanimous as to the inexpressible charm of his society and personal intercourse. It is not easy to analyse—impossible wholly to separate and consider in detail—all the constituents of personal bearing even in the case of an ordinary man; and the difficulty becomes proportionately greater in the ratio that a man is extraordinary. Not only are they evanescent and fugitive, changing from one moment to the next; but they are so inextricably blended, one charm or grace lending to another, and mutually deriving from it, some subtle point of colouring or accentuation, which gives both to one and the other its beauty and harmony; so that each single feature can only be truly considered as an unseizable and inseparable part of a harmonious and indefinable whole.

This is probably the feeling which has prompted some of Cousin's personal friends to assume that every written record of him must be inadequate. 'Describe Cousin's personality?' once remarked an enthusiastic acquaintance—'why, you 'might as well try to seize and describe the changing forms 'and hues of a kaleidoscope: while you laboriously depicted 'one of his flashing phases he would have changed it a 'dozen times over.' He might be compared to an embodied ganglionic centre with every one of its nervous filaments and its diversiform sensibilities in continuous throbbing activity. Unhappily, the biographer's art, like that of the painter, can only seize—as it were by instantaneous photography—one passing phase or expression out of many, probably not even that which is most dominant or characteristic, and he is compelled to leave all the other mutabilities to the imagination—however uninspired—of the ordinary observer. Taking, however, Cousin in the most distinctive

of his personalities, we must conceive of him as a *causeur* or conversationalist—one of the most brilliant and seductive among modern Frenchmen. Here he was at his best. No matter what subject was started, he was at once on fire. He seemed to be in a state of perpetual spontaneous combustibility on every topic of intellectual or literary interest. It was like tapping a gigantic reservoir. Immediately there burst forth—in a strong vehement outgush of learning and eloquence, intermingled with profound depths of sentiment and passion, enlivened by sallies of wit and unstudied felicities of thought and expression, ceaselessly and picturesquely varied by subtle shades of meaning and new turns of speech and argument—the hoarded acquisition of the reading and reflection of a lifetime. And the flow, having commenced, would continue with unabated speed and profusion, as if it would, like the poet's brook, 'flow on for ever.' Perhaps the only thinker in modern times—with whom by the way Cousin shares considerable mental affinities—who may claim comparison with him, is our own Coleridge. In both cases conversation was a monologue rather than a dialogue. Yet the cases were dissimilar. Coleridge's talk was mystical and introspective; Cousin's was instinct at various times with every intellectual quality in every mood of thought. Coleridge's stream of utterance was the steady continuous gliding of a river placidly winding through a valley. Cousin's was the somewhat turbulent, forceful descent of a mountain stream when in flood, full of life, change, and movement. Though not impatient of contradiction, when warranted by reason and justice—nay, even courting it—Cousin was, it must be admitted, a better talker than listener. An impediment to his onward rush had the same effect as a large boulder in a mountain torrent. By damming the water it added to its strength and vehemence. To stem the current altogether was hopeless. On the contrary, every well-considered stoppage operated as a fresh starting-point of the argument. It was like tapping the reservoir at another part and letting forth a new outflow. As an illustration of Cousin's faculty for interminable talk, we cannot do better than place before our readers M. Simon's impression of it, and we do so the more readily as this is one of the points of his book wherein his portraiture of Cousin is less qualified than usual by an undercurrent of unworthy sarcasm, sometimes degenerating into malignity.

'I have already said that in conversation Cousin was without rival. Felicitous words, new ideas, comparisons, anecdotes, occurred to him

in a crowd, and he arranged them with a freedom of spirit and a mastery that was incomparable. From pleasantry he passed to emotion, and from the greatest subjects to the smallest with an ease which put all on the same level. One could not feel weary because the phases of his talk varied every moment; nor could one be impatient, for it was always profitable to listen to him. He ignored you during the process, but when it was over you found yourself stronger. It was a kind of magic. Add to this that it was not only his intellect which was marvellous; it was the accompaniment of his intellect, with which he did what he liked—his voice, which took every kind of tone, his eyes either laughing or terrible, his eloquent mouth, his gestures slightly exaggerated without, however, offending good taste, for he belonged to the school and to the world of Plato (? Aristotle), and never once, in his wildest fantasies, lost sight of the mean. He had one quality which I have never met with in any other talker. A public of some sort is essential for them. Sainte-Beuve had no wit but among witty men or pretty women. I must not say that Saint-Marc Girardin had it especially when among clowns. Villemain required a desk or a drawing-room. Cousin was ready at all times, on all subjects, among all men. An interlocutor mattered little to him—whether it were a roomful or a single individual, and whether this were a man of intelligence or a fool. Cousin pursued his point if he was in the humour to improvise and speak. Apparently he created for himself a public which comprehended and applauded him.'

But it is difficult for Cousin's personal friends to think of him in connexion with his brilliant *causeries* without the further association—as furnishing background and accessories—of the magnificent library above the great theatre of the Sorbonne, which he occupied till his death. We accordingly append to M. Simon's reminiscences those of a still dearer friend, M. Mignet, who thus describes a scene at many of which he must have himself assisted :—

'It was in that library, amassed with an erudition so skilfully directed and a taste so fastidious, that Cousin was most at home. There he consulted his great predecessors in philosophy, read the finished achievements of the masters in literature, prepared his own writings, dictated while walking to and fro, took pleasure in receiving his friends, and busied himself in conversations of the most intellectual kind. Who that once enjoyed it will not cherish the memory of that flow of talk—animated, refined, and fascinating? An enormous wealth of ideas, an infinite variety of acquirements, a vigorous originality of language, as well as of dramatic gestures, that conveyed the semblance of a scenic representation, rendered it as informing as it was attractive. With him all was instinct with life—expression and language, gesture and thought. He was always ready to talk, whether *tête-à-tête*, before an audience, in a drawing-room, sometimes even in the street, and he could talk on from morning till night, delighting others without exhausting himself. He had much vivacity, and overflowed with

animation. An amiable gaiety blended outbursts of playful humour with serious reflections, and he escaped from a solemn vein of thought by amusing sallies of wit. His piquant and sudden flashes, which sparkled spontaneously, were derived from things, never from words. The opposition he sometimes encountered, and the enthusiasm to which he always abandoned himself, might impel him to extravagances of thought or of language, from which he would not fail to return when his impulses were allowed to calm and his ardours to grow cool. Anything served as a spark of ignition to that ardent spirit. Philosophy and politics, ethics and history, literature and art, vied with each other in their quickening influence, while they formed the varied subjects of his inexhaustible conversations. He gave himself up to them altogether, so that it might be said he diffused as many ideas by talking as he left in writing.'

We have described at some length what we consider the most characteristic phase of Cousin's varied personality, partly on account of its intrinsic interest, partly because we conceive it to afford a clue to other constituents of his mental being. No one possessed of fairly adequate knowledge and discrimination could have listened to the impassioned perennial flow of his speech without perceiving the nature of the well-spring whence it proceeded. Though his intellectual character is sufficiently depicted in his writings, it was even more deducible, in our opinion, from his conversation. The impression thus conveyed was more spontaneous, direct, and powerful. Cousin's mind, it was thus evident, was not so overtly ratiocinative as it was intuitive. His intellectual processes were performed too easily and rapidly to allow his attention to rest on each successive step of an argument. By leaps and bounds he sprang from one main issue or conclusion to the next, with an impetuosity which made it difficult for the ordinary listener to follow. His method, though with infinitely more of flexibility, resembled on this point Browning's poetry—the rapidity of thought inducing what occasionally seemed incoherence of language. It was amusing, when Cousin had as his interlocutor a pedant or a dunce (and as M. Simon remarks he was not particular as to the quality of his audience), to watch the bewilderment of the man as he vainly essayed to keep pace with Cousin's impetuous sallies or the abrupt turns of his thought and sudden flashes of his fancy.

Cousin's conversation also indicated the enormous extent of his erudition and his wonderful grasp of memory.

'Cousin was persuaded,' says M. Simon, in one of his chance moods of ingenuous appreciation, 'of his competence on all possible subject-matters, and I verily believe he was right. There was no subject in

the world on which he could not improvise a brilliant *causerie*. He knew a host of things upon a host of different subjects, because his mind was always on the alert, and he never lost anything he had once learned.'

Of course this encyclopædic learning implied unwearying assiduity, and Cousin's power of application was in truth unlimited.

'He was,' says M. Janet, 'a very glutton ("un bourreau") for work. I have seen him work from eight o'clock in the morning until midnight, and that for six months at a stretch, when he was now old. It stands to reason that the work-power of his youth was still greater.'

This information helps us to understand what is even with its aid sufficiently inexplicable—the enormous list and uniformly high quality of his works both as author and editor. It also throws a lurid light on that sudden stroke of apoplexy which took him hence at the comparatively early age of sixty-five years.

Another feature of Cousin's intellectual character which came out fully in his conversation, and is no less attested by his writings, was his intellectual ingenuousness. To represent him, as M. Simon and others of his critics have done, as a stern, overbearing dogmatist, bent on forcing his own views on his disciples or the public, is an injustice which not only does violence to fact, but which is opposed to the very nature and formation of his mental character. That an eclectic of all thinkers, should wish to bend every form of intellectual truth to his own view is a self-contradiction too plain to be attributed to any man gifted with a dim perception of congruity, to say nothing of a man of Cousin's intellectual insight. Taking merely as an index of his cosmopolitan sympathies the range of his written works and the various principles and persons he has dignified with his eulogy—not to speak of the stress he always placed on the disciplinary value of the history of philosophy as a study—it is absolutely inconceivable that he could have been the bigot and intellectual tyrant depicted by his enemies. M. Renan seems to us to have come much closer to the truth when he represents Cousin as a searcher for truth—a contented dweller—like so many other of the most eminent men in history—'dans la cité éternelle de l'idéal.' But we are not left to theorising and indirect inference on the nature of Cousin's teaching. We have the evidence of his most illustrious followers, notably MM. Damiron, Ad. Franck, and M. Janet, that Cousin made no attempt to coerce the

convictions of his disciples; that his method of teaching was akin to the wise training pursued—as none knew better than himself—in the school of Sokrates and Plato.

But this catholic and undogmatic bearing of Cousin to all schools of genuine thought must not be allowed to conflict with another of his prominent characteristics—viz., his sturdy mental independence. For a considerable part of his life Cousin occupied the invidious position of a leader of the Opposition. He made a stand against the school of Condillac when that was the national philosophy of France. He advocated the idealism of German transcendentalism when it was regarded by his countrymen with distrust and disdain. When he presided over the philosophical training of France he incurred the animosity, on the one hand, of ultramontane and extreme Catholics, and, on the other hand, of violent and bigoted Liberals. To allege, as M. Simon does, that Cousin was a lover of popularity, and that the current of his thought and polity was determined by that feeling, is to assert what is demonstrably and ludicrously false. Certainly, many cases might be quoted in which Cousin, had he desired popularity, displayed a fatal lack of perception as to the only possible modes of attaining it. M. Janet seems to us to have done here no more than justice when, speaking of the autonomous character of his intellect and his philosophy, he says: 'Il n'avait pas besoin de succès extérieur, 'et vivait de son propre feu.'

Passing, lastly, to the effect of Cousin's work for his contemporaries and for posterity, we must distinguish between the legacy of doctrine and the legacy of inspiration which a great thinker may leave behind him. Not even the warmest admirers of Cousin in the present day would contend that the outcome of his speculations on the Absolute or of his eclectic method are living doctrines in our time, nor that his transcendental expositions of theology, morality, and æsthetics are still extant in the philosophical speculations of Europe. Yet it is undoubtedly true that the spirit—the *vis viva*—of Cousin's work still survives in the best culture of France. Every thinker worthy of note since his time has followed the direction—in many cases even the method—of metaphysical and psychological research indicated by him. He still remains the greatest philosopher, the most eminent systematiser of philosophical and cultured thought, in the France of the nineteenth century.

But if, as we contend—and Cousin's warmest friends would, we suspect, agree with us on the point—the best

service he rendered to his country and time was inspirational —supplying it with a new and loftier spirit of research, this must not make us forget that this spirit is enshrined for us in his many thoughtful and stimulating works. On the various excellences—material and formal—of these writings it seems needless to dwell. They are too well known to make it needful. Probably of no French thinker of our century have so many copies of his works circulated among ourselves. Indeed we can call to mind the time when Cousin, as a philosophical writer and thinker, was a veritable power in English thought, and we should be sorry to suppose that his influence has even yet wholly expired among us. Doubtless the chief characteristic of his style, as of his speech, was its inextinguishable ardour. Those of his readers who remember his impassioned utterances in the famous library above the Sorbonne Theatre might be tempted to think that his own eloquent works—e.g. the 'Du Vrai, du Beau, du Bien'—are pure crystallisations of his impassioned utterances, phonographic echoes of his words taken in all their *viva voce* fire and profusion. A little effort of memory, a little range of sympathetic imagination would suffice to invest them with their conceivably spoken concomitants—the fire of Cousin's eyes, the expressive changes of his mobile features, the incessant and appropriate accompaniment of his vivacious gestures, and the varying modulations of his musical voice. Unhappily, those of us who were never privileged to have been among his auditors have only imagination to fall back upon; but with the verve, the fire, the swing of his written periods to guide and animate us, we have no difficulty in associating brilliant sentences and impassioned eloquence with the living force and animation of one of the greatest conversationalists of the nineteenth century.

That Cousin's varied speculations, born of his glowing intellect, sustained by his warm fancy, and owning no restrictions but such as were imposed by the limits of truth, wisdom, and good taste, should have aroused suspicion and jealousy, seems to us inevitable. The field of his research was not only great; it was crowded with self-asserting and conflicting interests. Philosophy, theology, political administration, literary criticism, each brought its own separate quota of jealousies and misrepresentations. Theology, especially, charged him with pantheism and atheism. Philosophy disdained his eclecticism as a congeries of conflicting opinions borrowed haphazard from other thinkers,

Those of our readers who desire to see Cousin's reply in full to these charges are referred to the three prefaces prefixed to the third edition of the 'Fragments.' Though written at different times they are consecutive in design and content, and may well claim to be called Cousin's *Apologia pro Vita sua*. On the charge of pantheism we have already spoken: here, as it has been once more repeated by M. Simon, we need only point out Cousin's proof that his adversaries who charged him with sharing the opinions of the Eleatics and Spinoza were really ignorant what those opinions were. He reiterates once more his conception of Deity in a passage of much force and eloquence, which we present to our readers as explaining the passage we have previously quoted.

'Le Dieu de la conscience n'est pas un Dieu abstrait, un roi solitaire relégué par delà la création sur le trône désert d'une éternité silencieuse et d'une existence absolue qui ressemble au néant même de l'existence. C'est un Dieu à la fois vrai et réel, à la fois substance et cause, un et plusieurs, éternité et temps, espace et nombre, essence et vie, indivisibilité et totalité, principe, fin et milieu, au sommet de l'être, et, à son humble degré, infini et fini tout ensemble' (p. liv).

Apparently the objection to Cousin's conception of Deity was not so much to itself as to its supposed origin. It was regarded as an outgrowth of German transcendentalism. He does not so much deny the charge as proclaim its irrelevance. In philosophy, he says, he owns no other country but truth, and asks whether it would be permissible to speak of a French geometry or physical science.

Equally forcible is Cousin's reply to his philosophy as eclecticism. He points out that this was the avowed method of Sokrates and Plato, and enters upon an elaborate defence of his method which we commend to our readers who may chance to consider eclecticism as an injurious reflection upon a philosopher's mode of thought. It has always seemed to us that Cousin had only himself to thank for the reproaches levelled at his eclecticism. He might have saved himself from them by a more judicious philosophical nomenclature, or by the exercise of a prudent reticence. Eclecticism is assumed to imply defective originality—a construction of one's own scheme of thought by a judicious borrowing and piecing together the various fragments of other thought-systems. It would, however, be easy to show not only that such a process is more or less common to all systems, but that it must necessarily be so from the very nature and history of human thought. There is not a thought-system current in Europe at this moment

against which the charge of eclecticism might not be abundantly proved. Where Cousin differed from other thinkers was in his superfluous ingenuousness. In this, at least, he was original—probably the most original philosopher of modern times.

But apart from these objections to his work—objections, we repeat, which he has fully and admirably met—Cousin's work, in its essence and tendency, must be pronounced a valuable addition to the general sum of philosophical speculation in Europe. This, we believe, was the kind of claim he himself would have made, and we are unable to see any adequate reason why it should not be accorded him.

We must, however, add to the claim of introducing a new spirit and direction to French philosophy, Cousin's efforts as an educational administrator. We have no hesitation in attributing the recent advance in French philosophy, especially in the direction of psychology and metaphysics, to his prescient wisdom and guiding hand. We also trace the freedom of speculation and the cosmopolitan erudition of the foremost of the French savants of our time to the enlightened stress of Cousin on the history of philosophy considered as an intellectual discipline. How much that stress for all European culture was aided by his editorial labours on half-forgotten thinkers, as Descartes, Proclus, Abelard, Pascal, and Malebranche,and by his liberal expenditure on their works, it is superfluous to say.

We should be glad to think that this effort to recall Cousin to the memory and recognition of English readers possibly have some salutary effect on our own thought. Much of the philosophical speculation current among ourselves is based upon principles which afford little scope to devout sentiment and lofty aspiration. Much of it hardly rises above the low level of Condillac's materialism, which it is Cousin's glory to have extinguished. It would be well if our own speculations could be inspired and elevated by a personality and a teaching as attractive and as full of vital fire and spirituality as that by which Cousin reconstructed and revivified the philosophy and mental culture which has been one of the chief intellectual glories of France in the earlier years of the present century.

Art. VIII.—1. *Returns of the Life Assurance Offices to the Board of Trade during the year ending December* 31, 1889. London, 1890.

2. *The Insurance Reference Book.* London, 1890.

3. The *Prospectuses of the Life Assurance Societies* transacting business in the United Kingdom.

The Board of Trade has recently published the statements of accounts lodged with them under the Acts, for the past year, by the life assurance offices transacting business in the United Kingdom. There are 104 offices covered by the returns, including the four American and one colonial company. Of these, ninety-three are ordinary life offices, nine are what are called 'industrial,' and two offices appear in both classes. Confining our observations for the moment to offices established in the United Kingdom, the following is a brief summary of the results in millions.*

	£	£
Paid-up capital		11,634
Assets		196,030
Revenue—		
Premiums	18,288	
Consideration for annuities	1,108	
Interest and dividends	6,545	
Sundries	288	26,229
Sums assured	464,859	
Less reassurances	22,422	442,437
Expenses of management—		
Commission	1,888	
General	2,129	4,017

This is exclusive of the accident companies, which are over fifty in number, and the friendly societies. Roughly, then, and including the British business of the American and colonial companies, which is believed to be very large, also accident and friendly societies, but independently of fire and marine business, the provident classes of this country may be said to have contingently at stake, by way of assurance and annuity contracts, a sum possibly equalling the amount of the National Debt. It has

* The three figures to the right are omitted. Thus 11,634,250*l.* is read 11,634*l.*, as above.

indeed been elsewhere estimated at one thousand millions sterling.

The funds of the offices under notice are invested in the following proportions: *

	£
Mortgages	78,230
Debentures	18,137
Loans and rates	23,619
Ground rents	14,319
Indian and Colonial Government securities	12,596
Shares and stocks	12,485
Miscellaneous †	36,644
	196,030 millions.

We arrive, then, at the conclusion that this matter is one of national importance, and well deserving of examination and inquiry in the pages of this Journal.

The Amicable, founded in 1706, was the first life office established in this country. Then came the Equitable, projected in 1756, and which commenced in 1762; but the Royal Exchange and London Assurance had charters forty years before the Equitable was founded, while the Hand in Hand was established so far back as 1696, and extended to life assurance in 1836. The superior antiquity of the Hand in Hand did not escape the authors of the famous 'Rejected Addresses.' Horace Smith in the race of the fire engines places this venerable institution in the van:

> 'The Hand in Hand the race begun,
> Then came the Phœnix and the Sun,
> The Exchange where old insurers run,
> The Eagle where the new.'

Of the Scottish offices, the Caledonian, founded in 1805, claims to be the oldest, the Scottish Widows' Fund having been established ten years later; but as to friendly societies we are told that, excepting a society in Bo'ness, N.B., no friendly society can trace back its existence beyond a date late in the seventeenth century. The original germ of the whole system can be traced to the burial clubs, which may be said to have existed in some countries from time immemorial. Then there were the guilds, the city companies and trade unions; later on friendly societies and life

* The three figures to the right are omitted, as before.

† This includes certain trifling items which are not in the category of 'investments.'

assurance companies of a very primitive type; and now we have over a hundred full-fledged offices, each scattering prospectuses broadcast over the land.

The basis of the whole system of life assurance is found in the doctrine of probabilities taken in connexion with the improvement of money at compound interest. Supposing a man has an equal chance of dying or surviving in any year, certainty being represented by unity, his chance of dying would be equal to ·5 and of surviving equal to ·5, and ·5 + ·5 = 1 = certainty. Hence to insure his life for 100*l.* he would have to pay 100*l.* × ·5 = 50*l.* But as premiums are always payable in advance, the 50*l.* would carry interest, and hence his contribution would be diminished by the extent of that interest. This simple formula, after making allowance for expenses of management, lies at the basis of the whole insurance system. All the bulky and voluminous prospectuses issued in thousands and tens of thousands by the various offices, containing an almost infinite variety of tables for assurance on different plans and systems, and which often constitute the terror and despair of ordinary mankind, have their origin in this simple rule. Some offices pay before death and some after death, and some for that matter neither before nor after death, but none the less it all comes to this in the end, that for a trifling sum—payable, say, weekly, monthly, or yearly—a person may secure a competence for his widow and children should he die even the very instant after paying the first premium. By no other process known to mankind can he accomplish this, and hence the transcendent superiority of life assurance over all other systems for making instantaneous provision for wife and family. But there is nothing new under the sun. Just as it was with the humble subscriber to the almost prehistoric burial fund, so is it now with the highly placed insurer for 50,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* The arrangement is one whereby each subscriber agrees to submit to a small yearly sacrifice, in order that no one of their number may be subjected to a great loss.

The principal statutes relating to life offices are those passed in 1774, in 1867, and in 1870 to 1872. That passed in 1774, the 14 George III. chap. 48, is one for regulating insurances upon lives, and for prohibiting all such insurances except in cases where the persons insuring shall have an interest, that is to say a pecuniary interest, in the life or death of the persons insured. That in 1867 is the 30 and 31 Vict. chap. 144, and was to enable assignees of policies of

life assurance to sue thereon in their own names. But the most important statutes are those known as 'The Life 'Assurance Companies' Acts 1870 to 1872,' and it is under these that the returns of which we now write were made to the Board of Trade. Sections 5 and 7 of the Act of 1870 are those which more immediately concern the present inquiry. Section 5 is as follows:

'From and after the passing of this Act every company shall, at the expiration of each financial year of such company, prepare a statement of its revenue account for such year, and of the balance sheet at the close of such year, in the forms respectively contained in the first and second schedules to this Act.'

This schedule, it may be observed, although styled a 'revenue account,' requires full information not only as to revenue but as to expenditure. Section 7 is as follows:

'Every company shall once in every five years if established after the passing of this Act, and once in every ten years if established before the passing of this Act, or at such shorter intervals as may be prescribed by the instrument constituting the company, or by its regulations or by-laws, cause an investigation to be made into its financial condition by an actuary, and shall cause an abstract of the report of such actuary to be made in the form prescribed by the fifth schedule to this Act.'

These returns must be made to the Board of Trade within nine months of the dates respectively prescribed as the dates at which the same are to be prepared, and it is important to note that the board exercise the right of declining to accept them unless they are in the form required by the Acts, or if the returns are so made otherwise, in a form manifestly tending to mislead the public. Thus filed at the offices of the Board of Trade there is full information as to every life office on every material point, or very nearly so, and aided by an expert any one can ascertain for himself the exact position as to solvency and otherwise of every office doing business in the United Kingdom. The crucial test as to every life office is contained in the actuarial valuation required under section 7, but here the aid of an expert is certainly quite essential. In hardly any other field of inquiry will it be more certainly found that 'a little know-'ledge is a dangerous thing,' the matter being altogether too complex to form an easy or popular study. But there are certain important considerations which are on the surface, and manifest to all mankind.

In the first place the 104 offices brought under review may be divided into two great classes, those which are

mutual and those which are *proprietary*. In the case of the former all the profits are divided amongst the assured, but in the case of the latter a portion of the profits, varying from 5 to 25 or 30 per cent., goes to the proprietors. Now we have absolutely no interest in any office, either as shareholder or policy holder, nor could we allow the pages of this Journal to be made the medium of writing up any particular office at the expense of the others, but we believe that those interested more particularly in proprietary offices will be the first to admit that when all is said and done the mutual system is the only one which the insuring public at large is concerned to support. A little subscribed capital may be required during the early stages of a life assurance enterprise, but later on capital is a burden instead of an advantage, and as soon as the enterprise has overcome the preliminary difficulties it is clearly desirable that it should assume the mutual form. Then it must be remembered that the largest offices in the world, as the Mutual of New York, with its twenty-six and a half millions sterling of funds, and our own Scottish Widows' Fund, are on the purely mutual system. On the other hand, the profits to shareholders in proprietary offices, arising, be it observed, out of the contributions of the assured, are in many cases literally enormous. Shares in such offices have been sold at 7,800*l.* per cent. premium; that is to say, 10,000*l.* originally paid up has become worth 780,000*l.* There is one office in London, at this present time of writing, which with a paid-up capital of 80,000*l.* divides that sum yearly by way of profit amongst its shareholders. We do not seek further to enlarge on this delicate point at the moment, but pass on to the next.

The offices under review may again be classified into (1) those which are life offices pure and simple, and (2) those which associate other insurance business, as fire and marine, with their life transactions. Now, it is quite true that many of those 'mixed' offices, as they are called—that is to say, their life funds—are protected by special Acts of Parliament from any invasion in respect of fire or marine losses; and section 4 of the Act of 1870 affords further most satisfactory guarantees on this head; but, other things being equal, we confess to a preference for those companies transacting life business only. It is true that a composite company may often be conducted at a lower expense, in proportion, than if purely life. On the other hand, there is no saying what questions may arise in the event of great and abnormal fire or marine disaster exhausting the funds at the command of

these departments. As we have said, we are old-fashioned enough to prefer a good solid mutual office, transacting only life business pure and simple. The question as to fire and marine in the case of a mutual office does not indeed arise. There is, we believe, only one office of importance transacting fire and life which is on the mutual system. The point is regarded as of great importance in the United States, where, we believe, a federal Act renders it illegal for a life office to transact fire or marine insurance business.

These, then, are our first conclusions on the volume before us: purely mutual for choice; failing that, a proprietary office whose operations exclude fire and marine.

Passing on to a closer examination of the balance sheets and valuation statements filed under the Acts, the following points appear also on the surface: (1) There is really no proof that the invested funds in each case would realise the amount quoted in the balance sheet, nor does it appear to be any special function of the 'actuary' in all cases to examine and report upon the securities. The actuary, indeed, is often merely consulting. The figures are put before him, he makes the valuation on the bases submitted; but as to any accurate knowledge of whether the securities would realise the amount for which credit is taken in the accounts, he is innocent as the babe unborn. Now, of the 196 millions sterling invested, as in 1888–89, no less than 78 millions were on mortgage of real property. The Act requires that a distinction shall be made between property within and beyond the United Kingdom; but the Act does not require, for instance, that Irish shall be distinguished from British mortgages. It appears to us that the statute might be amended with advantage, making some such distinction. There are two of our largest offices, as is well known, who have each about a million in Irish mortgages, and we should like to know at what value, by way of years' purchase, they are taken in the balance sheets. Both the offices are in the highest possible credit, and were anything seriously wrong would certainly make a clean breast of it to their constituents. But it may not be so with other offices similarly situated, and the statute might be amended making a full statement compulsory. In a word, a valuation and audit of all the securities by two independent professional accountants should be imperative, and their report, duly signed, of course, filed with the other valuation papers. It is a mere begging of the whole question to leave this crucial point open as it is now.

(2) There is another point on which we entertain a very strong opinion. On the occasion of each valuation the probable 'expectation of life' in effect, of all the members has to be ascertained by what is known as a 'table of mortality.' What the compass is to the mariner, the table of mortality for valuation purposes is to the assurance office. Now, there are at least fourteen notable tables of mortality, each giving different results. There are also, in addition, several special or 'dark' tables, founded often on the actual experience of the office making the valuation. The disparity in the results may be indicated from the fact that, whereas what is called the 'Northampton' Table gives the expectation of life at age 10 as only 39·48 years, what is known as the 'H^m' or Healthy Males Table gives that expectation at 42·06 years. This point will be touched on at greater length later on; but in the mean time we may say that, for every practical purpose, what is known as the H^m or $H^{m\,(5)}$ is the fairest table on which to value. It is the most modern, or, rather, the least antiquated. The facts comprise 160,420 lives—not policies, a most important distinction—and the figures were collated by a committee of the Institute of Actuaries, the production and superintendence of computing and printing the tables having been undertaken by two famous experts. Should the existing statutes, then, have to be reconsidered, it appears to us that the public interest would be served by enacting that the H^m and $H^{m\,(5)}$ Tables, combined with a fixed rate of interest—say from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent.—should be *the standard or test table* for valuation purposes. Should any office elect to use another life table, whether 'special' or otherwise, let it be so; but a valuation on the bases we have indicated should be made compulsory in every case, whereby all the world could test the results, and compare them with those brought out in the special or 'dark' table. The rate of interest, too, is of the very essence of the matter, and while assenting to a maximum of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. we would much prefer seeing the results at from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. As we write, one important company has valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ and another at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. There is no single point in connexion with the present inquiry which is more important than this, and there is none which necessarily is by the general public less understood. As a matter of fact an actuary may bring out almost any result to order, if he is allowed a free hand as to the table of mortality and rate of interest to be employed in the valuation. For years prior to the great insurance failure of 1869, a

mathematician of European fame and reputation constantly brought out a large surplus by valuing the published office premiums instead of the 'net' or 'pure' premium—the concern being, as it appeared in the sequel, hopelessly insolvent. Such a valuation would certainly not now be received at the Board of Trade, but would there and everywhere else be treated with derision.

Finally, (3) it would be very convenient if an additional schedule could be added, to be called the 'eighth schedule,' in which certain information in the previous schedules could be reproduced, and additional information given in a summarised tabular form to facilitate reference. Thus, as to funds, the percentage of life funds to sum assured, and life funds and capital to sum assured, might be given. As to premiums, the average rate of premium charged on profit and non-profit whole life policies per cent. at ages from twenty to sixty both inclusive, would be interesting; also the number of years' premiums in hand to meet existing liabilities on policies, the average 'loading' on profit and non-profit whole life policies, and the percentage which the expenses of management bear to the yearly premium income. Then, as to interest, the rate per cent. per annum at which for valuation purposes it is assumed the funds will be improved, and the rate which has been actually realised.

In a word, what is wanted is a short but comprehensive *summary* of the whole valuation, with certain crucial particulars added.

We quite admit that no absolute conclusions could be drawn in every case as to the position of a company from information on any one of the above points, or even from information on all of them taken together. But arranged as a table, it would save inquirers a good deal of trouble, and, taken in connexion with the previous schedules, would enable persons having a tolerable familiarity with the subject to arrive at rapid general conclusions as to the position of the company under review. Of course the office could append such notes by way of explanation or qualification as might be deemed desirable. It is very important that some clue should be given as to what may be called the 'movement' of each office; that is to say, whether the business is increasing or decreasing, or merely stationary. And as to new business, it would be interesting if the cost of obtaining such new business by way of percentage on the premium or sum assured could be indicated or distinguished from similar information applicable to the total yearly

premium income. There is, we believe, a rough empirical rule or understanding amongst actuaries and life assurance company managers, that an office will not suffer much if the total management expenses in any year do not exceed the new premiums applicable to that year. But this point will be examined later on. Meantime we pass on to inquire as to the premiums charged by the different offices for assurance.

When the average Briton is asked to insure his life, his first question is almost certain to be, 'How much shall I have 'to pay?' The reply to this is given, to a large extent, in the return before us, and is elicited by way of answer to query 1 in the sixth schedule. Each office gives, of course, the fullest information on the point in its prospectus. Now, the disparity between the premiums charged by different companies is very curious and remarkable. One would think that the matter is now so thoroughly understood, that the cost of assurance could be estimated with the same precision as the cost of a railway journey from London to Edinburgh. But we find, taking two mutual offices—one whose average is the highest, and the other the lowest—the following to be the result:

Age	Annual Premiums to assure 100*l.* Sterling		Age
	Highest	Lowest	
	£ *s.* *d.*	£ *s.* *d.*	
20	2 9 6	1 15 8	20
30	2 19 3	2 1 6	30
40	3 17 0	2 14 9	40
50	5 7 6	4 1 7	50
60	7 15 0	6 6 7	60

That is to say, the average charged by one office is roughly about 4*l.* 10*s.* per cent. per annum, while in the other case it is only 3*l.* 8*s.* per annum. We are well aware that to quote such an average may be misleading, for the premiums of an office may be abnormally high at the younger and abnormally low at the older ages, or the converse. But the above figures are sufficiently near the truth to be admissible for practical illustration at the moment. The result is that one office charges 32 per cent. in excess of the other. The question immediately arises, 'What is 'the "pure" or net or normal rate of premium for assur-'ance at these ages according to the best authorities?'

the 'pure' premium being the result obtained from the fundamental data of interest and mortality, and without reference to any 'loading' or addition to cover expenses of management. As we have already said, the H^m or Healthy Males Table of the Institute of Actuaries is the least objectionable table in existence; and here are the yearly premiums to assure 100*l.* according to that table, assuming that the money can be improved at 3 per cent. per annum.

Age	H^m 3 per Cent. 'Pure' Premiums
20 . . .	£1 8 7
30 . . .	1 17 7
40 . . .	2 11 10
50 . . .	3 16 0
60 . . .	5 19 9

Or roughly an average of 3*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* per cent. per annum, against a maximum of 4*l.* 10*s.* and a minimum of 3*l.* 8*s.* per cent. per annum charged by the offices indicated; that is to say, an excess of 43 per cent. in the one case, and 8½ per cent. in the other, which indicates the 'loading' or addition to the pure premium to cover expenses of management.

To simple-minded laymen it would appear certain that one office is charging a great deal too much or the other too little. The explanation is this. During the early stages of the operation the one office charges a high premium for the sake of security, and in order that the whole commonwealth may not be too severely mulcted in respect of those insurants who die early; but after a few years, when the insurant has contributed a respectable amount to the common fund, his premium is reduced by what is called bonus, or return of surplus paid, and this reduction or return goes on from time to time as 'surplus' is declared. The other office contends that what the public really wants is to get all at once the biggest immediate insurance for the smallest premium. They allow the premiums to increase at compound interest, and as soon as these accumulations reach the amount insured, then bonuses from time to time are declared, or, in other words, the surplus is divided. It is clear that the mere average amount of premium charged by each office will not justify us in deciding which is the better office of the two. Unless the comparatively occult factor in the calculation which presents itself in the shape of 'bonus' be discounted, no absolute conclusions can be drawn on the subject. Rightly or wrongly, however, we greatly incline to the system whereby the premiums exacted are just enough

and no more, and which recognises profit on a policy as soon as, and not before, profit on that policy has actually accrued. It is impossible at this stage to approach the problem any closer, but we can at least indicate the prime cost of assurance according to the most recent and favoured table of mortality, which our readers can utilise as a test in measuring the premiums charged by different offices. It may be contended that since the conversion of the 3 per cents. by Mr. Goschen, it would be safer to assume $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. for test purposes. On the other hand, it has been shown by Mr. Humphreys, in a paper read before the Royal Statistical Society since the formation of the H^m Table, that the value of life in this country has of late years considerably improved, the amelioration being at the rate of two years in the case of males, and three and a half years in the case of females. Thus even the H^m Table begins to be somewhat out of date, having been formed fully a quarter of a century ago, and a movement is spoken of for the formation of a table on similar lines, bringing up the facts to the latest dates. This would be a most important contribution to vital statistics, and of infinite value to actuaries in the practical management of life offices. The premiums paid to British life offices, as we have seen, exceed eighteen and a quarter millions a year at the present time, and it would be a boon to the whole community if these could be sensibly reduced. We have seen it stated somewhere that only one in twenty persons in this country who ought to assure are assured. Should it be possible to reduce the premiums on figures developed by the expected new tables, the offices might be recouped by a great accession of new business.

Almost equally important with the amount of premiums charged for assurance are the expenses of management incurred by each office in the conduct of its business, and here there are some most singular revelations. Taken by way of percentage on the premium receipts, these expenses actually range from a minimum of 2·8 per cent. to 116·2 per cent., the average being 15·2 per cent. Some offices seem to spend all their premiums, and a good deal more, in getting business, while others actually conduct their affairs at a cost of the almost infinitesimal amount of 2·8 per cent. on the premium income. This is one of the points which intending insurers should carefully look into. The heaviest item as against the offices is on account of commission. Thus of the gross expenses of management, amounting to

over four millions, nearly one half was for commission. This means, assuming the average age of lives assured to be about forty, that the widows and orphans of those lives assured will receive, one with another, some sixty-nine millions sterling less than they would receive were there no charge for commission.

The worst of it is that some offices pay a very high commission, amounting to 50 per cent. or more on the first premium, the usual rate on subsequent renewal premiums being generally 5 per cent. Hence there is every inducement for unscrupulous agents and solicitors to advise their clients to support high-commission-paying offices, so that the merit of the office selected is very often in the inverse ratio to the amount of commission which it allows. The magnitude of this item for commission in these insurance returns is the measure of the ignorance and sloth of the public. As soon as the benighted British public clearly understands that it can do without a middleman, it will pocket this sum of sixty-nine millions itself, instead of allowing it to pass into another exchequer.

The question arising out of the table of percentages on premium income as a cue to charges of management is evidently at what point danger from excessive charges of management begins. Now, not to deal in unnecessary subtleties and refinements, we should imagine that an unsatisfactory stage is reached in an office when the funds accumulated from 'pure' premiums are invaded for any purpose other than to pay claims by death or on account of surrenders. In some of the younger offices we believe that a preliminary stipulation is made as between the office and the insurer that the 'pure' premium paid by each insurer shall not be touched, but, on the contrary, allowed to accumulate to his credit in current account.

The question remains, 'To what extent is it the custom of 'life offices to add to the "pure" premiums to cover 'expenses of management?' That depends a good deal, of course, on the data assumed in calculating the premiums. But, supposing for a moment the adoption of data representing the actual truth as to mortality and rate of interest, we maintain that the addition for expenses in the case of profit policies for the whole term of life will range from 10 to 20 per cent. on the 'pure' premiums. It follows that whenever the charges of management exceed, say, the average of 15·2 per cent., especially in the case of an office more than seven years old, inquiry and examination should begin.

In looking through these and antecedent returns there is no fact comes out more clearly than this: that while the expenses of management have of late years been steadily increasing, the rate of interest realised on investments has been diminishing. Thus the office is, as it were, being hit at both ends. In 1884–85, while the average expenses of management were just a shade over 14 per cent. on the premium income, in 1888–89 that average had increased to $15\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. Then, while in 1884–85 the funds yielded interest at the rate of 4·15 per cent., in 1888–89 they only yielded 4 per cent. Then again in 1888–89, while the premium income increased by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the previous year, the expenses of management increased by about 4 per cent.

The experience of the great American offices is decisive that the same rule obtains with them. In the 'Economist' of a recent date a table is given by way of illustration, from which we take the liberty of quoting:

Year	Percentage of Interest on Mean Funds			Percentage of Expenses on Premium Receipts		
	Mutual of New York	New York Life	Equitable of the United States	Mutual of New York	New York Life	Equitable of the United States
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.			
1888	4 19 6	4 19 0	5 11 1	25·6	21·5	22·2
1883	5 1 7	5 2 5	5 6 3	14·5	20·7	19·3
1878	5 10 9	6 10 3	5 3 7	10·3	16·6	18·2
1873	6 4 2	6 6 10	6 5 7	10·7	13·5	17·8

Thus we see that, in the case of the Mutual, for instance, while the expenses have increased of late years 140 per cent., the rate of interest realised on investments has diminished more than $25\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.*

* Since the above was written it has been announced that Mr. W. C. Wright, the actuary of the New England Mutual, has read a paper before the American Statistical Association, exhibiting the average rate of interest per cent. per annum realised on investments during the twenty-one years ending 1889, based on the actual experience of twenty leading life assurance offices in the United States. As the matter is of great importance we make no apology for appending the results:—

1889	4·6
1884–88	4·7
1879–83	5·0
1874–78	5·9
1869–73	6·1

Taking the expenses of management of the largest mutual offices in this country, the results compare very favourably with those of the American companies as given above.

The following are the figures placed in juxtaposition :

Offices	Percentage of Management Expenses to Premium Income	
	British	American
Scottish Widows' Fund . . .	10·9	—
Equitable	6·9	—
London Life	4·2	—
Mutual of New York . . .	—	25·6
Equitable of United States . .	—	22·2
New York Life	—	21·5

The Scottish Provident contend that their management expenses are not 12·9 per cent. on the premium income as given in the Blue Book, but only 11·84, the error originating, as they say, at the office of the Board of Trade.

Under the fifth schedule of the Act each company is required to return 'specimens of bonuses allotted to policies 'for 100*l.* effected at the respective ages of 20, 30, 40, and '50, and having been respectively in force for 5 years, 10 'years and upwards, at intervals of 5 years respectively, 'together with the amounts apportioned under the various 'modes in which the bonus might be received.'

The word 'bonus' in assurance phraseology may be defined as follows: (1) A special good or advantage afforded to insurers over and above what is exigible under the strict letter of the contract. (2) The return to insurers of the difference between the premiums actually paid, and those which are found to be sufficient. Hence arises one of the crucial tests as between mutual and proprietary offices. If the bonus in the former case be moderate, we have a right to expect a correspondingly moderate premium originally exacted, there being no shareholders to divert the profits from the insurers. If the bonus in the latter case is insignificant, the original premiums being at the same time ample, then we must look for an explanation partly in the withdrawal of the profits to pay dividends to shareholders. It is fair to state, however, on behalf of the proprietary offices, that the latter seldom attempt to appropriate more than from 5 to 25 per cent. to the shareholders. But, if we mistake not, there is more than one proprietary office which,

as to profit policy premiums, divides all the surplus among the insurers.

Now, it would be quite impossible with the space at our command to attempt any comparison between the bonuses declared by different offices from time to time, taken in connexion with the premiums originally charged, even were such a comparison conclusive. As to purely mutual offices, no question can arise, for they divide all the profits, and the insurer knows at the outset the worst that can happen to him so far as surplus profits are concerned. But as to proprietary companies, it will be found on examination that there is a very great disparity frequently in the results. Some time ago we had occasion to look very carefully into this particular point, and had the whole of the figures before us up to the latest dates, and there is every reason to believe that our conclusions then are equally applicable now. Selecting three offices established in the decade 1810–19, A being a proprietary life office, B a proprietary life and fire office, and C a purely mutual life office, we had the following results:

Office	Approximate Average Annual Premium, Ages 20 to 60	Percentage of Bonus to	
		Premiums Received	Sum Assured
	£ s. d.		
A .	4 0 4	21·3	3·7
B .	3 14 2	12·8	2·6
C .	3 19 1	41·6	7·5

The smallest bonus is that of B, the proprietary company doing fire business; then comes A, the proprietary life office pure and simple, with profits half as much again in excess of those of B; and, finally, the purely mutual life office, C, which returns double that of A, and three times that of B.

Now, we anticipate quite a chorus of protests against the acceptance of the above example as an infallible indication of what happens in every case. Beyond all doubt there may be here and there important exceptions, but we are bound to say, on a very long experience and observation, that in our opinion they give, perhaps roughly, a very general idea of what occurs in actual practice all along the line. We apprehend the time will come when proprietary life offices will cease, if not to exist, at least to be established; life assurance will assume universally a purely mutual and co-operative form, and the hard-earned savings

of the community for a highly enlightened and beneficent purpose, together with the profits arising out of such savings, will be divided solely amongst the contributors themselves. None the less the proprietary offices have done splendid work in their day and generation, and continue, indeed, to do splendid work. Their function is more to extend the benefits of the system to fields where some factors in the calculation are uncertain, as for instance in the case of invalid lives and foreign residence; but for home business, that is to say the assurance of healthy lives within these islands, the mutual system is the only one which the public at large are much concerned in supporting.

An important matter in connexion with profits is the interval between which each bonus is declared. These intervals seem to vary amongst different offices from one to ten years, but apparently the great bulk of the societies declare quinquennially, and surely this should be the longest term; we would prefer one or three years. In any case a hapless insurer who dies before completing the full term at any stage, should certainly not be excluded from his proportion of profits applicable to the unexpired period. Take an extreme case for illustration. Suppose the insurer in an office where the profits are declared decennially, dying on the day just preceding the completion of the decennium. It would seem to be a most cruel hardship that he, having paid the high rates meanwhile, should be excluded from the profits for the nine years three hundred and sixty-four days; but singular as it may appear, such was the almost universal practice amongst the older offices until very lately. Now, however, they are beginning very generally to allow their insurers in such cases the proportion of profits for the unexpired period. This is a matter beyond the ken of the general public, but which should be carefully inquired into by everyone before effecting an assurance.

But if this last point is beyond the knowledge of the general public, how much more are the returns under the fifth schedule of the Act providing for a 'valuation of the 'liabilities under life policies and annuities . . . by an 'actuary'? Ask the 'man in the street' whether his policy of assurance is valued on the Northampton, Carlisle, English Life, or H^{m} Table, and at what rate of interest, also whether the 'loading' is reserved, and he will be as hopelessly lost as if summoned to say what was going on on the surface of the moon. Yet the safety possibly, certainly the quoted amount of his hoardings for the last twenty-five or thirty years, may depend on the reply. We

should regard it as quite impossible for the general reader to make anything whatever of these valuation returns, and there are many considerations arising out of them quite beyond the reach also of the ordinary professional accountant. To grasp fully their entire intent and significance requires a trained actuary, and for choice one who has passed the examination of the London 'Institute' of Actuaries or the 'Faculty' in Scotland. But there are certain points which may be made tolerably clear even to the general reader.

It is useless here going into the comparative merits of the different tables of mortality. That ground has been traversed again and again. We have already said that for a variety of reasons, some of which have been given, we prefer the H^m or Healthy Males Table, but it may be worth while pausing for a moment to indicate the results arising out of the use of the three best known tables. These are the Northampton, Carlisle, and H^m, and here is what is called the 'expectation of life,' or mean after lifetime according to each:

Age	Northampton	Carlisle	H^m Healthy Males
20	33·43	41·26	42·06
40	23·68	27·61	27·40
60	13·21	14·34	13·83
80	4·75	5·51	4·72

The table is read in this way. Supposing 100,000 persons living at age 20, they will, one with another, survive on an average according to these tables:

H^m	42·06 years
Carlisle	41·26 „
Northampton	33·43 „

A valuation, therefore, on the Northampton, as compared with the other tables will bring out very different results. Thus the present value of a reversion, that is to say the single premium for an assurance of 1,000*l.* according to the following tables, and assuming money to improve at 3 per cent., would be:

Age	Northampton	H^m Healthy Males
	£	£
20	349	428
40	471	538
60	673	686

Hence the table of mortality adopted, whether in originally computing premiums, or subsequently in making reductions, with a view to ascertain the position of the office, is of course of the very essence of the whole matter. The substitution of one table for another may cause a variation in the resulting liability of 10 per cent.*

Second also in importance to the mortality table is the table of interest at which it is assumed in the calculations the contributions of members will improve. This will readily appear if we compare the sums to which 1*l.* a year will amount in say 100 years at different rates :

Rate of interest per cent.	Amount of 1*l.* per annum in 100 years
	£
2	312
4	1,238
6	5,638
8	27,485
10	137,796

Some most respectable offices appear to value at 4 per cent., but seeing that this is about the average amount realised on the gross investments of the offices, a valuation on that basis appears to be sailing very near the wind. The amount at 3 per cent. on the basis of the last table would only be 607*l.* or less than one half the amount at 4 per cent. Indeed, on making a valuation a charge of only 1 per cent. in the assumption as to the rate of interest may make an alteration of 8 per cent.† on the estimated liability.

It comes to this, therefore, that, applying the preceding example to the total sum assured under life policies, say five hundred millions, the results of a valuation by two actuaries adopting different tables of mortality, one actuary assuming 3 and the other 4 per cent. interest, the results, we say, might vary to the extent of nearly twenty-five millions sterling, the valuations being nevertheless in strict accordance with all the requirements of the Acts, and such as the Board of Trade could hardly hesitate to accept.

We repeat, then, that *for test purposes*, and as to healthy lives assured at European rates for the whole term of life, there should be certain standard data fixed by law on which to require valuations to be made. We consider that the H^m and $H^{m\,(5)}$ Tables with interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. would meet the necessities of the case.

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* Report of the Assistant Secretaries to the Board of Trade.

† Ibid.

Passing on, we have a few words to say as to the proportion of annual premium which in valuations should be reserved to meet future expenses of management. Prior to the passing of the Act of 1870 it was quite common with life offices to take credit for the present value of the 'loading' as an asset, and so bring out the most roseate results. We have already instanced one office. But the Board of Trade now happily refuse to receive valuations treated in this way, the accounts being rejected as manifestly incorrect and misleading. The matter seems to lie within a very narrow compass. If we call *e* the expenses and *l* the 'loading,' then *e* is either equal to, in excess of, or less than *l*. In the first case we can imagine the office being able to pay its way, and no more; in the second the concern may be in a bad way, for the expenses exceed the margin allowed for them, and in the last case the difference will go to aid the surplus, if any. It is clear that in no event can the present value of *l* be taken credit for as an asset. It is practically mortgaged to meet future expenses of management. As reasonable would it be for a man to take credit for his outstanding household bills and treat them as assets or property. Yet we are told by the Board of Trade that perpetual attempts are made to cram such statements down their throats, and to convince them that what is really a heavy contingent liability is a good solid property in hand, and so must be taken in the balance sheet.* The Act has many shortcomings, but it was worth having if for no more than this—that it has enabled the Government to strike a blow at a most outrageous imposition in the direction we have indicated, which is the more likely to succeed inasmuch as the contrary contention has to inexperts every appearance of plausibility.

Thus, then, as to valuations, we come to the following summary by way of general conclusions, which he who runs may read:

A valuation in which the 'loading' is not reserved is inadmissible.

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* In the case of the returns now under notice, one office seeks to take credit as an asset for 200,184*l.* expenditure on account of 'establishment and extension of business expenses.' The Board of Trade decline to accept the accounts in that form. The office remonstrates at great length. Finally the balance sheet is inserted, practically under protest of the Board, in the accounts as originally rendered, the whole correspondence being, however, published. 'Return,' pp. 282–289.

What are known to experts as 'negative values' should be struck out.

We prefer a $2\frac{1}{2}$ to a 3 per cent. valuation. One at 4 per cent. is now inadmissible.

We prefer a known, published, to a special 'or dark' table.

Of published tables we give the preference to H^m and $H^{m\,(5)}$, the latter as applicable to policies of more than five years' duration.

The man who undertakes to read over all the prospectuses of the British life assurance offices has his work before him. In fact, we almost defy him to do it. There are over a hundred offices, and each office issues, perhaps, a score of different papers to attract insurers. Thus we have over two thousand little books and papers to digest merely by way of reconnaissance. Then it is essential to see the deeds and charters constituting the concern, as well as the policy and other forms, so that the perusal of the prospectuses may be regarded as bearing somewhat the same relation to what is to follow, as the overture to the text of the opera. It is very curious, too, that the weaker the office, the more voluminous the prospectuses. Somebody, we forget when or where, once dined with a Spanish hidalgo, and on being afterwards interrogated as to the character of the entertainment responded, 'If we had a very small dinner, we had a 'very large table cloth.' And so with those weaklings. Possibly they seek to make amends for what in the future may turn out to be a very scanty repast, by prodigal extravagance in the present with that which is within their means. The American offices out-herod Herod. In the tremendous struggle for business, characterised, we believe, by our cousins across the water as 'chasing the devil round the stump,' they do not hesitate to declare as to their tontine policies that they will return insurers all their money accumulated at 5 per cent. compound interest, the office running the risk of death claims meanwhile, and before the tontine age is determined. And this notwithstanding it is on the other hand demonstrated that their expenses exceed 25 per cent. of the premiums, while their investments only return at the rate of *4l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*! Now, we are not going to glorify our own offices at the expense of the great American mutual institutions doing business in this country, so long as the latter do not hit below the belt. Let the best man win, of whatever nationality, even on our own soil. But it is matter of bitter complaint against our American competitors that some, if not

all of them, do hit below the belt, and we shall have to allude to this point at greater length later on.

Anterior to an examination of the prospectuses, we desire to say a word as to the forms necessary to be completed before assurance can be effected. One would have imagined that the intensity of the competition would have long ere this stripped the practice of all puerile formalities. Nevertheless, it seems to us that in many cases the forms remain needlessly tedious and elaborate. Quite recently a new departure has been made by a highly respectable office, established so far back as 1810, whereby all medical examination is dispensed with, and the policy issued on a simple declaration, the only stipulation being, that if the insurer die within five years from the issue of the policy, not the sum assured, but only the amount of his premiums accumulated at interest, will be payable to his heirs. After five years the life becomes included in the ordinary category of the insured, and the full amount of the assurance is payable at his decease. No other office appears yet to have followed this example, and indeed the chief and fatal objection to it is, that insurance does not really take effect until after five years, and hence for immediate practical purposes it is no insurance at all. The office does not after all appear to run much abnormal risk. The advantage of medical examination and 'selection,' it is generally understood, affects only the first five years, but at any rate this interesting point has been quite threshed out by several actuaries, more especially by the two Morgans, Galloway, Higham, Jellicoe, Spens, Farren, Meikle, King, and Sprague, as to whose opinions are they not written in the Journals of the Institute, and Actuarial Society of Edinburgh? The last mentioned, Mr. Sprague, a competent authority, gives a table illustrating the exact effect of selection, from which we make the following extract:

Age	Annual Mortality per Cent. in Periods of Assurance	
	Under Five Years	Five Years and upwards
20 to 24	·67	·90
30 „ 34	·76	·97
40 „ 44	·91	1·19
50 „ 54	1·28	1·85
60 „ 64	2·71	3·50
70 „ 74	5·51	7·35

These figures are very striking: clearly policies of more than five years' duration are in a very different category from those less mature, and should certainly be valued on the H^m (5), and not on the H^m table. But as to dispensing with medical examination at the outset, it is a different matter. Those who dread medical examination will be attracted to the office, and we have yet to learn what mortality after the expiry of the first quinquennial period will obtain amongst this motley and heterogeneous lot. The new scheme has been introduced with a great flourish of trumpets, and has served in any event to bring the office prominently before the public.

Passing on to consider the prospectuses, the very first thing that strikes us is that the number of offices who publish the form of policy in use may literally be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. One would imagine that the actual text of the contract under which applicants are invited to pay their money, would be printed on the very first page of the prospectus. We are far from imputing any improper motive to offices in this suppression. It is in our opinion nothing more or less than—must it be said—stupidity; an inability to see matters from the non-official point of view. Like Ephraim, these worthy people are 'wedded to 'their idols,' and if they were not galvanised into action by American and other competition, would really, as it appears to us, go on in the same groove for centuries. It must be whispered, too, that your actuary pure and simple is often an inscrutable personage, and wholly unequal to organisation and the practical conduct of large and difficult affairs beyond his own immediate *métier*. The profession is one of the noblest in the world, but a first-rate mathematician does not always make, or rather we should say seldom makes, a good man of business.

We believe that every actuary will, sooner or later, be driven by the mere force of ridicule, if by nothing else, to publish an office copy of the policy in his prospectus. Removed from the smoke and dust of the conflict for business which rages amongst these institutions on every side, this is possibly more clear to us than to those actually engaged.

The different forms of policy in use range between those of normal simplicity, in which the payment of the premium is the only condition of assurance, and others which are literally overloaded with all sorts of conditions, restrictions, and threats of penalties. We recommend our readers to avoid the latter. There are several offices whose credit is

above suspicion, who issue policies at ordinary rates in the normal form we have indicated, and it must be a supreme relief to every insurant to know that he can, under such policy, literally go anywhere and do anything without the chance of forfeiture. Even should he fail to pay his premium, it can be arranged that the value of what he has already paid shall be applied automatically to maintain the policy in force. This is bringing the system to the highest point of perfection in the interest of the public, and, other things being equal, an office of this kind is the one to support.

To obtain, indeed, proper guarantees against forfeiture is a most important consideration for insurers. Now, the existing practice varies from that of the American companies, where, in the case of tontine policies, if the premium be not paid at due date—there being no days of grace—the policy is ruthlessly forfeited without hope of renewal, and all money already paid on it utterly lost: it varies, we say, between this system and that where no absolute forfeiture without equitable compensation is possible. Thus, in the latter case thirty days of grace are given in which to pay premiums; failing payment, policies can be revived on medical certificate at any time later on; and, again, failing revival, the 'surrender value,' which is endorsed on the policy, is passed to the credit of the insured. It is a matter of supreme importance that the public should be clear on these essential points, else a man may go on paying premiums for twenty or thirty years or more, and failing subsequently to pay his premium at the proper time, find himself wholly at the mercy of the office, power of absolute forfeiture of all he has already paid being in their hands.

All this, although the mere alphabet of the matter to experts is not so generally understood by the public.

To essay noticing every point in all these prospectuses would be to enter on a discussion wholly beyond the space at our disposal, but there is at least one other matter of radical importance on which we desire to say a few words. This is as to the conditions affecting naval and military men, and also the extent to which all classes are debarred from going beyond the limits covered by European rates of premium.

Now, one office at least, in high credit, if not more, is willing, in time of peace, to assure naval and military men at civil rates on the profit scale, stipulating only that such policies will not be entitled to bonus so long as the insurers continue in

either service. And as to civilians, if, on effecting the insurance, they declare that they have no knowledge of any abnormal risk likely to be incurred, they are free at the ordinary premium to go anywhere. If these advantages can be afforded with safety, they constitute a great boon to the public. The question not only affects present aspirants, but those already assured in the office in question. Is it fair to a lawyer or other professional person living, say, at Hampstead Heath or Ascot, to charge him the same as a naval or military man, liable at any moment to be ordered on active service? The danger is of what actuaries call a 'selection' running against the office. The Ascot and Hampstead Heath men may insure elsewhere, while the naval and military men, and civilians likely to go abroad, may besiege the office for policies. The mortality from the Indian mutiny has been clearly ascertained, and, we believe, also that arising out of the Franco-German war, but these data afford an imperfect guide for the future, the recent vast improvement in our equipments for war having quite altered the conditions of the case. Von Moltke, the greatest soldier in Europe, warned us—in the most solemn manner, too—the other day, that 'the next great European war will not be 'short: it will be a seven years', possibly a thirty years', 'war. The French in the last war were unprepared; now, 'every nation is more or less ready.' The step is a bold one on the part of the office we have mentioned, and deserves to succeed; but at present it must be regarded as wholly experimental. Be this as it may, we are bound to say that there is great room for reform in the direction we have indicated amongst offices generally. At this time of day, when travelling has become so universal, and people race round the world for mere amusement, every facility should be afforded, and many of the old-fashioned penal restrictions so long in vogue removed.

As to claims by death, these are very generally now being paid at once, and not three months after proof of death, as was until recently the almost universal practice.

Any inquiry into British life offices would be incomplete without some special reference to the American offices doing business in the British Empire and its dependencies. These are in number three or four, all purely mutual, and their gross transactions in amount completely overshadow those of the British companies. Thus the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, established only so recently as 1843,

claims to be the largest insurance company in the world, their 'cash assets securely invested exceeding twenty-six 'millions sterling,' with an income of from five to six millions sterling, while the new premiums are at the rate of a million sterling a year.* There is no separate published record, so far as we are aware, of the business transacted in the British Islands and the dependencies of the Crown, but beyond all doubt it is very large, the competition being keenly felt by our home offices. Now, what advantage can these American companies offer as compared with our own? The reply is, that they are able to improve their savings in the States at a higher rate of interest than could be safely obtained in this country by the latter. This is all; whatever else they can do we can do. And even this factor in their favour is rapidly disappearing, if indeed it has not already disappeared. Besides, the Scottish Widows' Fund and other institutions are placing officers in Australasia and elsewhere throughout our colonies for the special purpose of effecting investments at the higher colonial rates, which latter are at least equal, if not superior, to what are obtainable in the States. Then how is it that our people seem likely to go down under the American competition? The answer is, that the latter pay double or treble what our big mutual offices do to get business. Thus the percentage of expenses of management on premium income, as we have seen, for 1888–89 was in the case of the Mutual of New York more than one-fourth, while in our Scottish Widows' Fund it was less than one-ninth. This is to a large extent the whole secret. All the rest is mere shouting. If you want a very high rate of speed, you must expend a corresponding quantity of fuel, and this means money. Once, travelling up the Red Sea in a Peninsular mail boat, one of the Messageries' overhauled us. We thus to our captain: 'You do not mean to say you 'are going to allow her to pass you?' 'What the —— can 'I do?' was the gruff response. 'I could steam round her, 'but we daren't arrive before our statutory time.'

There is another point on the surface. The profit by forfeiture of lapsed policies is, by reason of the stringent—we had almost said ruthless—conditions under certain

* From the returns, it appears that the total yearly income, from premiums and interest, of the three American offices doing business in this country, is 15,761,645*l.*, and receipts from annuities granted 474,501*l.*, making 16¼ millions sterling. We no not include what is known as the 'Mutual Reserve Fund of New York.'

systems of assurance in the American offices, very much greater than it is with us. It is officially upon record, with reference to the New York Life Office, and as to the 'Fifteen 'Years' Tontine' initiated in 1873, that at the date of an action recently commenced against them in Paris, of 1,082 policies issued 80 had become death claims, 569 had lapsed, and 437 were in force at the time when the figures were made up. Thus more than 50 per cent. of the policies had lapsed, the large fund so created going to swell immensely the proportion payable to those who survived the end of the tontine period. This is, we suppose, what enables the American offices to put forward such glowing and fascinating attractions in their prospectuses. But there is yet another consideration which we have always regarded as of great importance. In British offices the chief officer of the company is usually simply the organ of the board, on a fixed salary of no great amount. Whether the concern does a large or small business he gets his pay. His promotion is not usually sufficiently in harmony, or at all events does not directly synchronise, with the progress of the concern. He is a mere servant, whose status is inferior to most of the members of the board, by whom, indeed, it is vain to conceal, he is often rather hampered than aided in his struggle to forge ahead. But it is a very different thing in the States. There the chief officer is the president of the board, and hence occupies a supreme position. He is a trained expert, attending the office all day and every day, and being paid, as we are informed, largely in proportion to the amount of new business secured. Hence his emoluments may be in the ratio of thousands to hundreds as compared with those of our managers. The American as compared with our system thus gives an enormous stimulus to enterprise, and, we believe, largely accounts for the feverish and stupendous opposition they are initiating against us all over the globe. Why, even in the wilds of the Cape Colony, American canvassers rush about in wagons worrying stolid and phlegmatic Boers out of their lives to get business! At this present moment of writing we can put our finger on one British office established ten years prior to the Mutual of New York, with powerful boards of direction in London and abroad, and an actuary of almost European reputation, but whose funds are under a million and a half, the new premiums being little more in a year than what the big American office secures in a single day! This is very

serious, and means to a large extent, sooner or later, the transfer of life business out of our hands.

There is one feature in the prospectuses of the competing American offices to which we must take grave exception, injuring as it does legitimate life assurance enterprise. This is what is known as the 'estimate system,' which holds out to the public extravagant expectations, often not in the least degree likely to be fulfilled. British prospectuses tell us as to profits, what has actually been returned on previous occasions of division. The American offices have an ugly system of seeking to attract insurers by glowing 'estimates' of what such profits are, as they say, nearly certain to be. In a word, our people claim support by reason of actual records of facts rather than on dubious hypotheses as to the future. This is what on the part of our transatlantic friends we have called 'hitting below the belt.' The Equitable (U.S.) appears to be the chief offender in this direction, having practised the device for the last fifteen years, the most recent issues of examples being dated in January 1888. But the New York Life has also got itself into serious difficulties in the same direction. On December 16, 1873, an eminent American surgeon-dentist in Paris, to wit, Dr. John Evans d'Oyley, of the Avenue de l'Opéra, effected with that office five tontine endowment assurance policies for 4,000*l.* each, or a total of 20,000*l.* Under the 'estimate system' it was held out to him that (1) if he died at any time before the endowments matured his heirs would receive at least 20,000*l.*; (2) if he survived until the dates when the endowments became payable he would receive 27,857*l.* He did survive as to certain of the endowment policies, but found himself only entitled to 19,612*l.* on the whole transaction, and of this latter amount, and applicable to certain of the policies originally effected, 6,800*l.* still remained under 'estimate,' such estimate having been reduced from its original quotation, 10,813*l.* to 6,800*l.*!

This is indeed

> '. . . to keep the word of promise to the ear,
> And break it to the hope.'

But this eminent surgeon-dentist is not the only person who feels himself aggrieved. There are many others, most of them influential persons, in the same boat with him, and syndicates, we are advised, are being formed in various directions to bring actions against the New York Life and other American companies, who have, as they allege,

misled them by the 'estimate system.' These syndicates complain further that the affairs of the American companies are practically beyond the reach of British investigation and control; and that as to the vaunted 'State Insurance 'Departments' of the Great Republic, the chief posts in the latter are substantially political appointments given for political services, and subject to change with changing parties in the States. The matter is causing considerable agitation, in Paris more especially, and a M. Zollinger has written a pamphlet on the subject, entitled 'L'Ecroulement 'de la Police Tontinière des Compagnies Américaines,' which we have not seen, but the substance of which he has requested to be put before the British public.

The American managers here have lately been telling us that their 'estimates,' by way of example, have now given place to actual results. But we find the Equitable local manager informing us at the present moment of writing that twenty years' tontine policies maturing in 1891 will yield the following results: (1) Life assurance to the holder for the said twenty years; (2) Should he survive, return to the holder at the end of twenty years of all his premiums accumulated at, or nearly at, 5 per cent. per annum. This, as we have seen, with increasing expenses and a falling rate of interest. The American offices are independent of a good deal, but their constituency is not exempt from the laws of mortality affecting the whole human race. After paying expenses, the Equitable have only about 77*l.* in every 100*l.* to accumulate, their investments returning in 1888 only 5*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* per cent.; hence these investments would have to be made at 7 per cent. per annum to enable them to fulfil their promises, there being in the mean time no fund out of which insurers dying before their endowments matured could be paid. No doubt, if the lapses in the Equitable are anything like at the rate which appears to obtain in the New York Life, the profit so realised will tend to help them out of the difficulty. But surely this is a very unsatisfactory way of making money, and the less said about it the better. We sympathise with those unfortunates who, after paying premiums possibly for a great many years, forfeit everything by reason of inability to keep up their policies.

There are other considerations affecting insurance in American offices to which we would desire to allude. It is just possible that the president and others his immediate lieutenants in the active management of the concern may

have too much power. We know nothing of what these gentlemen get out of such enterprises themselves; but a fund of twenty-six millions sterling and an income of five or six millions a year are very large figures to handle, and doubtless power in the last event rests with a syndicate of two or three persons. In the case of every British company the management lives in a glass house. Any flagrant abuse in the way of payment of officers or otherwise would at once become known and go down under publicity. But as to what goes on behind the scenes in those gigantic American institutions, it is quite a sealed book to us and our people here who are committed to heavy life contracts with them. A great American poet tells us that we ought not to be 'like dumb driven cattle,' but, on the contrary, 'heroes 'in the strife'! In the controversy which has arisen in Paris, that they are being treated like 'dumb driven cattle,' is precisely the complaint of the eminent surgeon-dentist and his friends.

But we pass on to conclude this paper. It is most distasteful to us having thus adversely to criticise the operations of our American friends doing business in this country. No Englishman who has ever visited the States, properly introduced, can have done otherwise than come under a heavy load of obligation by reason of the lavish kindness and hospitality extended to him in all directions. The advent of our kinsmen in connexion with insurance enterprise in this country has done good in one sense: it has roused our people into action. It would be little short of a scandal if we are beaten in insurance matters, even on our own soil, by American competition.

We have now arrived near the end of the space at our command. The whole matter is of profound importance, and, if we may borrow a sentence from 'Junius,' 'is not the 'cause of faction, or of party, or of any individual, but the 'common interest of every man.' The gross yearly income from premiums and interest of the British institutions immediately under review is twenty-five millions sterling, equal to the combined revenues of six important European States, to wit, Denmark, Greece, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and approaches nearly the yearly revenue of our Australian colonies, including New Zealand.

But what is your practical conclusion on the whole matter, we shall be asked, as to the best office in which to insure? Even if we were willing, the question cannot be answered

dogmatically. Here, however, in continuation of the summary above, is the general result within certain lines:

The highest type of office, other things being equal, is the mutual non-commission paying.

The next in point of eligibility is the mutual.

Of proprietary offices the purely life is preferable to the fire and life, and the latter to the fire, life, and marine.

The whole life profit premiums for insurance ought not to exceed H^m 3 per cent., with 20 per cent. added for expenses.

It is a case for inquiry when the yearly management expenses exceed 15·2 per cent. on the premiums. And the necessity for inquiry increases with increased expenses.

There may be some analogy in each year between the expenses and the new premiums in that year.

An office practically doing no new business must be regarded with disfavour.

An office which announces as a speciality the insurance of invalid lives, or the transaction of foreign business, or, again, which has been largely concerned in amalgamations, cannot be considered more eligible on that account.

A valuation every year or every three years is preferable to one at longer intervals.

The policy form should approximate in simplicity to that suggested above.

An office in which the 'movement' from year to year is concealed cannot be regarded with favour.

The directors should all be *bonâ fide* shareholders or insured in the institution they represent.

ART. IX.—*Among Cannibals: an Account of Four Years' Travel in Australia, and of Camp Life with the Aborigines of Queensland.* By CARL LUMHOLTZ, M.A., Member of the Royal Society of Sciences of Norway. London: 1889.

THIS is an extremely interesting and valuable work from beginning to end. On May 24, in the year 1880, Mr. Lumholtz left Snar Island, near Christiania, in a barque bound for Port Adelaide, Australia. His object was to make collections for the museum of Christiania, and to institute researches into the customs and anthropology of the little-known native tribes of that continent. It was his purpose, as he tells us, to present a faithful picture, based on his own observations, of the life, manners, and customs of the Australian aborigines from their birth and infancy to their old age and death, and thus to rescue, for the science of ethnography, facts concerning tribes that have never before come into contact with white men, and that within a generation or two will have disappeared from the face of the earth. He carried with him a hunter's outfit, such as guns, ammunition, and other articles necessary for the chase, supplied by the University of Norway, also some northern bird-skins for exchange with Australian museums. Northern Queensland, the least known part of the north-east portion of Australia, was selected as the field of our author's chief explorations, and here in constant travel and study, not unaccompanied with many hardships and exposure to frequent dangers, the enterprising Norwegian traveller spent fourteen months.

The extreme length of the whole colony of Queensland is about 1,400 miles, its breadth about 1,000; its area is computed at 669,520 square miles, or more than five times that of the United Kingdom, and yet with this enormous territory the population is said to be under 300,000. Favoured with a seaboard of more than 2,500 miles on the South Pacific Ocean, much of which is protected by the great barrier reefs, Queensland possesses great facilities for commerce. A broad plateau extending from north to south, from twenty to a hundred miles from the coast, forms the main range of hills from 2,000 to 5,000 feet in height, and here is the seat of mining, for the hills are rich in gold, silver, tin, copper, coal, and other minerals. Near Elderslie, on the Diamantina River—a very rich copper-bearing district,

'Gold, and actual mountains of pure iron ore abound; but, on

account of the difficulty of transportation, this enormous wealth is not yet available. Queensland will, it is said, become a centre for the production of precious metals. Besides great wealth of gold, silver, tin, and other metals, the land, according to recent investigations, has so vast an amount of coal that its coast is destined in time to become the most important emporium of coal on the southern hemisphere.'

The celebrated Mount Morgan, at present the richest gold-bed in the whole world, which has made Queensland the first gold-producing colony of Australia, is situated near Rockhampton. This great discovery of gold in 1884 is interesting, not only from a practical but also from a scientific point of view. Mount Morgan is about 300 feet in height, and has, it would seem, been produced in the tertiary period by a hot spring, like the geysers of Iceland. The mount is formed of siliceous sinter, the result of volcanic agencies, so that gold may yet be found in formations that have hitherto been regarded as valueless. 'By boring it has 'been demonstrated that the gold increases in quantity with 'the depth, so that there seems to be no end of this fabulous 'wealth.'

Many of the forests of Queensland are valuable; there are trees more than 300 feet high; the *Eucalyptus amygdalina* overtops the wellingtonias of California. Two remarkable cone-bearing trees, the bunya-bunya (*Araucaria Bidwellii*) and the Moreton Bay pine (*A. Cunninghamii*) occur in Queensland and northern New South Wales and afford valuable timber; but as the seeds of the former form an important article of food for the natives, it is not permitted to fell them in the Crown lands. Much land is covered with dense scrub.

'The Australian inland scrubs give a vivid impression of solitude and desolation, with their grey or brown masses of stiff, often shadeless trees, which like a sea undulate over barren plains and low hills. To ramble in these woods, where all is dry and hot and silent as the grave, is no pleasure, as it would be elsewhere. It is very difficult to discover life in this woody wilderness, and the monotony is rarely broken by the sight of a bird or any other living thing. These scrubs, which sometimes are of immense extent (for instance, in South Australia 9,000 square miles), are peculiar to Australia, and are just as characteristic of the country as the steppes of Tartary, the prairies of America, and the deserts of Africa are of those respective countries.'

Flats near the mouths of rivers are well suited for rice and sugar-canes. For many years a prejudice against its supposed too hot position retarded the progress of Queensland,

but notwithstanding the tropical character of North Queensland it has less heat than its latitude would seem to indicate, for the south-east winds from the sea modify the heat of the summer. In the dry interior of the West droughts often come in to check the prosperity of the pastoral farmer; still, sheep and cattle farming is extending over most districts. The dry but fertile plains of the West with their drought-resisting Mitchell-grass are best for sheep, the hills and coastlands for cattle. The natural scarcity of water is now to a considerable extent provided against, and future droughts are avoided by the digging of artesian wells and the storage of water after floods. Of the summer heat, which sets in late in November, Mr. Lumholtz writes :—

'The sun was at its zenith, and poured down its scorching rays day by day, unrelieved by a cooling breath of air or by any refreshing lake or prattling brook—only mocking *fata morgana*. There was no animal life to be seen; all living things sought refuge from the burning heat of the sun—104° to 105° F. in the shade was the average heat. The highest temperature was 116° F., and the heat was then so great that it seemed oppressive even to sit still. The wind that blew was as hot as if it came from an oven, and the thermometer rose and fell with the wind. Still, the climate was more tolerable here than on the banks of the Diamantina river, where the thermometer rose to 126° F. in three consecutive days—a perfectly exceptional heat even in tropical Australia.'

Notwithstanding this excessive heat in weather when the air seems to vibrate and relief is sought by the application of wet towels to the head, the work at the stations, we are told, goes on regularly and healthily; no country in the same degree of latitude is more healthy; children are not sent to cooler regions, but grow up on their native soil strong and pictures of health. In newly settled districts where the soil is not cultivated there is, of course, fever, but, though occasionally fatal, it is usually of a milder type than in other tropical lands.

Agriculture was, not many years ago, seldom practised; but the prospects are now improving, though, perhaps, at the present time not more than 200,000 acres are under cultivation. The sugar-cane is the most important product of the agriculturist, the land being especially adapted for its growth; and where climatic disadvantages occur they have been overcome by the energy of the colonist. Tobacco thrives well everywhere in Northern Queensland; 'its cul 'tivation is doubtless destined to become an important

'industry.' Quinine, cinchona, arrowroot, rice, and cotton do well wherever planted; coffee is receiving attention from Ceylon planters; wheat can be successfully grown over wide areas when labour is cheaper; many English and foreign kinds of fodder are being now introduced. The species of native grasses are about a hundred in number; the best grazing districts are those which the Mitchell-grass covers. In the gardens orange-trees, vines, and fig-trees are reared and grow side by side with the pineapple and the mango of tropical lands. Cocoanut and date-palms thrive so far as the trees are concerned, but somehow neither bears good fruit. Brilliantly coloured flowers, belonging to the natural orders of *Leguminosæ*, *Myrtaceæ*, *Proteaceæ*, are numerous and widely dispersed.

Of the Queensland fisheries special mention should be made of the dugong, or Australian sea-cow (*Halicore dugong*), which is not found south of Moreton Bay, but is plentiful north of it. There are two of these fisheries in Queensland, but the animals are difficult to capture, and the management lacks energy. Dugong oil is an excellent remedy in consumption; the skin, an inch thick, is made into gelatine or into strong leather; the heavy bones are used instead of ivory, and the meat is of excellent flavour, in taste between veal and pork, but, in the opinion of our author, better than either. Of fish, properly so called, the best prized fresh-water fish of the rivers of Central Queensland is the so-called burnett-salmon, called by the natives barramunda, whose size and excellent flesh resemble salmon. The barramunda is not a salmon at all; it belongs to the lung-fish family (*Dipnoi*), and breathes, as its family name imports, both through its gills and lung. The species (*Ceratodus Forsteri*) is a living representative of a fossil form, whose teeth have been long known to palæontologists as occurring in the Trias formations, and thought to be, like its congeners, the *Protopterus* of Africa and the *Lepidosiren* of South America, quite extinct. In the year 1870 scientists first became acquainted with this remarkable 'survival of the prehistoric 'past.' This 'living fossil' forms a connecting link between fishes and amphibia; can breathe through its one lung alone, or with its gills alone, or with both at the same time; in the night it leaves the water, goes ashore, where it eats grass and leaves; in the daytime it suns itself on logs lying out of the water.

Of the tailless amphibia the frogs appear to be the most interesting and useful; they are very plentiful, and can

accommodate themselves to the driest conditions of the climate. In Western Queensland,

'the people on Diamantina river speak of a species of large frog which after rain bury themselves about six inches down in the ground, and remain there during the dry season. These frogs contain much water, a fact known to the natives, who dig them up in the dry season and quench their thirst by squeezing the water out of them. They know the little mounds, which resemble molehills, under which the frogs lie hid, and dig them out. According to report, such a frog contains about a wineglassful of "clear, sweet water."'

Let us now follow the track of our traveller in the little known and sparsely populated lands of Queensland.

The journey from Sydney to Brisbane, the capital of Queensland, occupies little more than two days. Here our traveller was met by Mr. Archer, the Secretary of the Treasury of Queensland, by whom he was invited to make his headquarters on his estate near Rockhampton, at the cattle station at Gracemere. Insects are a great nuisance in many countries, and Gracemere has its full share of these troublesome creatures.

'The summer heat was oppressive in the pitchy darkness of a November evening, though now and then lighted up by flashes of lightning. The insects gathered in great numbers on the ceiling, and, blinded by the lamplight, they fell in such thick layers on the table that it was not possible to read. Bats fluttered in and out through the open windows and doors. Not only on the floor, but—incredible as it may seem—even in the water-jar the frogs croaked merrily, and often so loudly as to interfere with conversation.'

The frog of the water-jar is the *Hyla cærulea*, and on p. 18 there is a woodcut of specimens of this species. Near the station there is a lake or lagoon about a mile long and half a mile wide, the resort of a great number of water-fowl, the most striking bird being the beautiful *Parra gallinacea*, the lotus-bird of the Australians, that walks and sits and builds its nest on the blue water-lily leaves of the lake. The adult bird is not shy, but the young are very timid, always disappearing when anyone approached; it appears that the young ones dive under water and hold themselves fast to the bottom, and this they continue to do for a quarter of an hour.

Gracemere was originally a sheep, but is now a cattle station. This is in part owing to a too moist climate, and partly to an injurious grass, the dreaded spear-grass (*Andropogon contortus*), which sticks fast in the wool of the sheep and works itself into their bodies and kills them. The cattle

on the Archer's estate amounted to about 4,000 head, but all were of pure pedigree and brought from Melbourne. A bull of nine months old had cost 315*l.* 'It is for the sake 'of the beef, and not for the milk, that so much stress is 'laid upon the blood of cattle in Australia.'

From Gracemere Mr. Lumholtz made journeys of investigation to districts two hundred miles away. At Westwood, about thirty miles from Rockhampton, he first made the acquaintance of the bower-birds (*Chlamydodera maculata*) which form bowers, not for nests, but exclusively for amusement. These bowers are always found in small brushwood, and never in the open field. Empty snail shells in hundreds, berries, and other things bright and glittering, are collected, showing that the bird has the sense of beauty. The bower-bird is also a wonderful imitator, learning to mew like a cat or to crow like a cock. Farmers in tropical Australia have many enemies, the so-called flying foxes, which are really large fruit-eating bats (*Pteropus*), being specially injurious to the orchards. Were it not for these foes, fruit-growing in Queensland would be more profitable than it is. At Peak Downs, about two hundred miles west of Rockhampton, our traveller received the first impression of genuine native Australian scenery. 'Large plains, with here and there an 'isolated gum-tree; extensive scrubs, and now and then low 'mountain ridges in the background; sometimes an emu 'would appear, or a little flock of kangaroos that are suddenly 'startled—all of which is so characteristic of the country.' Some of the kangaroos are very injurious to the squatters, who have to surround large pastures with high fences, so that the animals cannot jump over and consume the grass. One sheep-owner had killed 64,000 of these creatures in eighteen months, especially wallabies (*Macropus dorsalis*), kangaroo-rats (*Lagorchestes conspicellatus*), also many thousands of the larger kangaroo (*M. giganteus*). The natives will not eat the flesh, and the bodies are left to lie and rot; the skin can be tanned into excellent leather, but it does not pay to skin the animals so far from the coast. The tail makes good soup, and is the only part which is eaten. At Peak Downs the squatters took great interest in Mr. Lumholtz's work, placing men at his disposal, so that he was able to add largely to his collections. A curious fact is told of the emus. They are very inquisitive. A man at Peak Downs stated that he had frequently attracted emus within gunshot by lying on his back and kicking his feet in the air. Kangaroo-hunting is by no means without excitement, and

is often attended with danger to the dogs. The animal, we are told, jumps as quickly as a galloping horse, but soon gets tired, especially if it is what the colonists call 'an 'old man.' He then

'places himself with his back against the trunk of a tree, and seeks to protect himself from the dogs to the last. Woe be to the dog who comes within reach of his paws! He seizes it with his arms, and rips its belly open with his strong big toe. The dog therefore takes care not to come too near. Sometimes the kangaroo takes refuge in a pool of water, and if the dog is too intrusive the kangaroo ducks it instinctively under water, and holds it there till it is dead.'

The hunt in which our author engaged proceeded as fast as the horses could gallop, and the kangaroo soon turned on the dogs in the manner described. One of the hunters came up, dismounted, and with a few strong blows from his club put an end to the animal. Six of them were killed in this manner. A curious instance of conjugal affection in bird-life came under Mr. Lumholtz's observation in the case of the beautiful parrot (*Platycercus pulcherrimus*). He shot the male bird, and the female flew up to a neighbouring tree; he did not at once pick up the dead bird. Soon after the female came flying down to her dead mate.

'With her beak she repeatedly lifted the dead head up from the ground, walked to and fro over the body as if she would bring it to life again; then she flew away, but immediately returned with some dry straws of grass in her beak and laid them before the dead bird, evidently for the purpose of getting him to eat the seed. As this too was in vain, she began again to raise her mate's head and to trample on his body, and finally flew away to a tree just as darkness was coming on. I approached the tree, and a shot put an end to the faithful animal's sorrow.'

At Minnie Downs, Messrs. Archer's station, about 350 miles west from Rockhampton, Mr. Lumholtz spent a month, which enabled him to gain excellent knowledge of station life. The raising of cattle and sheep, the most important industry of Australia, has more or less influence on all kinds of business in that country.

'In the older colonies the cattle and sheep farmers are also the owners of the land, but in the larger part of Queensland the pastures are rented from the Government. These great cattle and sheep farmers are called squatters, and they are the aristocracy of Australia. If the squatter is a sheep-farmer he not unfrequently has 200,000 sheep upon his station, while the cattle-farmer often owns 15,000 head. He does not hesitate to pay as high as 2,000*l.* for a fine bull, or as high as 600*l.* for a ram of choice pedigree.'

The sheep give the most trouble; on stations with extensive pasturage it may require months to bring the stock up to their quarters; the transportation of the wool to the coast is very expensive; still, sheep-raising may often give a profit of 30 per cent. The cattle are sent alive to the towns to be slaughtered; milk is seldom used in the bush. Of 10,000 head of these half-wild cattle not more than three or four cows are tamed for milking purposes. The greater part of the beef is eaten in Australia, where the consumption is enormous. Establishments now have been built in which the beef is either canned or frozen for export, and large quantities are used for the production of tallow. Near Rockhampton the carcases of about 100,000 cattle and sheep are annually boiled down for tallow. Prolonged drought is the greatest enemy with which the squatter has to contend; but this evil is to some extent mitigated by the presence of a kind of grass, the well-known Mitchell-grass (*Astrebla elymoides*), which may cover hundreds of miles, and which has a wonderful power of withstanding the drought without losing its nutrient properties. On the banks of the Thompson river, in western Queensland, Mr. Lumholtz observed the Nardu plant (*Marsilea*), the seeds of which are ground by the natives and used as food—'Nardu has become painfully 'celebrated, for it was on this seed that the famous travellers 'Burke and Wills subsisted until they finally perished from 'starvation.' At Windex Station, 650 miles from Rockhampton, Mr. Lumholtz was able to add Australia's smallest marsupial animal, the beautiful *Phascologale minutissima*, to his collection: 'A cat playing with something that looked 'like a mouse led to the capture of this specimen; for on 'closer examination it appeared that it was not an animal 'of the mouse family, but this little marsupial. It had 'no less than nine young in its pouch.' Travellers have often to undergo great hardships and endure many privations. In the interior of Queensland the water is abominable, full of mud, or white with chalk, or black from decayed vegetable matter; the water has to be boiled, though the bushman will drink it as it is, apparently with impunity. Then there is a troublesome grass (*Triodia irritans*), the so-called spinifex, covering the plains for hundreds of miles, and rendering them almost impassable. It has blades armed with points as sharp as needles, which prick the horses' legs till they bleed, though horses will eat the tender blades of the young plant. Then there is the treachery of the Australian native to be guarded against, so

that the colonists are wont to give a stranger the warning, 'Never have a black fellow behind you.' The natives cannot lay aside their uncivilised habits.

'A squatter was walking in the bush in company with his black boy, hunting brush-turkey (*Talegalla*). As they sauntered forth, the black boy touched him on the shoulder from behind and said, "Let me go "ahead." When the squatter asked why he wished to go before him, the boy answered, "I feel such an inclination to kill you." The black boy had been on the station for several years, where he had served as shepherd, and had proved himself very capable.'

Then, again, there is the ubiquitous flea, in Australia a veritable blood-sucker. These pests usually live in the ground, and creep by dozens up your legs. Scratching is unavoidable; the consequence to Mr. Lumholtz was a series of bad and irritable sores, which would not heal, and necessitated rest for a whole week and more. Flies, of course, are a great nuisance: 'Life in western Queensland during the 'summer is simply a struggle with the flies. "When I am '"about to sign a draft, I must have a man to fan the flies '"away and watch the inkstand" are expressions which 'I still remember to have heard in that country.' Mr. Lumholtz gives us many interesting facts relating to bush life. The bushman takes little care of himself; he gets up before sunrise, eats, saddles his horse and rides to his work, seldom returning till sunset; he sleeps under the open sky, even in rainy weather; he eats when it is convenient. If he has no time, he waits till he finds time. Salt beef and damper are his daily food, muddy water or alcohol his drink, and yet he keeps in fairly good health. Truly one may apply Horace's exclamation, 'O dura messorum ilia!' to the Australian bushmen. Women are seldom seen at the stations. The squatter is usually a married man, but the hands rarely have wives, so that women who venture into this far west land soon find husbands. In Queensland there are 142 men to every 100 women. Here is an instance of the rapidity with which the chains of matrimony are forged in Western Queensland:—

'An Irish girl who had recently arrived was standing over the washtub, and soon attracted the attention of a bushman. He entered into conversation with her, and after half an hour they agreed to get married; she wiped the soap off her arms, and so both proceeded without making any further toilet to the magistrate to have the ceremony performed.'

The bushman has but few wants, and saves most of his wages. When he wants a change from the monotonous

kind of life he leads, he applies to the squatter for his cheque and goes on a holiday.

'He takes his horses, rides off, dismounts in the first little village, and "has a good time;" that is to say, he drinks every kind of liquor that is to be had. He hands his cheque or draft to his host, and from this time forward he lives in a perpetual state of intoxication as long as he has a penny left, and all who approach him drink his health at his expense—live and let live! Nervous and prostrated, he finally comes back to the bush, works a year or two more, and again returns to the village as a man of means, to repeat the old story. The liquors he consumes are of course manufactured according to the receipt of the keeper of the dram-shop. They are poor and adulterated—simple poison. This shameful business is chiefly carried on on the borders of civilisation, and there are many stories about dram-shop keepers who have accumulated fortunes by vending this awful stuff.'

In January 1882, Mr. Lumholtz bade farewell to western Queensland, and left Minnie Downs for return to Gracemere, after having traversed 1,700 miles amid many privations, and with a success which did not correspond to his exertions. Northern Queensland was now our traveller's destination. Taking steamer in May, he arrived at Mackay, a small town which owes its existence to the production of sugar. The neighbouring district is very fertile, and the most important sugar-producing land in the colony. The work on the plantations has chiefly been done by the natives of the South Sea Islands, in Australia called Kanakas, a strong and intelligent race, able to bear the tropical heat better than the whites, who hate them, and regard them as competitors. The Government supports the white men, and even prohibits the importation of natives, so that the cultivation of sugar has become in many places limited, which is unfortunate, as the Queensland sugar is of excellent quality, and its production ought to become one of the most important industries of the colony. Taking steamer in July, after a journey of two days, our traveller arrived at Townsville, containing about 7,000 inhabitants; the chief industry here is cattle and sheep raising, wool being the principal article of export. Herbert Vale, a deserted cattle station on Herbert river, was Mr. Lumholtz's destination; here he was to collect specimens of natural history for the University of Christiania. Opposite the Herbert river district is a rocky isle about 2,500 feet above sea-level, generally enveloped in fog; here and in the dense scrubs along the rivers of northern Queensland grows the very valuable red cedar (*Cedrela*), whose wood is as beautiful as mahogany, but not

so hard; it is the only wood exported from Queensland, but so great has been the demand that whole forests have been entirely exterminated in the most accessible places. Mr. Lumholtz made his first acquaintance with the blacks of northern Queensland while on a visit at the farm of a Mr. Gardiner, who had kindly invited him to stay at his house. In the uncivilised districts the relations between whites and blacks are as bad as possible; in the remote districts the natives are treated almost like brutes. Mr. Gardiner employed a large number of blacks, both men and women, on his farm, and treated them most kindly and considerately. However, they could not forget their nomadic nature nor their savage propensities; they would run off to their native woods, would steal whenever they had a chance, and become unruly, so that Mr. Gardiner would sometimes have to go out at night and frighten their camp with a rifle shot, to maintain order. Their civilisation was of a low order. Eleven days before Mr. Lumholtz arrived

'they had killed and eaten a man of another tribe on some hills near the farm. They returned triumphant, and boasted of their inhuman act. When they were abused for having eaten a man, they gradually became silent, and understood that it was something which the whites did not do, and which accordingly was not right. This is always the habit of the Australian natives: as long as they remain in their native condition they make no secret of their cannibalism, but continued intercourse with the whites teaches them to regard it as something which is not *comme il faut*. Yet they keep up the infamous custom in secret before abandoning it altogether.'

The most common weapon used both in war with other tribes and as a hunting weapon among these blacks is called the 'nolla-nolla,' a piece of hard and heavy wood, about two feet long, sharpened to a point at both ends, one of which is thick and tapers gradually to the other end. They use this club as a kind of throw-stick, and at a distance of ten to twelve yards they hit an object with a tolerable degree of certainty. With the small end they dig up the ground when they want to bring out bandicoots, rats, roots, and the eggs of the brush-turkey; with the nolla-nolla they pound at the trees to find whether they are sound, and pick out the larvæ from the decayed trunks. Herbert Vale, which belonged to the Scott Brothers, had been abandoned as a cattle station because the soil proved to be so excellent for sugar-growing that its increased value became too expensive for cattle-raising. Here our traveller took up his headquarters at Mr. Scott's invitation, and from thence he made excursions in the neighbourhood

for some months, always attended by the blacks. This house was occupied by Mr. Scott's keeper, 'a peevish, conceited old man,' who slept most of his time, by a Kanaka and a black girl, Nelly, whom the Kanaka had bought from a tribe for his wife, upon whom devolved the main burden of housekeeping. The bill of fare was not marked with much variety:—

'Salt beef and damper, damper and salt beef, were the standing dishes at all these meals. On two occasions a chicken was killed, which was prepared in the plainest manner. The head being chopped off, it was stripped of its feathers, and at once put into the kettle to boil. For a time we also had sweet potatoes, which Nelly placed on the table for breakfast, dinner, and supper as long as they lasted. No care was bestowed on our hens, however; they laid many eggs, which Nelly, our skilful cook, invariably did her best to serve in an almost petrified condition.'

The Australian natives do not cultivate the soil; living from hand to mouth on vegetables and animals, they flit from place to place and have no permanent abodes. The dingo is their only domestic animal. Though free from care they are never without a secret fear of being attacked by other tribes, for the tribes are each other's mortal foes; what they lack in personal courage they make up by craft; if they can slay their enemies by a treacherous attack they will do so without hesitation.

'The Australians are cannibals. A fallen foe, be it man, woman, or child, is eaten as the choicest delicacy; they know no greater luxury than the flesh of a black man. There are superstitious notions connected with cannibalism, and though they have no idols and no form of divine worship, they seem to fear an evil being who seeks to haunt them, but of whom their notions are very vague. Of a supreme good Being they have no conception whatever, nor do they believe in any existence after death.'

The blacks do not like to eat white people, whose flesh, they say, has a salt taste; but the very thought of black human flesh, which they call *talgoro*, makes their eyes sparkle. The natives do not, as a rule, eat persons of their own tribe, though there are instances to the contrary; the blacks south of the Gulf of Carpentaria, it is said, do not kill persons for the sake of eating them, but the women eat those who die a natural death; near Moreton Bay, also, the dead are eaten, and by their own relatives. The reason why the white man's flesh is held in disgust arises, apparently, from the fact of his eating so much salt beef; the flesh of the Chinese, whose food consists largely of rice and other

vegetables, is much prized; it is said that far north in Queensland ten Chinamen were devoured at one dinner. But during the whole time Mr. Lumholtz spent on Herbert river only two blacks were killed and eaten.

The uncivilised Australian native is usually sound and healthy, and not much troubled with sickness, with the exception of skin diseases, which he gets from the white man; but when the Australian becomes 'civilised' and wears clothes, he becomes more liable to illness; he regards clothes simply as ornaments which he may wear or not as he chooses; he will perspire all day in a woollen jacket, but in the evening he will throw it off and sleep naked. On a hunt he is quite naked, no matter how 'civilised' he may be—for he must climb trees and pursue animals; and of course this thoughtless way of wearing clothes brings on colds, rheumatic fevers, and lung diseases.

Some of the funeral rites of the blacks are very curious. They usually bury their dead; the body is wrapped in bark or other materials, as they do not like to let it come in contact with the earth; the graves are not deep, and sometimes have a direction from east to west; sometimes two sticks about one yard high and painted red are set up over the grave, and on the top of the sticks the feathers of the white cockatoo are fixed; if the deceased was an important man, a hut is sometimes built over the grave; the entrance which faces the east has an opening through which a person may creep; in some parts of Australia the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, and a mound is built over it. Some tribes bury their dead in a standing posture. Hills are usually selected as burial-places. East of Fitzroy the women are laid in an open trench; the earth, dug out with a yam stick, is neatly piled up all round; the body is left exposed, the legs being bent upwards; the grass around for two or three yards is removed, and the ground left quite bare, to protect the grave in case of bush fire. After a time the relatives come and collect the bones, and cut a hole in a hollow tree, into which they put the bones; the hole is then filled up with grass, sticks or twigs being laid on the top to keep the grass in. Then the tree trunk above and below the hole around which the bark is removed is painted with red and white colours.

'An old warrior who has been a strong man, and therefore much respected by his tribe, is after his death put on a platform made with forked sticks, cross-pieces, and a sheet or two of bark; he is hoisted up amidst a pandemonium of noise, howling, and wailing, besides

much cutting with tomahawks and banging of heads with nolla-nollas. He is laid on his back, with his knees up, like the females, and the grass is cleared away from under and all round. The place is now for a long time carefully avoided, till he is quite shrivelled, whereupon his bones are taken away and put in a tree. The common man is buried like a woman, only that logs are put over him and his bones are not removed. Young children are put bodily into the trees.'

The various tribes possess wizards and doctors, who pretend to communicate with the spirit (*mūrŭp*) of the departed and get information from it. These wizards are greatly feared, as they are believed to produce sickness or death at their will; the consequence is that this belief makes the natives bloodthirsty, and at the same time embitters their existence. Diseases and plagues are always ascribed to witchcraft and to hostile blacks; hence the cause of the hatred between the tribes, and the chief reason why the Australian blacks continue to live in small communities and are unable to rise to a higher plane of social developement. The following amusing anecdote illustrates the natives' belief in the powers of their 'doctors':—

'An old warrior in a tribe not far from Rockhampton was taken very ill. The tribe, being at the time near a station, asked the manager, who was a friend of mine, to give the sick man medicine. "Holloway's Pills," the usual medicine in the bush, was accordingly supplied to him, but without making him any better. The doctor of the tribe had then to bring his powers into action. All the blacks attributed his illness to some strange black fellow, who had put some pieces of broken glass into him, and these the doctor was now willing to take out in order to effect a cure. The old man was laid in front of a big fire; all the members of the tribe had placed themselves solemnly around him, some of his five "gins" crying. Suddenly, out of the darkness appeared a huge black fellow, dressed up to his eyes in paint and feathers, and carrying a long spear in his one hand, while in the other he held a small pouch made out of a kangaroo's scrotum. Then began the most awful row one can imagine—crocodile tears flowing in streams. The doctor placed himself within reach of the patient, stretched out his spear and touched him with the point, and all the noise at once ceased; the eager look on all the dark faces round was something to see. Every time the doctor raised his spear he produced a piece of broken glass from his hair and put it into the bag, this performance being followed by a great yell from all those assembled. He produced altogether seven pieces of glass, and the crowd uttered a yell for each piece. When all was over the doctor disappeared into the darkness, and the sick man recovered. All the blacks believed that he had drawn those pieces up the spear into his hair, and to try to convince them of the absurdity of such an opinion only made them sulkily say, "White fellow stupid fellow."'

On the religious notions of the blacks of the Herbert river district Mr. Lumholtz thinks that they do not believe in any supreme good Being, but only in a demon; also, with respect to other Australian natives, some writers hold the same opinion. At all events, Mr. Lumholtz remarks, it is certain that neither idolatry nor sacrifice are to be found in Australia. Nor have the natives ever been seen to pray. In a conversation with a Kanaka at Herbert Vale, who, far off in the South Sea Islands, had received instruction from missionaries, but had remained unconverted, the Kanaka asked Mr. Lumholtz if it was true that they would some day go up to the stars, pointing to the starlit sky. He explained to him what Christianity teaches of the life hereafter.

'"There is a much better place up there after death," he remarked. Some of the natives were standing around us with their mouths wide open. Suddenly he burst into laughter, and pointing with one hand to the glittering stars, said, "The blacks do not believe that there is anybody above us up there."'

The Australian natives are generally admitted to be almost wholly devoid of religious impressions. Missionaries seldom succeed in imparting to them more than the outward appearance of Christianity. There are but few missionaries in Australia, and the natives come but little into contact with them. The efforts made, especially in the southern part of the continent, have met with poor success. There are great hindrances in the way of missionary work. There is the innate lack of the receptive faculty on the part of the natives; the ill will of some of the white population; the practice of prostitution, which rough colonists will not abandon, and from which some pecuniary advantages arise to the blacks, so that, as Mr. Lumholtz truly says, the fact that the missionaries see but little fruit from their labours does not allow us to draw the conclusion that the Australian race is quite insusceptible to religious influence. The future of the native blacks of Australia it is not difficult to foresee—the race is doomed, though it may have a respite.

'It is supposed that there were 9,000 blacks in Victoria when the colony was founded. There now remain scarcely 800, and many of them are half-castes, but little superior to the pure blacks in intelligence, while they have an even less favourable appearance. "When "civilised nations come into contact with barbarians, the struggle is "but short, excepting where a dangerous climate helps the native "race," says Darwin, and history corroborates his statement. In 1872 the last Tasmanian died. His ancestors succumbed, not only because

they were weaker than the invading race, but also because they were abused by the invaders. The same fate as that which overtook their brothers in Tasmania is in store for the natives of Australia. They have proved themselves almost incapable of receiving either culture or Christianity, and they have not the power to resist the onward march of civilisation. They are, therefore, without a future, without a home, without a hope—a doomed race. The two races cannot exist together. If the Australian attacks the whites or their herds, he is shot; if he tries to secure the friendship of the white men, his ruin is no less certain. He is unwilling to abandon his habits of life, and for this reason the settlement of the country robs him of his means of existence, while European culture at the same time causes his moral and physical degeneration. The philanthropist is filled with sadness when he sees the original inhabitants of this strange land succumbing according to the inexorable law of degeneration. Invading civilisation has not brought developement and progress to the Australian native. After a few generations his race will have disappeared from the face of the earth.'

During the last part of Mr. Lumholtz's sojourn in Queensland his situation, at any time exposed to danger through the desertion or treachery of the natives, grew more and more perilous. Had it not been that one of his black companions of the chase revealed to our author an intended murderous attack upon him, he would never have lived to give to the world the records of his interesting travels. At the head of this traitorous crew was a black called Morbora, in whose education Mr. Lumholtz had taken more than ordinary interest, and to whom he had been especially kind, and now his reward was that he tried to take his life twice on the same day. One evening our traveller went down to the mountain stream near the camp to take a bath. He had imprudently left his revolver in the hut. A council of war was held in the camp, and the opportunity alone was waited for. It was arranged that a black named Mangoran, an old acquaintance of our author, and his wife were to commit the murder. They were to steal down through the tall grass and make the attack in the water—he armed with an axe, she with her 'yam stick.' The weather, fortunately, was cool, and Mr. Lumholtz remained in the water only a short time; so they did not get to the river in time to attack him in his defenceless state, and when they saw him dressed and on the way to his hut, they gave up the idea for a time.

Mr. Lumholtz found it at times no easy matter to sustain life in the lonely wilds of North Australia, where the traveller has to depend mainly on what he can find in the woods

and on the plains. Moreover, the fare of the Australian native is not suited to a European constitution :—

'The flesh of the marsupials has a sickly taste, while talegallas and pigeons, the best game to be had, are rare. Lizards are not bad, but snakes are dry and tasteless. There are only one or two kinds of fruits or roots that can be eaten with appetite. One of them is the *vondo*, which grows in sandy soil on the summit of the scrub-clad mountains, has a stem as slender as a thread, and climbs the trees; hence it is difficult for anyone but a native to find it. A fig called *yanki*, which is yellowish in colour and semi-transparent, has an excellent flavour, but it is so rare that I did not see it more than a single time during my whole sojourn in Northern Queensland. Another variety of fig—*veera*—grows on the grassy plains, and is more common.'

After a time Mr. Lumholtz longed to get away from these parts. For months he had lived with people who were not even able to pronounce his name. 'A feeling akin to 'home sickness kept getting possession of me. I longed for 'civilisation. No matter how zealous a naturalist may be, 'he is first of all a human being; and when this feeling 'comes upon us, we cannot conquer it, but must, perforce, 'give in.' He had come, he tells us, to Herbert Vale full of sympathy for the black race, which the settler drives before him with the rifle; but after the long months spent with them his sympathy was gone, and his interest alone remained. Mr. Lumholtz returned to Mr. Gardiner's farm at Lower Herbert, where he met with a most friendly reception; thence to Gracemere; and in due time the enterprising traveller arrived in his own country.

Besides the narrative of his travels, Mr. Lumholtz gives us a valuable appendix, containing an outline of Australian history, in which he treats of the condition of Australia before its discovery, the story of its discovery, and that of its colonisation. We have also chapters on the geology, flora, and fauna of the country, with two useful maps—one of Australia, and the other illustrating our author's travels in Queensland. The degree of culture attained by the aborigines of Australia when they first came in contact with Europeans was a low one. They found a race living in small tribes, without social organisation, always on the move from place to place, living in huts hurriedly made of leaves or bark, almost naked, destitute of implements of metal, of perforated stone implements, and of bows and arrows, possessing miserable boats or none at all, the semi-wild dingo being their only domesticated animal, and agriculture un-

practised. Mr. Lumholtz considers that about fifty years ago the number of Australian aborigines was about 200,000; their number now is estimated at about 60,000. Of the history of the colonisation of Australia our author writes that it still possesses the vigour of youth whose culture is wholly European.

'If we could visit Australia two generations hence we would probably find a country where not only European flora—grain, grass, &c. —and European fauna—the sheep, horse, cow, rabbit, sparrow, &c.— will have invaded and conquered the large districts which have been cut off from the rest of the world since the Tertiary period, but where every trace of the original population will have disappeared. . . . . In the whole history of man's developement a more sudden revolution is not known than that which has happened in Australia during this century.

'The motto of the Australians is "Advance, Australia!" They have proved that they have been able to carry out this maxim in the past, and they will not fail to do so in the future.'

Space forbids our dwelling longer on Mr. Lumholtz's charming volume, which is full of matter of deep interest both to the scientific student and the general reader. The illustrations, most of which are by Norwegian and French artists from original photographs, sketches, and specimens brought back by the author, are numerous and excellent. Both author and publisher deserve our hearty congratulations, and will, we trust, meet with a well-merited success.

Art. X.—*The Golden Bough: a Study in Comparative Religion.* By J. G. Frazer, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: 1890.

The origin of human ideas and institutions, their causes and their tendencies, their genealogy and interconnexion, have latterly been explored and examined to a degree that has profoundly influenced contemporary habits of thought. In every branch of investigation our opinions have been greatly affected by the enormous expansion of the field of enquiry and collection; by the gradual unfolding of the scattered, torn, and disfigured pages of the prehistoric record; and by observation of the various phases of primitive society still surviving in those corners of the earth that have not yet been swept out by the besom of civilisation. Out of this vast accumulation of material, out of this opening of fresh sources of knowledge, has grown up the com-

parative method, the most important arm of precision that has yet been invented by the science of research. Men have discovered, as they suppose, that the ideas of the world can be treated like its flora, can be gathered together, classified, and used for philosophic demonstration of some comprehensive theory of their general characteristics and growth; can be traced down to the primordial root, and upwards to their highest form of expansion and refinement. And nowhere has the doctrine of evolutionary developement produced a more remarkable change than in the point of view from which recent writers have approached the study of primitive ritual and beliefs.

Mr. Frazer, in his book of the 'Golden Bough,' uses the comparative method as his instrument in a peculiarly abstruse and complicated operation. He undertakes to explain a very ancient custom, which, extinct many centuries ago, is now known only through a few fragmentary descriptions and allusions that have come down to us from classical antiquity, and that have been put together by Mr. Frazer in order to give what remains of the legend and the rite. It is the story of the priest of Aricia, who dwelt by the Arician lake in a grove sacred to Diana Nemorensis, wherein was a tree of which no branch might be broken. According to the rule of this shrine, as it can be gathered from the passages to which Mr. Frazer refers his reader, the priest held office until some runaway slave could first break a bough from the tree and then slay the priest in single combat. Not before he had broken the bough could he fight the duel; and not until he had killed the priest could he succeed to the office of *Rex Nemorensis*, which he held until a stronger than he should overcome him. 'Tradition 'averred that the fateful branch was that "Golden Bough" 'which, at the Sibyl's bidding, Æneas plucked before he 'essayed the perilous journey to the world of the dead;' and hence the title given by Mr. Frazer to his work, although the words subjoined, 'A Study in Comparative Religion,' give a better indication of its true aim and character.

What is the meaning, he asks, of this strange rule, which has no parallel in the records of ancient Greece or Rome? One might reply that upon such scanty and ill-verified data it would be impossible to build any hypothesis; or that any hypothesis could be made to accord with a vague and mysterious tradition. The rationalising Euhemeristic interpreter would probably conclude that the story contained a nucleus of real incident, magnified into a rite,

and perpetuated by popular imagination. He would surmise that the priest for the time being may have been once, or more than once, murdered by runaway slaves who had established themselves in his place, and who might have succeeded in convincing the people that they acted by divine command, whereby the ungodly custom hardened into an essential rite that would, nevertheless, be only acted upon occasionally. It is clear, at any rate, that the peculiarly savage nature of this rite can be accounted for by its foreign origin. The temple in the grove was dedicated to the Taurian Artemis, who had been a barbarous female divinity, worshipped with bloody rites and human sacrifice at Tauris, whence the Asiatic Greeks, identifying her with their own goddess, imported her into Europe. Strabo himself calls the custom barbarous and Scythian; and the shrine is thus very likely to have had an ill reputation. The priest might have been seen, according to Strabo, prowling round the grove with an air of wary suspicion and a drawn sword; but this kind of outward parade and dramatic representation of a traditional custom often survives as a fiction when the reality has long fallen into disuse. Under another process of interpretation, the whole story would dissolve into a solar or lunar myth, produced by a misunderstanding of the metaphors used by primitive men to describe the operations of nature. Mr. Fraser, whose reputation as a collector and analyst of folklore stands deservedly high, proposes to attain his solution of the problem by a much wider method of investigation. According to his view, the Arician rite belongs to, reflects, and illustrates certain primitive customs that have their place in all early societies; and these customs he traces back to their origin and motive in some very primary mental conceptions, some ultimate religious ideas, out of which many savage customs and barbarous institutions have been evolved, and which still survive among the rustic sports and ceremonies of European nations. So that the Arician legend chiefly serves, in this book, as a text for dissertations upon the folk-lore, the mythology, and the ritual of many lands and ages; upon their forms and significance, and particularly upon the connexion, transmission, and modification of different species.

Mr. Frazer's quest takes, indeed, so broad a range, and his excursions into remote times and countries lead him so far, that he is sometimes embarrassed by the necessity of keeping up communication with his starting point, and of

making all his lines of inquiry converge upon the central issue. He has gathered together and collated a vast quantity of myths, legends, rituals, worships, queer ceremonies, crazy superstitions, and all the grotesque fables and fancies weaved in the brains of barbarous folk; he has arranged and combined all this miscellaneous matter with great ingenuity; he has pressed it into recognisable shape and tolerable coherency, and with this conglomerate he has built up some very curious, interesting, and suggestive theories. If we are obliged to confess some doubt as to the solidity of some parts of his edifice, it is because we question whether any skill or industry can bind together or solidify such stuff as dreams are made of; or can fill up the gaps inevitably left in such a long-winding, many-sided, and intricate demonstration.

'Why had the priest to slay his predecessor?' and, secondly, why, before slaying him, had he to pluck the Golden Bough? Mr. Frazer begins his answer to these questions with a section headed 'Primitive Man and the 'Supernatural,' which launches him at once into the open sea of speculation and research. In the first place, why was the priest called by Suetonius King of the Wood? One would not have thought this appellation very remarkable, seeing that kingly and priestly functions and titles were so constantly combined in ancient days that at Rome the priest who performed public sacrifices was called '*Rex* '*Sacrorum*;' and that everywhere a chief usually had some sacerdotal character, while a priest often had temporal jurisdiction within his domain or sanctuary. This is, indeed, the upshot of Mr. Frazer's explanation reached after a long and somewhat circuitous, though picturesque, excursion through diverse regions of thought and realms of superstitious fantasy. We all know that the kings of old heathen times were commonly priests and often gods; in both capacities they were expected to control the wind and the rain, to bring pressure to bear upon the barometer, and to manage the seasons; they were, in short, made as indirectly responsible as any modern ministry for everything that happened to the community under their charge. All this is in familiar accordance with the reasoning of primitive societies, who seek only to find where power resides, and with whom a great chief's authority, visible or invisible, is just what he chooses to assert. The deification or pontificate of the temporal lord soon became a principle of administrative expediency, which has had a long history

under various fictions and disguises. Mr. Frazer refers, in passing, to this general conception of divinity in rulership as one way by which the idea of a man-god is reached; upon which we will only observe that the conception and the idea, as understood by very primitive minds, are identical.

'But there is another way. Side by side with the view of the world as pervaded by spiritual forces, primitive man has another conception in which we may detect a germ of the modern notion of natural law, or the view of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order in that human agency.'

This way is, we learn, the conception of sympathetic magic, the producing an effect by imitating it, as when a man is killed by making and destroying his image, 'which is, in 'fact, the modern conception of physical causation;' and a man-god is only an individual endowed with extraordinary magical powers over nature. Wonder-working persons and wonder-working processes abound all over the world; the vein of illustration in this department is inexhaustible. Mr. Frazer tells us of rain-gods, weather-kings; of making sunshine and making wind, of charms, tricks, and incantations; and so we are led on through the ideas of incantation, inspiration, the deification of men, possession, and all the countless varieties of demoniac or divine embodiment, up to the Dalai Lamas of Tibet, the Incas of Peru, the Chinese Emperor, and the Arsacidæ. Whence it appears that the same union of sacred functions with a royal title which meets us in the King of the Wood at Nemi is a common feature of societies at all stages from barbarism to civilisation. The phenomenon is, as we have said, perfectly well known; and, indeed, of the two ways by which Mr. Frazer reaches the idea of a man-god, the second may be thought to be little more than the reproduction, on a large scale, and with the stages marked out, of the first; since it is indubitable that kings become gods, as gods become kings, by reason of certain supernatural powers or privileges assumed and admitted to reside in them. Mr. Frazer, however, goes on to suggest that the Nemi king might have had a political origin, that his predecessors might have been a line of kings whom a republican revolution stripped of their political power, leaving them only their religious functions. But the hypothesis is too rationalistic, and it is dismissed in favour of the much more pregnant conception of the Nemi priest as a king of nature, having the wood for his special department.

Now, kings of the Rain, of Water, and of Fire have been

discovered in various outlying corners of barbarism, among the African tribes, and in the backwoods of Cambodia; though, from the description of them in the 'Golden Bough,' they appear to be mostly no more than ordinary conjurors or great medicine-men, who are knocked on the head if their spells fail. We are in search, however, of a King of the Wood to match the Arician priest; and in order to hit off the clue we are taken back to the extensive subject of tree worship. Here we are at once upon wide, well-trodden, and very familiar ground; we can wander at will in a jungle of primitive beliefs, for plants, trees, groves, and forests have played numberless parts on the different stages of religious evolution. Beginning with the primary and universal animism which invested motion with conscious life, we pass easily and obviously to plants and trees with mysterious attributes, to haunted woods, to trees with souls and spirits immanent, to wood nymphs, sylvan deities, and the higher notions which impersonate the vivifying powers of nature, to Diana and Dionysus. In this class of myth and ritual the connexion between ancient and modern practices is very attractive; we may be indulgent to those who see in maypoles, green bushes, Whitsuntide queens, harvest homes, Christmas trees, in the games and ceremonies of the vintage or the reaping, nothing but a survival of the quaint poetically symbolic rites by which the earliest races of men figured the spring, ripening, or decay of vegetation. Mr. Frazer conjectures that Zeus and Hera at the Bœotian festivals were the Greek equivalent of the lord and lady of the May, and 'the story of Hera's quarrel with Zeus, and her sullen 'retirement, may perhaps, without straining, be interpreted 'as a mythical expression for a bad season and a failure of 'the crops.' In the vernal pastimes of French and Russian villagers the boys and girls sometimes dress up in leaves and flowers, and one of them goes to sleep, to be awoke by the rest, or acts the part of a forsaken bride or bridegroom. 'Is the 'sleeper,' asks Mr. Frazer, 'the leafless forest or the bare 'earth in winter? Is the girl who wakens him the fresh 'verdure or the genial sunshine of spring?' The evidence, he thinks, is hardly adequate, and we decidedly agree with him; for here, as throughout his book, he leans too much toward the poetic and allegorical interpretation of customs and manners that derive easily enough from the incidents and circumstances of everyday life. This inclination takes also an additional bias from the turn that he is obliged to give to all his materials in order to join in and fit them neatly

into the general plan upon which he is working. After this fashion, and by various similar analogies and examples, the inference is drawn that the cult of the Arician grove was that of a tree spirit, of which spirit the king was an embodiment, and that by the plucking of the bough is signified the idea that the life of the incarnate spirit of vegetation was bound up in the tree.

To this conclusion, which Mr. Frazer reaches at the end of his first chapter, it would be illiberal to demur *in limine*. For whether the Arician priest and rite were the product of long religious evolution, the mysterious emblem of nature worship; or whether he may have been the fortuitous outcome of some such violent deed or marvellous incident as has so commonly made famous a shrine or a deity, is unknowable and really unimportant. Mr. Frazer uses the story as a starting point for a series of discussions upon the ways and thoughts of man in a state of barbarism, ignorance, or rusticity. He has made a large collection of quaint, outlandish specimens of folklore, archaic ritual, and vagrant superstitious fancies; all of which he desires to arrange so as to bring out the main lines of developement and decadence, and the connexion between earlier and later forms. He wishes to do something in religious palæontology, to reconstruct the mouldering skeletons of extinct worships, and to prove the pedigrees and remote yet unbroken descent of village games or goblins from sylvan deities, and their ritual, and from the impression produced on man by the circling seasons. The study is so fascinating that much must be forgiven to him who ardently pursues it; and we can understand why Mr. Frazer delights to lead us on, like an Oriental story-teller, who ends each tale with an event or allusion that requires another one to explain it. But it must be confessed to follow him from branch to branch of his enchanting subject requires some mental agility; one has to take occasional leaps at the nearest analogy, to make clutches at slender arguments, and generally to risk what the French call *conjectures à casse-cou*.

For instance—The first chapter leaves us convinced that the Nemi priest was once a tree spirit incarnate; a solution of much novelty and enterprise, with which some people might rest contented. But the next chapter opens with the Perils of the Soul; and we are immediately introduced to an old acquaintance, the Mikado, as the type of those mysterious and sacred beings who are strictly guarded and secluded, because upon their purity and preservation is

supposed to depend the order of nature. This brings us to the custom of Taboo; and thence by the ever-widening stream of associated ideas we drift out into the illimitable sea of fancies, fictions, and fables regarding the soul, if by that word we may designate the principle of life or consciousness which is parted from the body temporarily in sleep and trances, permanently in death. Whither goes the soul after quitting its mortal tenement, and how does it fare? can it be lost, stolen, or strayed? does it wander about the earth until it finds another habitation in stock or stone, in beast or man? is it carried up to some heaven, or down to some Hades? does it become god or demon? can it expiate offences, be comforted by offerings, or avenge its wrongs?—all such questions mankind has been asking from time immemorial, and has caught at every sign or shadow of an answer.

> 'Animula vagula blandula,
> Hospes comesque corporis,
> Quæ nunc abibis in loca?'

Bodily death is the giving up of the ghost, which thenceforward haunts primitive man; and in his supposed relations with the innumerable phantoms that surround him for his plague or protection lie the mainspring of endless superstitions and the germ of far-reaching beliefs. Mr. Frazer has no difficulty in selecting from all parts of the world abundant examples showing that the soul, being the personal self, and identified with the visible breath, the shadow, or the reflection on water, is to the savage mind a thing incessantly surrounded by physical changes and easily damaged. Out of the precautions necessary for the safety of important souls arise, he says, the customs of royal and sacerdotal Taboo, which he further explains, very simply and sensibly, to be after all no more than a set of rules for safeguarding the life of kings or priests. Nor, indeed, need we dive very far into the depths of primeval animism to grope for and emerge with the plain observation that a chief who has to manage wild and credulous people must very soon hit upon the device of declaring himself too holy to be touched or even approached with impunity. Almost all forms and Court ceremonies were originally intended to keep intruders at arm's length; and the essence of caste rules is in the avoidance of strange, untrustworthy company, especially with regard to food, drink, or social contact. Mr. Frazer follows out this very intelligible principle into various minute

and often amusing particulars, exhibiting the connexion between unlucky omens and portents, magic charms to avert dangers, taboo customs, caste prejudice, sanctity, divinity, and court etiquette. The whole subject has been examined at length in Mr. Herbert Spencer's chapters on Ceremonial Institutions, where the common origin of all these observances—religious, political, and social—is very sufficiently expounded. Mr. Frazer contributes some anecdotes that are at least amusing. When Dr. Bastian attempted to touch the skull of a Siamese prince, 'in order to illustrate 'some medical remarks,' he was warned by a threatening murmur that he was committing a breach of etiquette; and among North American Indians a young brave while under taboo is so strictly prohibited from touching his own head, that he must scratch it with a stick. Such anecdotes may illuminate an abstruse law of mental evolution, or they may be the natural outcome of circumstance, or they may be little more than random answers to satisfy curiosity. Dr. Bastian's behaviour could scarcely have passed current among civilised royalties; and if one asks an Indian why he scratches his head with a stick, he will give the first answer that occurs to him. The wild man pleads custom for everything; and a very little pressure will make him add that it is awful, ancient, and invariable. As he lives in constant terror of death, so anything odd, unaccountable, or unusual impresses him with fear and suspicion; he invents every kind of magical prophylactic, antidote, and prohibition in order to keep off or neutralise malignant influences. He forms a code of regulations which may, perhaps, be conveniently described as the practice of Taboo, being for the most part, as Mr. Frazer admits, nothing but maxims of common prudence, under the mask of mysterious laws sanctioned supernaturally. He would probably agree with us that no more recondite explanation of all these ideas and customs, taken as a class, is required; but he desires to show how they grew and were generated one from another; he wishes to lay out and assort a large and mixed repertory of folklore upon the lines of his hypothesis. Why was the Flamen Dialis not allowed to walk under a trellised vine? The answer suggested is

'that plants are considered as animate beings which bleed when cut, the red juice which exudes from some plants being regarded as the blood of the plant. The juice of the grape is therefore conceived as the blood of the vine, and since, as we have seen, the soul is often believed to be in the blood, the juice of the grape is regarded as the

soul . . . of the vine. Wine is considered as a spirit, or containing a spirit, first because it is identified, as a red juice, with the blood of the plant; and second, because it intoxicates or inspires. Therefore, if the Flamen Dialis had walked under a trellised vine, the spirit of the vine, embodied in the clusters of grapes, would have been immediately over his head, and might have touched it, which, for a person like him in a state of permanent taboo, would have been highly dangerous.'

We have quoted this elaborate exposition as exemplifying the defects of Mr. Frazer's method. He is not content with proving the main steps required by his general theory, such as that the early animism of tree-worship concentrated into the notion of special divinity immanent in certain particularly valuable trees, and latterly into the conception of abstract deities presiding over the vineyard or orchard. He subjects stray traditions and customs to minute analysis, yielding results that may or may not be futile. It does not seem to us probable, or even possible, that the utmost ingenuity and learning can hope to succeed in unravelling an ancient interdict of this trivial kind by stringing together a few conceptions that are so general and natural as to be applicable to almost any special case. The vine may easily have always been a sacred tree; the rare qualities and intoxicating effect of its fruit are very ample reasons not only for investing it with divinity, but also for placing any one who should touch it under a curse or ban; but in this there is nothing new, and to go farther is to strain the very slender thread of hints and imperfect indications that have come down to us. It would be easy to parody this system of interpretation by showing that the most commonplace prejudices and presages of ill luck contain the elements of savage demonolatry, or are tinged with elementary nature-worship; whereas most of them are distorted generalisations from some actual experience, as when a man who has come to harm or peril, after seeing or doing some noticeable thing, thenceforward marks off all such coincidences as uncanny and mysteriously dangerous; or else they are mere scarecrows and bugbears set up to frighten off trespassers by diabolical menace.

Mr. Frazer ends his second chapter with a passage that is earnest and sympathetic in tone, although it accepts a view of savage life that is, perhaps, too ideal and symmetrical for what is actually a very confused, unintelligent, and haphazard state of existence.

'To students of the past the life of the old kings and priests thus teems with instruction. In it was summed up all that passed for wisdom when the world was young. It was the perfect pattern after which every man strove to shape his life; a faultless model constructed with rigorous accuracy upon the lines laid down by a barbarous philosophy. Crude and false as that philosophy may seem to us, it would be unjust to deny it the merit of logical consistency. Starting from a conception of the vital principle as a tiny soul or being existing in, but distinct and separable from, the living being, it deduces for the practical guidance of life a system of rules which, in general, hangs well together, and forms a fairly complete and harmonious whole. . . .

'Contempt and ridicule, or abhorrence and denunciation, are too often the only recognition vouchsafed to the savage. Yet of the benefactors we are bound thankfully to commemorate many, perhaps most, were savages . . . and what we have in common with the savage, and deliberately retain as true and useful, we owe to our savage forefathers, who slowly acquired by experience, and transmitted to us by inheritance, those seemingly fundamental ideas which we are apt to regard as original and intuitive.'

These words are imbued with a spirit of generosity—of fellow-feeling with forgotten times and vanished races—that touches the imagination and corrects the too common tendency of those who enjoy the full light and security of civilisation to ridicule and despise the struggles and blunders of primitive man. Nevertheless the tone of this passage corroborates the general impression conveyed by Mr. Frazer's book, that he discovers coherence, consistency, and orderly sequence in a confused medley of savage ways and notions, which can be sorted out into large groups according to a certain order of intellectual developement, but cannot be particularly affiliated or attached, lineally or laterally, in any certain relation to each other. Natural religion and natural society follow certain well-known grooves and shapes drawn by the instinct of self-preservation and moulded by the environment; but within a very wide and elastic range of thought, and of pressure by material circumstances, these lines and forms are constantly changing, and the individual fancies of ignorant men are blown to and fro, like thistledown, with every wind of terror and delusion. There are no perfect patterns or faultless models; there is no rigorous accuracy or logical consistency; the terms have no meaning or place in application to the irrational ideas, the random guesses, the incessantly shifting practices, of superstitious barbarians. What are, in sober earnest, the true and useful ideas on such subjects as

are dealt with in the 'Golden Bough,' that we owe to our savage forefathers, 'whose patient thought and active exer-'tions have largely made us what we are'? They are somewhat difficult to specify; and, even if one finds among rude tribes some glimmering of an intellectual conception, it is not easy to decide how they came by it. The note of the primitive mind is amazing inaccuracy, coupled with wonderful receptivity; the savage will adopt any new fable or ritual that strikes his fancy; he will represent a custom picked up last year as a rite of hoar antiquity; he will produce impromptu a legend or sacred ordinance to satisfy an inquirer about the origin of worship or caste rules; he borrows readily from the latest, as well as the earliest, faith or liturgy. Who shall decide what we owe to the savage, or how much the modern savage (of whom alone we know anything accurately) owes to the reflex action of the loftiest upon the lowest religious ideas, wherever there is possibility of commixture? Mr. Frazer tells us that 'Buddhist animism is 'not a philosophical theory; it is *simply* a common savage 'dogma incorporated in the system of a historical religion. 'To suppose that the theories of animism and transmigra-'tion current among rude peoples of Asia are derived from 'Buddhism is to reverse the facts. Buddhism in this 'respect borrowed from savagery, not savagery from Bud-'dhism.' This passage exemplifies a tendency in the 'Golden Bough' not only to prefer elaborate to simple explanations, but, conversely, to treat as simple and demonstrable a point which is complicated and exceedingly debateable. Does Mr. Frazer suppose that the powerfully organised religions which have spead over Asia during the last two thousand years have not influenced enormously the petty superstitions within their range, or that the savage who dreams about losing his soul is necessarily the direct intellectual ancestor of the Buddhistic teacher? This may be true in the sense of saying that the inventor of the steam locomotive is the scientific descendant of the first savage who lighted a fire; but such a genealogy is hardly worth formal announcement. In all times and countries there is constant degradation as well as evolution; the upper and nether ideas throw out fresh shoots and intertwine; they become inextricably twisted up and interfused, like the trees, brambles, and creepers of a primeval forest. A highly cultivated faith will run wild; a rough and rudimentary idea will strike root and spread, until the two become mixed and intermarried. We all know that the belief in souls,

ghosts, and spirits has been universal, and has undergone transformation in various stages of physical and metaphysical speculation, and we can see that the rudimentary notion precedes the refined dogma. But any attempt to lay out distinct lines of transmission, or to determine the necessary connexion of particular customs and superstitions, is, in our opinion, a very hazardous and mostly unprofitable undertaking.

Among very rude and wild tribes there prevails the very intelligibly utilitarian institution of putting to death persons that have become decrepit or sickly. When a chief is old and weak, he is killed in order to make room for a vigorous successor; and since a chief or king is often, as we have seen, also a divine incarnation, this is equivalent to slaying a man-god. Mr. Frazer considers that in many parts of the world the principal object was not so much to slay an impotent ruler as to get rid of a debilitated divinity; that the god was systematically killed with the object of causing the divine power or spirit to pass into another receptacle before it could be affected by decay or disease.

'The divine life, incarnate in a material and mortal body, is liable to be tainted and corrupted by the weakness of the frail medium in which it is for a time enshrined; and if it is to be saved from the increasing enfeeblement which it must necessarily share with its human incarnation it must be detached from him as soon as he exhibits signs of decay, in order to be transferred to a vigorous successor. . . . The killing of the god is, therefore, only a necessary step to his revival or resurrection in a better form.'

The analogy upon which his argument rests is bold, for the conjecture that the god was killed as a god lacks the support of evidence; but the deductions made by our author are so important and curious that the hypothesis may stand provisionally. His view is that as manners became softer, and bodily vigour grew less essential to rulership, the custom of king-killing and god-killing passed slowly through the usual fictitious stages into desuetude—a mock king was sacrificed, or some unlucky slave, or child, or prisoner suffered vicariously, and thus arose gradually the custom of human and animal immolation; the creature that was first killed as a god was latterly offered to a god. At a Babylonian festival a prisoner was dressed in royal robes, and treated for five days as a prince, being even allowed to enjoy the king's concubines before his execution—a fact which Mr. Frazer takes to be decisive against the commonplace supposition that this was merely a brutal jest or pageant. We believe that

a few unfortunate concubines would have been of no account at all for the due performance of a popular Babylonian masquerade, which might just as well mimic earthly kingship as symbolise divine mysteries. However this may be, Mr. Frazer believes that kings were formerly sacrificed as gods, that they contrived to substitute other victims—their sons, or the sons of others, or a fictitious king—and that from this barbarous rite came the custom of sacrificing the first-born, and the wholesale immolation of children practised at Carthage, with other ulterior ramifications of the sacrificial idea that are followed up later in the book.

But how does this hypothesis bear upon the killing of the Arician priest in particular? The reply is that he was King of the Wood, an incarnation of the spirit of vegetation, who must have been powerful over fruit and crops, whose precious life was probably hedged in by an elaborate system of Taboo, and whose spirit or soul it was essential to transfer in unabated vigour to each human successor. He was accordingly subjected to a chronic struggle for existence; so long as he could beat off his assailants, his vigour proved itself; if he were killed he was losing strength, and it was time for a new god-man to take office. It is somewhat hard to reconcile the idea of Taboo with a custom which left the sacred personage exposed to the perilous necessity of fighting for his life against all comers; and we must also take leave to doubt whether the most stupid savage would fail to perceive that, since the fiercest warrior may be taken and slain unawares by a very puny enemy, the custom of Nemi would by no means fulfil the purpose here suggested of securing a continuous supply of robust incarnations. But Mr. Frazer goes on to guess that the wood-king was formerly put to death at the expiry of a set term, and as he proposes to confirm this conjecture by evidence taken from the rural festivals of the peasantry, we perceive that he has skilfully operated one of his nimble transitions to a fresh department of folklore. Then follow a great number of very quaint and amusing descriptions of picturesque rustic ceremonies and games surviving among the outlying country folk, which are undoubtedly excellent evidence that the antique pagan superstitions hold ground tenaciously in remote districts, and which also prove abundantly that the religion of primitive man is founded on an imitation and imagery of the course of nature. Now the supreme fact in nature is the eternal succession of birth and death, of verdure and

decay, of reaping and sowing, of destruction for the purpose of reproduction. In these phenomena are found the roots of all natural religion; and even the gods are only respected as agencies for the control of the blind natural forces against which man is constantly striving. No wonder, then, if we find running through so many agricultural feasts and rough dramatic ceremonies a strain of alternate rejoicing and lamenting, of worshipping the god in effigy and then dooming him to death, of adoring queer emblematic figures which are afterwards led out to mimic execution, sacrificed, buried, and mourned over. The allegory is clear enough; it pervades all the philosophy and poetry of the earliest races—the course and constitution of nature lie at the base of some of the loftiest religions, whose summits are lost in metaphysics. If one should ask, Why kill the personages who in these pageants symbolise the outburst of flower or leaf? Mr. Frazer will explain that here we may discover the germ of the custom of god-killing; for as in nature all things must die in order to spring up again, so the spirit of plants or trees is killed in imitation of nature's law, and eventually the animal or human being that personates or embodies the spirit comes to be periodically slain in order that the divine element may revive and flourish in a fresh incarnation.

What are we to say in regard to this exceedingly interesting and clever speculation, which enables Mr. Frazer to set out once again upon his flight over a new and still more extensive field of folk custom, allegory, myth, and mystery plays? Is the mock trial and execution of Jack-in-the-green really a relic of the symbolic slaying of a tree spirit, and are all the innumerable commemorative funerals, lamentations, burials in effigy, and other forms of mortuary rite, the wailing for dead heroes or demigods, to be counted as variously modified traditions of the idea of killing the nature gods in order to revive them? The idea of representing the harvest and the fall of the leaf under the figure of human death and interment is easily intelligible as one of the sources of these customs; but, setting theories aside, why should these funeral ceremonies be generally allegorical, and why insist on a remote figurative interpretation of a whole class of usages that reflect the deepest feelings of ordinary humanity? It is, at any rate, probable that these legends and traditions are of a very complex origin, have become mixed up and entangled with a variety of dimly remembered fasts and diverse superstitions,

Under the names of Osiris, Adonis, Thammuz, Attis, and Dionysus, various nations of antiquity represented, Mr. Frazer tells us, the decay and revival of vegetation. We have no quarrel with a moderate use of this interpretation; but it has no more right to a monopoly of the sources of mythology than other equally ambitious theories; and we certainly decline to admit, with Mr. Frazer, that all these ceremonies have grown up exclusively out of a single idea or allegory. The five personages mentioned are all supposed by tradition to be mourned on account of violent or untimely death; and men who have so died have been deified and worshipped throughout many centuries all over the world. There are very few allegories that have taken possession of man's imagination which have not either gathered round some human personality, or been stiffened by the introduction of some historical substance; while, on the other hand, the biographies of genuine heroes and saints are constantly found overgrown and interlaced with obvious nature myths. That a divine hero, Adonis or Attis, may have originally been a vegetable spirit is, of course, possible; it is equally possible that his legend may have derived from some locally famous person, whose life and death struck the popular imagination, and whose story has now become entirely wrapped up in parasitical superstitions. In all forms of adoration and ceremonials, plants and flowers, leaves and garlands, occupy a prominent place; they are scattered in a stream to the river god, they are used to crown a fetish, to adorn a temple or an altar, they are strewn in churches and cemeteries. From time immemorial the fruits of the field, the vineyard, and the garden have been worshipped, personified, allegorised, or offered to the invisible giver and protector of them. We may either conclude broadly that these are signs and expressions of a natural and reasonable impulse or taste, blending the wish to please or propitiate with some faint reminiscence of the transitory bloom of all nature, which has taken various shapes at different stages of the religious evolution. Or we may go farther and string together in one connected series all these manifestations of the same idea or ceremony, asserting that, because they have a certain resemblance, therefore they are actually in the relation of ancestors and descendants, that the latest customs are lineally connected with the eldest. The following citation from the 'Golden Bough' shows how this latter doctrine may be handled so as to sweep within the circle of common

affinity all customs that have even a shadow of similitude:—

'At the approach of Easter, Sicilian women sow wheat, lentils, and canary seed in plates, which are kept in the dark and watered every two days. The plants soon shoot up; the stalks are tied together with red ribbons; and the plates containing them are placed on the sepulchres, which, with the effigies of the dead Christ, are made up in Roman Catholic and Greek churches on Good Friday, just as the gardens of Adonis were placed on the grave of the dead Adonis. *The whole custom—sepulchres as well as sprouting grain—is probably nothing but a continuation, under a different name, of the Adonis worship.*'

The sentence that we have italicised strikes the keynote of Mr. Frazer's whole method of harmonising interpretation. If he can find customs that resemble each other by any note, or outward accordance, he infers that they are, so to speak, blood relations; he presses into the service of the spiritual or imaginative order of association the analogy of natural propagation and the family tree, so that all usages having some common feature or chance likeness are grouped together as allied species. But since certain very simple and obviously appropriate practices, like the use of flowers, or of water, or of decorated images, characterise every phase of religious worship, the sources out of which one may draw similitudes, survivals, and variants of the same idea or usage are quite inexhaustible; they may be picked out of the heap and adapted to fit into any theory whatever. Mr. Frazer perceives this clearly enough when he is combating rival hypotheses, such as the opinion of Renouf that Isis was the dawn, and Tiele's view that Osiris is the sun, because he is said to glitter on the horizon and send out rays of light, and for other reasons which Mr. Frazer justly calls bad. Yet Mr. Frazer's reasons for holding both Isis and Osiris to have been corn spirits are of much the same texture. Manetho tells us that the Egyptians used to burn red-haired men and scatter their ashes with winnowing fans; whence our author conjectures that these sacrifices were intended to promote the growth of crops, and the red-haired victims 'were perhaps selected as best fitted to represent 'the spirit of the golden grain.' Again, if Osiris is sometimes depicted on the monuments as black, and still more commonly as green, we are reminded that a corn god may be conceived as black while the seed is under ground, and green after it has sprouted. An adversary might observe that it is scarcely possible to spin out a finer web of

not impossibly associated ideas, or to colour an argument with a lighter tincture of superficial resemblance. We do not give these instances as fair samples of the proofs on which our author mainly relies, but as illustrating his somewhat arbitrary habit of forcing into the ranks of his own army a great multitude of petty details which might just as well have served any other theory whatever. If on such evidence a god or hero is to be reduced to an incarnate vegetable, or corn spirit, there is but little security for the most highly placed and substantial personalities.

With Demeter and Dionysus our author's work is easy. They are the impersonal creations of the divine myth, and dissolve readily into spirits of the cornfield and the vineyard. That Dionysus was also worshipped in the form of a bull and of a goat, that these animals were also sacrificed to him; that a bull was torn to pieces before him because the god had been slain by a bull, and that the goat was sacrificed because it injured the vine—these are all facts to which Mr. Frazer rightly points as indicating a confusion of ideas and legends, and of which he gives some very subtle and sagacious interpretations. The plants and animals were, he believes, first killed as the embodiments of deities or spirits whose death was necessary, as has been already shown, for vigorous resurrection; and latterly they became propitiatory offerings to the anthropomorphic god; so, when the earlier goat divinity is sacrificed to the full-fledged Bacchus, the god is thus slain on his own altar, and is sacramentally devoured by his worshippers. This view seems to us novel, remarkable, and well worked out in the particular case of Dionysus; although we hesitate to follow Mr. Frazer upon the wider ground of his conjecture that 'whenever a god 'is described as the eater of a particular animal, the animal 'in question is nothing but the god himself,' and that human sacrifice arose out of the same complication of ideas. According to this view the human victim merely suffered vicariously for the incarnate divinity, being killed on the altar in commemoration and imitation of the god's annual death, which, in its turn, is a ceremony traceable, through the rites in mimicry of corn-reaping, down to the birth and death of vegetation, the alternation of spring and summer, and the universal analogy of all-producing and all-wasting nature. And so we find strung together, on a somewhat fantastic and loosely weaved pattern or woof, such distant and differing customs as the song of Linus (a lamentation for the dead corn spirit), the mysteries of Osiris, the bloody

human sacrifices of Mexico and the Indian Khonds, the killing of old men, old kings, old gods, in various parts of the world, the harvest home of Devonshire reapers, the crying of the Neck, and a chance medley of fables, plays, and pastimes still surviving among the country folk in France, Germany, or Russia. They are all given their appointed places in the serial developement and radiation of one comprehensive idea; they signify and preserve the universal impression made on the primitive imagination by the endless iteration of birth and death, the perishing and resurrection of all animate things.

Upon this theme Mr. Frazer enlarges throughout his second volume, showing how the spirit of vegetation passes into the bodies of animals and of men; how beasts and human beings are slain as gods, adored as divinities, become burnt offerings, scapegoats, ancestral totems, demons, divine kings and pontiffs, accursed men like Jonah, devils incarnate, and beneficent deities. In short, his book supplies us with an almost complete hypothetical sketch of the natural philosophy of religion, and explains its morphology by reference to the persistence under incessant transformation of one or two primordial conceptions. The scheme is elaborated with much skill and labour; the whole work is ornamented with picturesque detail; and it is easy to understand the attraction of a scheme which takes in every side of this immense subject, and enables the writer to range over heaven and earth for myths, legends, rites, customs, and supernaturalism, in every phase or shape, in support of his arguments. He has but to cast his net into the waters of folklore, it is sure to bring him a miraculous draught of mingled fact and fiction, none of which is so intractable but that some part of it can be joined into the composition of so elastic a theory. It is no wonder if, under these circumstances, Mr. Frazer should have yielded to the temptation that seems to beset all comparative mythologists, and should have been seduced by the numerical strength and embarrassing wealth of his materials into the errors of overrunning more territory than he can possibly hold, of undertaking to build up his vast hypothesis on a somewhat extravagant scale. The profusion of information in the matter of the multitudinous superstitions of mankind, past and present, which is in these days accessible to the diligent reader, offers an irresistible enticement to the modern spirit of inquisitive research and scientific classification. A man feels uneasy until he has sorted out and

catalogued all this jumble of disparate notions and customs; until he has brought it into some kind of order similar to that which now rules in the departments of physical research; and human fancy is so prolific, so mutable, and so boundless, that its products can be made to assume numberless shapes, and every kind of meaning can be extracted from them. When you have selected the specimens wanted for your religious mosaic, when you have put together a map of the spiritual world after your own notion of such geography, no one can verify any mistake, or prove that either your premiss or your processes are demonstrably wrong. No one can pretend to detect fatal flaws in systems purporting to explain the obscure and haphazard correlations of these mental phenomena, or to exhibit the connexion between funeral wreaths and the worship of a flower sprite; no one can positively deny, on evolutionary principles, that the *Kurioktonia* of our loftiest theology may be allied in some circuitous manner with the harvest ceremonies that from remote antiquity have symbolised the death of the cornstalks and the bleeding of the grape. But to many of those who have been accustomed to examine the generation and growth of divine things, and who have compared what can be seen with what can be read, the enterprise of linking together in a chain of necessary causative or biological series the forms and species of religious beliefs separated by vast intervals of space and time, must appear to need great hardihood of imagination. Without doubt, their morphology can be described in broad outline, a task that has already been accomplished by such writers as Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. E. B. Tyler, whose profound yet moderate generalisations divide and subdivide the field of speculation into manageable areas, lay bare its main stratification, and distinguish the stages to which the chief ideas and practices belong. The connexion between savage animism, the worship of trees, animals, ghosts, and gods, has long been observed; the main fountains and currents of evolutionary symbolism and allegory, which are fed from manifold tributaries, have long been searched out; the secrets of mythology have been unlocked with many keys, and have been fully deciphered by none. Mr. Frazer has amassed much valuable evidence bearing in different ways on these general conclusions; he has used it to throw some light on certain recondite and mysterious corners of superstition, and he has hit off one or two promising clues that lead some way into the labyrinth; but he presses his

points too far; he makes too much play with fanciful resemblances, and he builds too much upon temerarious inference and guesswork. Many of his conjectures are remarkably suggestive and fairly credible; but they often proceed out of facts which might be adapted to rival hypotheses, or which are susceptible of plainer or more direct explanations. A sleeping girl in a pastoral play may typify the winter, and her awakening may signify the spring; but she might, with little less probability, be found to symbolise the sunset and the dawn; for, in fact, the tracing of all myths and rituals to the seasons is merely a varied repetition of the solar and lunar theories, of the primordial observation and worship of the cardinal phenomena which regulate heat and cold, and the divisions of time.

Mr. Frazer undertakes to lay down certain axioms in regard to the relation of myth to custom. 'No people,' he writes, 'ever observed a custom because a mythical being 'was said to have acted in a certain way. But, on the 'contrary, all peoples have invented myths to explain why 'they observed certain customs.' It is unsafe for the most industrious mythologist to frame rules which pre-suppose universal knowledge and unerring intuitionupon such a question as the myths of all nations; and, as a matter of evidence, if this means that a story or event upon which a custom is traditionally founded is invariably an invention to explain that custom in a popular way, the contention is not historically maintainable. On the contrary, whenever we examine the developement of any religion or sect whose origin is more or less authentically known, we find that the ritual, liturgy, and tradition undoubtedly rest upon at least a nucleus of genuine fact; insomuch that hardly a single rite or religious custom purporting to celebrate important events or memorable scenes can be shown to be founded entirely on myth; the fasts, festivals, and essential ceremonies invariably run back to something real, whatever may have been the subsequent distortion or disguise. The passion plays still existing among Christians and Mahommedans, the memorial services, the annual shows or processions, can all be traced back to a discoverable origin; they have their roots in some remarkable occurrence, in some great political or religious triumph or catastrophe. Mysterious meanings, allegorical readings, and miraculous indications, are commonly superadded; but, so far as we can analyse with certainty the elements out of which religious traditions are

composed, an element of truth and reality can always be extracted. Why, then, should all the legends and ancient stories of gods and heroes, which Mr. Frazer would melt down into pure nature-worship and instinctive superstition, be no more than pure fables invented to account for the custom of propitiating a corn spirit; of slaying and adoring the divine embodiments of vegetation; of representing dramatically the flowering and the falling of the leaf or the fruit? And is not our author committing an error, too common among comparative mythologists, when he spoils an interesting theory by straining it; when he provokes criticism by endeavouring to establish a monopoly of inspiration on the subject of the right meaning of myths, and tries to explain the whole of them by a method that is at most good for a part? It is impossible not to feel some distrust of a system that might be easily applied, for example, to reduce to a nature myth the annual chairing of Guy Faux; or to show that the lamentations of the Shiah Mussulmans for Hassan and Hosein are, like the weeping for Thammuz, mere anthropomorphic dramatising of our sorrow for nature's decay. These and many other such ceremonies appear to have been only saved from annexation to mythologic cloudland by lying within the region of accepted history; while all that are found beyond that pale seem to be treated as fair prize by victorious analysis.

Mr. Frazer examines the heroic myth of Balder, the Norse hero, who was killed by a mistletoe branch; and he decides that the circumstantiality of the story suggests that it belongs to the extensive class of myths which are invented to explain ritual. His reason is that 'a myth is never so graphic and 'precise in its details as when it is a simple transcript of a 'ceremony which the author of the myth witnessed with 'his eyes'; though upon what evidence he makes this positive assertion we cannot imagine, since it implies an uncommonly large personal acquaintance with the authors of myth. It is equivalent, moreover, to declaring that a story is false in proportion as it pretends to circumstantiality; whereas the true view is that myths, divine and heroic, are often bred in great and manifold luxuriance out of the feats or fortunes of some real personage. However, since the Balder legend has for its two main features the pulling of the mistletoe and the burning of the dead hero, Mr. Frazer dissolves the whole story into a transfiguration of the customs of bonfires and mistletoe worship, which again are merely symbolic, in different ways, of the life and death of the nature gods.

Our objection to this uncompromising method of simplification is that it runs counter to all that we actually know regarding the formation of stories whose gradual growth and accretion can be fairly tested. Wherever a legend can be decomposed, it is almost always found to consist of truth and error, things credible and incredible, rudimentary and recent ideas, inextricably mixed and pounded together; it is a complex, not a simple organism.

Let us take a legend which, if it had belonged to prehistoric times, would undoubtedly have lent itself to the process employed in the 'Golden Bough' for the precipitation of primeval nature worship out of the vaporous figures and fantastic cloud scenery of a divine myth—the story of the martyrdom of St. Denis, as it is analysed by M. Jean Réville in an essay upon the complexity of myths. The official martyrology records no more than the ordinary account of his decapitation; the popular legend adds that the martyred saint walked down the hill of Montmartre carrying his head in his hand, and was ultimately buried in a field which thenceforward became marvellously fertile. Gregory of Tours tells us that Bishop Dionysius, sent from Rome to evangelise the Parisians, was put to death by the Roman officers nearly three centuries before the date at which he wrote. But the name Dionysius at once starts us on the scent of a nature myth, since Dionysus was incontestably the god of vintages, and Mr. Frazer has triumphantly proved him to have been a vegetable deity, whose violent death typified the harvest, and whose blood was merely the spirit of wine. And when we learn that the Emperor Probus revived the culture of the vine in Central Gaul about the time of the saint's martyrdom, the scent becomes much stronger, until our myth is run finally to ground and unearthed by the remarkable coincidence that St. Denis suffered on October 7, the very day, according to M. Réville,* on which the vintage festival was celebrated by the pagan Parisian. After this we hardly care to be told that a head without a body is often found among the emblems on the sacrificial vessels used in the cult of Dionysus; for the case is already clearer than any of those cited in the 'Golden Bough,' and there can be no doubt whatever that St. Denis is a tree-spirit canonised. He is crusted over with miracles and anachronism; he is identified with Denys the Areopagite, whom Paul converted at Athens; he bears the marks of

* Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, vol. xiii. 1886.

various phases of belief and ritual, pagan and Christian; the only certain thing, according to our author's method, would be that he never existed. He is a myth, first invented to substantiate a natural allegory, then to justify a curious rite; and latterly he passed from the condition of an abstract, pagan, departmental nature god to the character of a wonder-working saint. The process of transition can be pursued and demonstrated by showing that similar ideas and customs, the worship of the vine, the shedding of blood, the decapitation of plants, the apotheosis of the grape deity, the conversion of heathen feasts into Christian holidays, are known to have prevailed commonly throughout Europe and elsewhere, and can be arranged in the order of their affiliation.

Notwithstanding this convincing demonstration, we do not feel sure that Mr. Frazer would sacrifice St. Denis to his theory; for the solid reason that continuous tradition and strong probability weigh heavily in favour of a real martyrdom having taken place. But why, then, must we ask, does he throw such weight, in constructing his scheme of interpretation, upon similar coincidences and analogies that he detects in other legends and customary observances, merely because in these cases the real *origines sacræ* can never be verified? The truth is that the difficulty, in the greater number of customs and sacred narratives, of distinguishing germs of fact among masses of mere imaginary taletelling and random fables, founded upon natural phenomena, is insuperable. Where we find in existence an unmeaning, irrational usage, it has most probably absorbed or arisen out of the universal instinct which impels men to adore the hidden powers that bring to life or to death; but to what extent this element is interspersed in any particular legend or myth, god or ritual, is too uncertain for the establishment upon any such basis of a connected system of evolution.

Mr. Frazer's book is always so amusing, and often so instructive, that we are reluctant to press adverse criticism too closely; but we must again warn him against incautious and unverifiable generalisations. Among the marks of a primitive religion he notes the following:

'(1) No special class of persons is set apart for the performance of the rites; in other words, there are no priests. The rites may be performed by anyone, as occasion demands.

'(2) No special places are set apart for the performance of the rites; in other words, there are no temples. The rites may be performed anywhere, as occasion demands.

'(3) Spirits, not gods, are recognised.'

Now it is certain that man in a state of rude savagery has neither priesthood nor temple; neither, indeed, has he any settled institutions whatever; but it is equally certain that these marks would serve to denote the latest as well as the earliest forms of worship, such as Quakerism, Mormonism, and some of the most refined spiritualisms of Asia and America. The recognition of spirits instead of gods is also a characteristic of the modern even more than of the primitive physiology, for savages draw no such fine distinctions; and, in short, it is in the highest mind more than in the lowest scale of intellectual belief that we must look for the feeling which dispenses with Levites, holy places, and prefers unsubstantial or impersonal conceptions of divinity. But, let us see how their author employs his definitions.

'Judged by these tests, the spring and harvest customs of our European peasantry deserve to rank as primitive. For no special class of persons and no special places are set apart exclusively for their performance; they may be performed by anyone, master or man, mistress or maid, boy or girl; they are practised, not in temples or churches, but in the woods and meadows, beside brooks, in barns, or harvest fields and cottage floors. The supernatural beings whose existence is taken for granted in them are spirits rather than deities. . . .'

Other characteristic features that assimilate harvest customs to primitive ritual are enumerated; nor can it be doubted that these customs belong, in the main, to one and the same habit of thought, arising out of similar occupations, interests, and environment. Nevertheless we must point out the extravagance and disregard of economy involved in framing tests which identify a maypole dance with primeval nature worship through the absence in both cases of temple, priest, or god, and in proving on such slender evidence that country games, harvest merrymaking, Christmas revels, village play acting, and all the endless varieties of a mystery and mummery, have their origin in fetichism, animism, the divinisation of plants and beasts, sacrifice, god-killing, and the whole apparatus of primitive thanksgiving or propitiation.

No such circuitous route need be followed for the discovery of the relics of primeval superstition, which lie scattered among these queer games and outlandish usages. But mythology and pagan ritual preserved a great deal more than this: they reflected and recorded everything that fixed itself deeply on the popular memory and imagination. Every

striking story or surprising occurrence, terrible or pathetic adventures, the deeds of heroes or wizards, the realities of a wild and perilous existence—all these things become raw material for myth, allegory, and tradition, they are worked up into marvellous tales and divine legends, they are acted and depicted with incessant change of name, place, and signification, in the festivals and folklore of the ancient or barbarous world. We apprehend that it is not possible to range into classes and orderly succession of types a miscellany of fanciful tales and usages, ancient and modern, raked together from among Polynesian savages and English harvesters; or to distinguish the products of aboriginal nature worship from the other ingredients, real or fabulous, by which the whole mass of superstitious observances has for ages been leavened.

The propensity to locate a dying soul or fleeting spirit in any thing or creature that appears or flies off at the moment of death or at a funeral is still so common all over the world that it must have powerfully influenced early ideas and customs. It seems to be the original form of that incapacity or desperate refusal to believe in the finality of death, which is the cardinal principle of all religions. Mr. Frazer illustrates the persistency of this conception by some fresh and picturesque examples drawn from his very copious repertory of folk custom, and he proceeds to inquire: 'May 'not this fact (that in peasant lore the corn spirit is very 'commonly conceived and represented in animal form) explain 'the relation in which certain animals stood to the ancient 'deities of vegetation, Dionysus, Demeter, Adonis, Attis, 'and Osiris?'

Upon this text Mr. Frazer enlarges with much skill and sympathetic appreciation of primitive modes of thought. He is occasionally at unnecessary pains to warn us that the early pagan mind was not troubled with inconsistencies, and so that a god of vegetation may, when promoted to be a goat, feed upon the vegetation he personified, the truth being that consistency is a thing totally unknown to such people; and some of his examples belong rather to well-known classes of religious phenomena than to the particular hypothesis which he employs them to support. He must be aware, also, that the immense storehouse of superstitious usages and fables current in heathendom or among the peasantry will provide hints and conjectures in abundance for any theory; it is like a warehouse of ready-made shoes, which fit any foot tolerably, but none precisely. Not-

withstanding some blemishes, he has unquestionably done good work in marking out one of the many lines of transformation which connect by an ascending gradient the celebration of seasonal changes, through the worship of fruits and plants, with zoolatry and the anthropomorphic divinities. He shows the likelihood that sacred animals were sometimes, among agricultural folk, the embodiments of corn spirits, that the animal may have become confounded with an anthropomorphic god, and that sacrifice may have grown first out of the custom of killing your god as you cut your corn, and latterly out of sacramental feasts and the sharing of food between the god and his worshippers. All these apparently discordant ideas very possibly became general and blended in the ever-burning furnace of human credulity and imagination; they melted into different combinations according to needs and circumstances; so that some germ of the highest religious mystery may possibly be latent in the lowest fetichism, and cannibalism may have a remote connexion with a metaphysical dogma. But our readers need hardly be cautioned against the natural attractiveness of far-ranging adventurous analogy, or against the fallacy of assuming, because all religious ideas and practices have had similar motives and some generic resemblance, therefore they are genealogically akin.

The dissertation broadens out again in the second volume into such ample fields as the prevalence of animal worship and totemism, pastoral sacraments, whether of first fruits or animals, and all the contradictory and circular trains of savage reasoning which lead men to adore what they have killed and kill what they have adored. It is in these tangled by-paths that he delights to follow the wandering savage mind, though occasionally he does not disdain the straight and more prosaic high road which directly connects a custom or worship with the nearest motive of expediency. To the savage a fierce animal is unquestionably a demoniac being, probably possessed by some malignant ghost; the bear, for example, is worshipped and honoured, yet he is hunted and killed for his flesh and skin; but the crocodile, on the other hand, is worshipped and not killed, seeing that he is not worth eating. All this is easily reconcilable with commonplace notions of utility, which is a prolific mother of religious rite and usage, and Mr. Frazer by no means excludes her influence, in a secondary degree.

'On the principles of his rude philosophy the savage who slays an animal believes himself exposed to the vengeance of either its disembodied spirit or of all the other animals of the same species, whom he considers as knit together, like men, by the ties of kin and the obligations of the blood feud, and therefore as bound to resent the injury done to one of their number. Accordingly the savage makes it a rule to spare the life of those animals which he has no pressing motive for killing. Crocodiles are of this sort.'

They are only killed in retaliation for the slaughter of men by crocodiles; and the same *lex talionis* governs the relations of certain tribes with tigers and rattle-snakes, which are merely killed by men in self-defence or in revenge. Here we are on a very intelligible and practical ground; we might, indeed, extend the deduction to include the habits of civilised folk, who do not care to kill uneatable animals unless they are noxious or troublesome, and whose practice in this respect might be described as the perpetuation of a blood feud, and shown to descend lineally from the figments of their remotest ancestors.

We give another quotation in the same vein of refreshing utilitarianism:—

'Thus the primitive worship of animals assumes two forms, which are in some respects the converse of each other. On the one hand animals are respected, which are therefore neither killed nor eaten. Totemism is a form of this worship, if worship it can be called; but it is not the only form, for we have seen that dangerous and useless animals, like the crocodile, are commonly revered and spared by men who do not regard the animal as their totem. *In both forms of worship the animal is revered on account of some benefit, positive or negative, which the savage hopes to receive from it.* In the former worship the benefit comes either in the positive form of protection, advice, and help which the animal affords the man, or in the negative one of abstinence from injuries which it is in the power of the animal to inflict. In the latter worship the benefit takes the material form of the animal's flesh and skin.'

Here, then, we have in a nutshell the philosophy of natural religion, the general motive underlying both the propitiation and the destruction of useful and terrible animals; and some might be disposed to be satisfied with this fundamental explanation of the universal practice of zoolatry. We have before our eyes, in the beliefs and usages of all savage and semi-barbarous races, and in the superstitions running among the higher nations, abundant illustrations of this sentiment in every stage of vagrant metamorphosis; the animistic feeling, which invests everything with a soul, the dread of queer appearances and

invisible forces, are ever present and operative; it is not difficult to connect the leading expressions of instinctive hopes and fears in an ascending series of causation and developement. In a superstitious atmosphere, with this all-pervading habit of deification, any incident, apparition, or unintelligible movement will be assimilated into and accounted for by these paramount formative tendencies of the savage imagination, directed by inclination or aversion, and shaped by surrounding circumstance.

But is it possible to get beyond these broad conclusions upon the general conditions and tendencies of primitive beliefs, and to treat the swarming brood of superstitious folly, the vague delusions, as one treats the products of the material world, arranging them in species and genera? In this direction we think that Mr. Frazer attempts too much, that he relies too confidently on shades of resemblance, which may or may not be quite superficial. If we understand him correctly, he would trace all sacramental offerings and the religious sharing of food to the practice of god-killing, and in this context he describes what he terms the form of communion with the sacred snake, as observed by a tribe in the Punjab. A basin of curds is reverentially offered at the tomb of a counterfeit snake; after which the food is divided among children; it is a bit of half-serious mummery that any child might have invented. Mr. Frazer finds that ceremonies closely analogous to this Indian worship of the snake have survived in Europe; the best known example being the hunting of the wren, where the wren is hunted, killed, and solemnly paraded about from door to door, as the mock snake is carried about in India; while another example is drawn from St. Kilda, where the cowherds go about with one of them wrapped in a cowhide, distributing bits of the hide, as the wren's feathers are given out in the Isle of Man.

'In the hunting of the wren, and the procession with the man clad in a cowskin, there is nothing to show that the customs in question have any relation to agriculture. So far as appears, they may date from the pre-agricultural era, when animals were revered as divine in themselves, not merely as divine because they embodied the corn spirit; and the analogy of the Gilyah procession of the bear, and the Indian procession of the snake, is in favour of assigning the corresponding European customs to this very early date. On the other hand, there are certain European processions of animals, or of men disguised as animals, which may possibly be purely agricultural in their origin. . . . The animals may have been from the first nothing but representatives of the corn spirit in animal shape. . . . But the question is an obscure and difficult one, and cannot be here discussed.'

There seems to be room here for wholesome scepticism, and for the objection that our author is dealing too seriously and systematically with what may be no more than the ordinary rustic propensity for horseplay, hunting, and dressing up in the spoils or symbols of animals. Whether ideas of deeper significance and divine import underlie and inspire this propensity is a question which it is but fair to leave for final determination by readers of the book itself, since neither the evidence nor the argument could be summarised to the author's satisfaction in a review.

Mr. Frazer proceeds to survey another aspect of human sacrifice viewed as the developement of god-killing. The belief that human suffering and misfortune, pain and plagues, hail and tempest, can be averted or stopped by shifting the burden upon some other person or thing, has prevailed everywhere; the idea of the transferability of ills may be hunted all over the world and unearthed, not only in the remotest corners of savagery, but in the profound recesses of higher tradition. The devices for passing on an epidemic, or expelling its cause by symbolically driving it out in some visible shape, are obviously represented in exorcism, witchcraft, devil-dancing, charms, disease-boats, scapegoats, Jonahs, and a legion of superstitious practices, of which sin-offerings and sin-eating are the later moral presentations. Among barbarous nations the very natural desire to kill rather than be killed, to revenge evil upon its supposed author, and to propitiate angry divinities, has led to human sacrifice, mysterious assassinations, sorcery and witch-torture, bloody African massacres, and every variety of attempts at atonement and vicarious immolation. It can therefore be understood that so industrious a collector as Mr. Frazer has easily brought together an abundant miscellany of customs appertaining to this category; and this he employs in a manner that is undoubtedly interesting, although it exhibits the defects inherent, to our mind, in his general method. The sacrifices for the expulsion of evil were often annual, and corresponded with seasonal changes; the victims were frequently divine animals, divine men, or, what is the same thing, gods.

[1] If we ask why a dying god should be selected to take upon himself and carry away the sins and sorrows of the people, it may be suggested that in the practice of using the divinity as a scapegoat we have a combination of two customs, which were at one time distinct and independent. On the one hand we have seen that it has been customary to kill the human or animal god in order to save his divine

life from being weakened by the inroads of age; on the other, that it has been customary to have a general expulsion of evils and sin once a year. Now, if it occurred to people to combine these two customs, the result would be the employment of the dying god as a scapegoat.'

Moreover, it appears that in Greece certain outcasts and deformed persons were maintained at the public expense for sacrifice on extraordinary occasions of public calamity, and that before death they were sometimes beaten with branches of wild trees in such a manner as to convince Mr. Frazer that the object was to release the divine victim's reproductive energies from any magical restraint or spell; while in Athens the annual sacrifice was at a harvest festival. The human scapegoat is therefore recognised as a representative of the creative and fertilising god of vegetation—

'annually slain for the purpose . . . of maintaining the divine life in perpetual vigour, untainted by the weakness of age, and before he was put to death it was not unnatural to stimulate his reproductive powers, in order that these might be transmitted in full activity to his successor, the new god or new embodiment of the old god, who was doubtless supposed immediately to take the place of the one slain.'

Two ideas, according to this theory, became blended and confused in the custom of human sacrifice—the idea of slaying the embodied divinity in the shape of a substitute, and the notion of sacrificing one person who should bear the sufferings or sins of an afflicted community. So far as both these ideas belong to the general conception of vicarious propitiation as one main source of sacrificial rites, Mr. Frazer's suggestion is within the limits of fair conjecture, and is by no means to be dismissed without respectful consideration. We shall be much more inclined to object to his characteristic attempt to lay undue stress upon minor details and accessories, such as the scourging of the Greek victims with certain plants (which he compares with the modern Russian practice of beating truant children with palm branches on Palm Sunday), in order that he may hook together all customs in which trees, beating, and sacrifice have any kind of share, and group them in aggregate illustration of his theory regarding the Arician cult. According to that theory, it will be remembered, the Nemi priest was slain as a representative of the wood spirit; and in the absence of any evidence that the custom of killing embodied deities was known among the Latin or Greek races, Mr. Frazer falls back upon his conjecture that the human scapegoat, who was occasionally honoured and sometimes whipped with particular twigs

before sacrifice, may have been regarded by the nations of classic antiquity as an incarnate deity, originally a god of vegetation. At all events, if in Italy the man-god was not slain, in Mexico he was unquestionably sacrificed, 'by 'a people whose level of culture was probably not inferior, 'if not distinctly superior, to that occupied by the Italian 'races at the early period to which the origin of the Arician 'priesthood must be referred.' 'The positive and indubitable 'evidence of the prevalence of such sacrifices in one part 'of the world may reasonably be allowed to strengthen 'the probability of their prevalence in places for which the 'evidence is less full and trustworthy.'

The argument rests upon a very remote analogy, and for so delicate a tissue it seems to us perilously strained. We must remind its author that a cobweb is not made stronger by the multiplicity of gossamer threads, and that a cord with so many weak strands and splices is no safe binding for a large faggot of facts. But it should be added that Mr. Frazer himself modestly leaves to the judgement of his readers the question whether his points have, on the whole, been adequately made out.

Returning, in the last chapter of the book, to the Arician cult, we have still to enquire, 'What was the Golden Bough, 'and why had each candidate to pluck it before he could 'slay the priest?' Now it is manifest that the replies to these questions must be founded on what, by a stretch of language, may be termed circumstantial evidence, for of what actually took place in the grove of Nemi we have not, and cannot possibly obtain, any direct knowledge; we are indeed assuming, upon the merest shadow of a tradition, that the bough was golden. Undismayed by these preliminary difficulties, Mr. Frazer embarks upon a fresh circumnavigation of the mythologic world, and ransacks the folklore of many countries and races in his search for specimens of analogous stories or beliefs.

The custom of fire-festivals is, or has been, universal among all pagan nations, and survives in the bonfires at Hallow E'en and Christmas of our own days, while the jumping over and through the fires and the burning of effigies preserve unmistakeable traces of heathen rites. This leads us by an easy transition to the old Celtic sacrifices, the Druids, the oak worship and the mistletoe; in fact, to all customs in which either fire, tree worship, the adoration of the sun, torch processions, or the gathering of magic plants, can be detected as a principal or subordinate feature. The list is

long and varied; but our readers will have perceived that Mr. Frazer, after some widely ranging and circular flights, is gradually closing in upon his points of demonstration. Wood and fire suggest a Golden Bough; the effigies burned in the bonfire at spring and midsummer are the images of the spirit of vegetation; the customs of leaping over and driving cattle through the fire are intended to secure for man and beast a share of the sun's vital energy and to purify them from evil influence. And although 'the custom 'of burning a beneficent god is too foreign to later methods 'of thought to escape misinterpretation,' yet we are scarcely permitted to doubt the true character of the effigy when it is tied to a living tree and bound with it; and the myth of Balder, who was killed by a mistletoe and then burnt on a pyre, is taken as showing the connexion of the two ideas; since Balder is the mythical type of the victim burnt at fire-festivals, and was therefore a spirit of vegetation. If, as is probable, this victim represented a sacred tree, then in ancient Europe that tree must have been the oak, and the mistletoe was conceived as the seat of life in the oak. Hence, when the tree god had to be killed, it was first necessary to tear out his life by breaking off the mistletoe, so that when the spirit of the oak became embodied in a man, the fancied necessity of first breaking the sacred bough still survived, and thus became one of the conditions of the combat for the Arician priesthood.

Our readers will have anticipated the criticism to which this method of exposition lays itself open. The theory seems to be the outcome of skilful manipulation of a quantity of facts and fancies, selected for the purpose out of an immense heap of heterogeneous material, which have no necessary connexion or intrinsic probability of relationship outside the pattern into which they are so dexterously weaved. In other hands they might be so arranged as to exhibit a different design; they are susceptible of various equally coherent inferences and explanations, they lend themselves to other no less reasonable conjectures than those which are liberally employed in the 'Golden Bough' to fill up gaps and fasten them together. It is not at all improbable that the ancient Aryans kindled and fed their sacred fires with the oakwood, if only because the oak has always furnished excellent fuel; but it scarcely follows (though our author has no doubt of it) that the man who was burned in the fire as a personification of the tree spirit could have represented no tree but the oak, if, indeed, he

represented anything beyond a burnt offering to some cruel divinity. And one would have hardly expected among woodland folk the notion that an enormous oak had its life bound up in an unmistakeable parasite that is found on perhaps one out of a hundred equally healthy trees in a forest. Mr. Frazer finds his idea confirmed by the position of the plant on the trunk or branches of the oak, not upon the ground; for primitive man might think that the oak spirit had sought to deposit his life in a secure place, and for this purpose had pitched on the mistletoe, which grows between earth and heaven. And the reasons why the mistletoe bough, which has only berries of a whitish yellow, may have come to be called golden by Virgil, are that the mistletoe was used as a divining rod to discover treasure, and also that, being gathered at the solstices, it may be, like the fern-seed, a supposed emanation of the sun's fire. All this, though supported by many other curious hints and comparisons, is avowedly mere guesswork; insomuch that if the operator had not been working toward a foregone conclusion, we cannot do him the injustice of believing that he would have cared to climb to it by a ladder of which no single step can be relied upon to bear the weight of the ascending argument. Judgement and scientific impartiality are never so necessary as when an investigator is occupied with hypotheses that can never be actually verified; he is unconsciously tempted to select only the facts that suit him, and among many possible explanations he seizes, not that which is plain, unvarnished, and natural, but that which will fit into an awkward angle of his puzzle map, and will best help him forward toward his preconceived solution.

Mr. Frazer gives us, toward the end of his book, an interesting section on Totemism (a subject upon which he has given us separately a valuable study), connecting this curious custom with the world-wide primary belief in a soul that is lost, goes and returns, transmigrates, survives the body's death, feels pain and pleasure, is feared or adored, is blest or curst. His object is to show that Totemism implies a belief in the possibility of depositing one's soul, for safe custody, in some place, animal, or plant, outside one's body; and his view is that the transfer is usually attempted at some critical moment or period, such as puberty. Now we may agree that under the word Totemism may be comprehended many of the conjuring tricks and initiatory ceremonies by which male and female adults are inducted into the tribal circle, and are guarded against the malignant

influences that wage constant war against the health, virility, and bodily functions of pubescent youth; but Mr. Frazer hints at some profound and hitherto unfathomable explanation:—

'It would be easy to prove by a long array of facts that the sexual relation is associated in the primitive mind with many supernatural perils; but the exact nature of the danger apprehended is still obscure. We may hope that a more exact acquaintance with savage modes of thought will in time disclose this central mystery of primitive society, and will thereby furnish the clue, not only to the social aspect of totemism (the prohibition of sexual union between persons of the same totem), but to the origin of the marriage system.'

Mr. Frazer may be right, and there may yet be in the sexual relations of savages some undiscovered element of illusion and disturbance. But for most of us it is sufficient to take account of the peculiarly capricious, mysterious, and ungovernable passion which inspires these relations, and to remember that in all ages and states of society it has provided endless employment for every species of superstition, for divinities, witches, diabolic agencies, charlatans, and quacks of every degree. It seems very unlikely that by subjecting to minute analysis the infinitely varied symptoms of this universal epidemic, we shall elicit any trustworthy addition to our knowledge of primitive ideas or institutions.

We venture to extend this observation from the particular case to Mr. Frazer's general theory. It is interesting, it is so framed as to embrace a great and valuable collection of striking and freshly gathered facts regarding primitive belief and custom; but we doubt whether the speculation enlarges our horizon beyond the solid landmarks already set up by the leading pioneers in this field of exploration. If, indeed, he had not tethered himself, so to speak, to one point, if he had not imposed on himself the task of showing how all his conclusions in regard to the main currents of primitive superstition bear upon the interpretation of one strange story —the Arician cult—he might have ranged much more freely over the ground which he has chosen, and he would have been less under the temptation of breaking down sound arguments by overriding them. We are indebted to him for a material addition to the museum of folklore, for many useful suggestions and combinations of ideas, and for some very careful excavations into the hidden bases of antique ritual. If he has not succeeded in the very arduous enterprise of co-ordinating all these customs and conceptions into

a system of religious developement, of proving the affinity that he detects between earliest and latest species, and of making different lines of thought meet and become embodied in the Arician cult, it is, we believe, because the trustworthy solution of such problems is impossible. The stratification of religious beliefs is like the geologic record—it attests certain great periods and vast changes, but it also reflects and is varied by innumerable lesser movements, upheavals, survivals, and catastrophes of different kinds that have marked the intellectual surface and upset the imagination of men. It represents subsidence as well as upheaval; for, although the theory of the degradation and distortion of some primeval revelation to all nations is not tenable, yet beyond doubt we find many beliefs and traditions running downward, spreading at a level much below their source; lofty symbols and doctrines become low idolatry; *hoc est corpus* becomes *hocus pocus*; the practices of high asceticism are travestied in magical quackery. The whole panorama of religious rites and images resembles, in polytheistic countries, the entangled confusion of a primeval forest, where you see trees, brambles, and creepers of all ages and sizes interlacing, supporting, and breaking down each other; with a glimpse of blue sky above the topmost branches to symbolise the infinite ideal toward which all these earthly growths are striving and shooting up. The whole forest has sprung up out of the same soil, and the same general conditions of existence; and so it may be said that all these curious religious forms have a like origin, they are generated out of the common experience and common feelings of humanity. It is possible to go further, and to register the main currents of religious tendency; but, after all, there is a great monotony and sameness in the countless and multiform vagaries of the inventive faculty among ignorant and superstitious men. The enormous accumulations now made of folklore, fairy tales, nonsensical fables, idiotic barbarous notions, legends, myths, and mumbo-jumbo ritual add little to our clear understanding of the working of the religious mind, and rather tend to render unmanageable the scientific handling of the subject. In substance all natural religion, ancient and contemporary, was—and is—Nature worship, which often had, at the same time, among the same people, different significations and methods of expression. With the vulgar it meant adoration of the marvellous and incomprehensible as embodied in things and felt in dreams

and visions; in the upper classes it meant adoration of the perceptible—but, as yet, unintelligible—forces of nature as personified under more or less refined types or symbols; and with the chosen few it signified their recognition of the working, through external phenomena, of a divine and all-pervading energy. The developement, upon this broad canvas, of certain persistent forms of ritual, worship, and dogma is an instructive study, as when we trace one dominant custom or cult, such as sacrifice or the worship of the dead, through a long filiation of institutions that are obviously allied. Animism, as a universal habit of mind among barbarous races, is a fact of first-class importance; the most rudimentary stage being, as Comte surmises, probably very little above the sense of terror at strange things or sounds that is seen in animals; and there are other great departments or stages into which early superstitions can be classified and assorted. It may be maintained, for example, with tolerable safety that no religious idea or rite has endured and prevailed widely that has not sprung out of some root of fact or supposed utility, or upon some primordial affection of the human mind like Fear, which means the instinct of self-preservation. But all human notions at a low intellectual level are so elastic and invertebrate, that we can get little out of collecting them in heaps beyond a general verification of the class or mental stage to which they belong; we cannot use them as data for working out the meaning or derivation of any particular rite or group of usages. And we must be cautious about going too far back in tracing the possible pedigree of such practices, lest we overrun the scent, miss the real starting-point, and fancy that we detect a veritable antique in some belief or tale that was manufactured yesterday. As for mythology, it is true that it came largely (not wholly) out of the desire to veil, obscure, and account for the real origins of religion; but for that very reason it is an unsafe guide to a clear understanding of them, and we are rather hindered than helped by those who sweep together out of many lands and libraries and discharge upon us all the mythic puzzles and whimsical nursery tales of human infancy. We know very well that in polytheistic countries it is the business of the mystery men and miracle-mongers to connect all new superstitions and fresh marvels with the older popular beliefs and traditions, to identify the latest with the antecedent divinities, to find room for strange worships and outlandish liturgies. Mr. Frazer gives many examples of the accretion of the ruder

worships and legends round a superior deity or ritual; it is a familiar process in the gradual uplifting and centralisation of divine attributes; and the general connexion between successive phases of religious manners and practices is too patent to have escaped competent observers in any age. It is, moreover, quite possible to work out the modifications which a cult has undergone, in countries where, as in Italy or in India, the religious history lends itself to fairly accurate study. But it is a hazardous method to go backward over all ages, and abroad unto the uttermost parts of the earth, in search of facts, emblems, loose priestly inventions, vulgar delusions, and all the phantasmagoria of nebulous *deisidæmonia*, in order to show ground for supposing that one explanation of an obscure story, or myth, or ritual, is more probable than another. The Natural seed of religion, as Hobbes calls it, is the same all over the primitive world; but its fruits are varied infinitely by environment, by soil, climate, training, and accidental circumstance; and although the fundamental analogies can be observed everywhere, we doubt whether even the very creditable industry, ability, ingenuity, and scholarship of such students as Mr. Frazer can succeed in transmuting general resemblances into particular relations.

Art. XI.—*Hansard's Debates. Reports of Speeches. Times Newspaper.* 1890.

What has happened to the principles of the Liberal Party? Where are they to be found? Who is intrusted with their guardianship? Who is authorised to expound them?

It will be strange indeed if history has to record that during the currency of the Parliament elected in 1886 Liberal principles ceased to form the platform of one of the great parties in the State. We are, of course, speaking solely of Liberal principles so far as they form the distinctive groundwork and basis of a political party; for probably at no period of our history have the principles held dear by such statesmen as Lord Grey, and which claimed the steadfast devotion of the long life of Lord John Russell, been more widely accepted than at present by the bulk of the nation. 'Civil and religious liberty all over the world' in the days of Lord Grey, of Lord Palmerston, of Lord John Russell, was a phrase which had about it the trumpet-ring

of party battle. It was the rallying cry of men who believed deeply and passionately in the principles they professed, and who, fortunately for the peace and progress of the nation, triumphed completely over the forces of privilege, of exclusion, of monopoly, which for a time withstood them. The principles embodied in the old Whig toast have not lost their power, though they have ceased to be the watchwords of a party. It is on account of the general acceptance of these principles by the mass of men, irrespective of party, that they have become unsuited for party warfare. It is the same with reference to the old cry for 'Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.' A capital rallying cry, doubtless, for an Opposition, provided only that the Government of the day deserves public censure for its warlike tendencies, its extravagance, and its increased taxation, its blind opposition to reform; but a cry which is without party significance, if raised against a Government which in the very branches of administration assailed has achieved auspicious success.

An Opposition may acquire strength and ultimately achieve victory by steadfast adherence to some great political principle, disputed by the Parliamentary majority of the day, which principle, nevertheless, in time obtains popular approval. An Opposition may, on the other hand, without being based on any such distinctive political principle, triumph by the success with which it exposes the administrative blunders, the failures, the incapacity of the ministry of the day at home or abroad. It may show that under a particular administration the nation has ceased to grow and to prosper, that things are going from bad to worse, and that the best hope for the people lies in its trusting its destinies to fresh men. In these various ways an Opposition has in the past often served the best interests of the nation. Its political principles or its administrative criticisms or both together have prevailed, and its leading men have consequently found themselves called upon to carry on the government of the country.

Mr. Gladstone in the spring of 1886 shattered to its foundations the old Liberal Party. What does he propose to put in its place? What, according to his own showing and to that of his lieutenants and leading allies, are the principles of those who would fain arrogate to themselves the honoured name of Liberal?

Before the end of the present month the oracle will again have spoken. The announcement has been made that Mr. Gladstone for the first time since the general election is to

present himself to his constituents, and the hope may be expressed that in the ensuing 'Midlothian Campaign' the language of the Leader of the Opposition will be explicit rather than oracular. One thing is certain:—he will ask the constituencies of the United Kingdom to give him *power*; and if the electors are worthy of the free constitution whose privileges they enjoy, they will refuse to give it him till they are made acquainted with the purposes to which he will apply it. With a Gladstonian majority Mr. Gladstone will be able to do as he pleases. Should not the electors before they give it him ascertain clearly what it will please him to do? Even a Napoleon on the eve of a plébiscite could hardly call for the confidence of a people to whom he refused his own; and popular though a leader of Opposition may be, if he would attain success he must condescend to act the part of a constitutional statesman who consults and leads the people, not of a dictator whose personal will is to rule them.

The call upon Mr. Gladstone to use plain language with reference to his proposed new casting of the constitution of the United Kingdom is not raised by his opponents only. Few men, indeed, of independent mind, or perhaps we should rather say, capable of independent action, now remain under his standard. From these few have come from time to time appeals almost piteous for further light. These men are tired, perhaps even sick, of reiterating their unabated allegiance to phrases susceptible of the most opposite interpretations, and which by the keenest of Gladstonians are variously interpreted. When Mr. Gladstone spoke in Scotland in 1886, it was in support of a measure of Home Rule for Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone in Scotland in 1890 will not dare to advocate. For a year or two after its defeat Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the repeal of the Irish Union was said by its author to 'hold the field.' It has since been declared on high authority to be 'dead,' and greatly Gladstonian candidates would rejoice did they only know how to lay its ghost. Nevertheless it is 'Home Rule,' we are told, which binds together into one political connexion the strange medley of members who follow Messrs. Gladstone and Parnell. We frankly admit that there is amongst them no other bond. Burke, in often-quoted words, described 'party as a body of men united, for promoting by 'their joint endeavours the national interest, upon some 'particular principle, in which they are all agreed.' Leaving Home Rule out of the question, the speeches and actions of

gentlemen in opposition in and out of the House of Commons afford no evidence of agreement for any purpose more exalted than that of causing discomfort to Her Majesty's Government. There is much more difference of opinion upon general politics within the ranks of the Gladstone-Parnell party, than there is between the two front benches of the House of Commons. 'Home Rule' apart, the Opposition do not constitute a party of which the essence is a common principle. All the more essential is it, therefore, to understand 'Home Rule'! Four years ago Mr. Gladstone told the country what *he* meant by this the foundation principle of his new party. It became embodied in a Bill, which was their destruction. Their fundamental principle when embodied proved their ruin, and experience has taught them to shudder at its very ghost. The field is once more clear. Mr. Gladstone is to speak in Scotland; surely it would seem that at last the hour and the man have come.

Rumours, more than rumours, are abroad, that those responsible for the measure of 1886 have come to think that its fault lay in the partial and limited application of the wonder-working 'Home Rule' principle. Local 'national' parliaments, to make local laws, and choose 'national' governments, are to be scattered with generous hand throughout this happy kingdom. The blessing is not for Ireland only. Scotland, Wales, we presume England also, may now aspire to 'take a place amongst the nations of the 'earth,' to use the approved expression of Mr. Parnell. Well, so be it! We merely join with Gladstonians, whom a little more courage would make 'dissentient,' in asking for more light. May be that at the end of the present month our darkness will be dispelled. But if no attempt is made to dispel it, the public will sooner or later arrive at the just conclusion that this great principle, whose universal application within this kingdom is to cure all the ills that political flesh is heir to, yet which cannot take practical shape in the face of hostile criticism, is, after all, but a quack remedy, and Home Rule policy the greatest political imposture which this age has seen.

How, on the other hand, have Unionists been thriving? The late session of Parliament brought disappointment to the Unionist Ministry. And it did more, for it disclosed to the country in an unprecedented degree, and in a manner to alarm all true friends of parliamentary government, the powerlessness of a majority of the House of Commons to

overcome the obstructive tactics deliberately adopted by irresponsible faction. When, towards the end of August, wearied-out ministers at last sought the repose of the country, they had not even the consolation of feeling that the results of so much arduous labour were at all commensurate with the greatness of their own exertions. Far-reaching legislative projects had been announced in the Queen's Speech. None of them had become law. The most important never saw the light of day at all. Others fell easy victims to that want of time which it seems to be the highest effort of modern opposition statesmanship to bring about. The honours of the late session, such as they were, undoubtedly belong to Mr. Labouchere. He at least did not for a moment disguise his object of discrediting a unionist administration by the adoption of methods of general parliamentary obstruction; methods at least as fatal to the usefulness of the House of Commons itself as they are damaging to the Government of the day. That obstruction succeeded was due mainly to Mr. Labouchere and his English and Irish allies; but the whole Gladstonian Party is ready enough to share with them the fruits of victory, and to make as much capital as it can out of the inefficiency, the bungling, and the failures of a Unionist Government. On every Gladstonian platform the same cry is of course raised. There can be no progressive or remedial legislation, there can be no good government for the country, they declare, whilst a Unionist Administration is in office. The nation will not prosper till Mr. Gladstone and his Home Rulers are in power.

Yet the country remains singularly calm—a calm all the more remarkable when we remember that the time of a general election is approaching, and that the greatest efforts are being made to rouse the spirits of the opposition. How different is the quiescent state of the public mind at present from the feverish condition which preceded for a couple of years the general election of 1880! In those days the speeches of Mr. Gladstone rang through the whole country. The feelings of the people found their best expression in the speeches of the great orator who addressed them. Every bookseller's table, every railway bookstall groaning under piles of cheaply printed 'Midlothian speeches' bore witness to the eagerness of the public to make itself acquainted with the policy and the opinions of the statesman to whom the destinies of the nation were about to be entrusted. It has not been found worth while, even by faithful Liberal associa-

tions, to reprint for publication Mr. Gladstone's more recent addresses to his countrymen. On more than one occasion his political tours have had all the external characteristics of 'a campaign,' yet his speeches must be searched for in the past columns of the 'Times' and the 'Daily News,' for no one has supposed that the public demand would justify their separate existence. When it is said that calm and quiet characterise the public mind, it is not meant that these qualities pervade the speeches of party politicians. If anyone expects to find them exhibited by Mr. Gladstone when leading an Opposition with a general election in view, he is, of course, doomed to disappointment. The temperament of Mr. Gladstone makes the expectation absurd on the face of it. Political discontent is almost necessarily the stock-in-trade of party leaders out of office. But how about the popular receptions these leaders meet with? Under modern conditions, all so-called public meetings assembled to listen to men whose personality fills the public eye, are always heartily and enthusiastically in unison with the orator they have come to hear. The truth is, meetings of this kind are very largely packed beforehand with trusty political friends, who are got together from such a wide area that their number gives as little ground as their enthusiasm for forming conclusions as to the prevalence of local political feeling. Of course the burning zeal and impetuous indignation of Mr. Gladstone stir to the utmost the feelings of his faithful followers. Equally, of course, the blustering braggadocio and the humorous hits of one of his lieutenants, and the polished, clever criticism of another of them, meet with the enthusiastic approval of the crowds who hear them. Nevertheless, is there any reasonable evidence that amongst the great majority of people, who, without making politics their special study, yet take an intelligent interest in public affairs, the belief is prevalent that the interests and safety of the kingdom demand a transfer of government from the rash hands of Lord Salisbury and a Unionist majority to the more prudent trusteeship of Messrs. Gladstone and Parnell? We believe that public opinion is the other way, and that a general election will prove it to be so.

Surely, as a matter of common sense, and apart from party controversy, there is something to justify at the present time a certain calmness in the public mind. If the legislative proposals of the ministry miscarried last session, in the general work of government they have been eminently successful. The nation is at peace, and on good terms with

all its neighbours; though there have been difficulties to get over and arrangements of complexity to carry through, which a weak or bungling foreign minister, or one not on the best of terms with foreign potentates, would have failed to bring to a happy conclusion. Thanks to Mr. Goschen taxation has been largely reduced, especially to those least able to bear it; whilst at the same time increased provision has been made for the military and naval defence of the empire. The ministry can boast with absolute truth that their four years' rule has made the nation both richer and stronger than it was before, that in Great Britain they have effected an immense extension of the application of principles of popular government, and that in Scotland they have established free education. The effect of their rule in Ireland, of course, forms the very battle-ground of party controversy. For our part, we think that the re-establishment of law, and the protection given to law-abiding citizens against lawless coercion, are benefits which rank amongst the highest of those which it is in the power of any government to give.

Thus the failure of the ministry consists in their inability to give effect during last session to the legislative reforms they desired to accomplish. Their objects were such as enlist the keen sympathy of statesmen rather than the enthusiastic support of the multitude. The Irish Land Purchase Bill and the Tithes Bill may perhaps rally popular and party feeling in their support as little as in days past did the Poor Law Bill of Lord Grey or the Education Bill of Mr. Forster. Nevertheless, when these measures have become law, they will form a strong title to the claim of Lord Salisbury's Government to take a high place amongst the Reforming Administrations of the present century. Thus, whilst the failures of the ministry have been such as to try the patience and provoke the regrets of statesmen, the successes have been conspicuous in the eyes of ordinary citizens. The benefits accruing to the nation from successful administration are immediate, those which will spring from their promised legislation are remote; hence there is little cause for surprise that temporary failures, which loom large in the eyes of members of Parliament, occupy but a small place in the view of their constituents. It would, indeed, be more satisfactory were the public to take a more decided interest than it does in the methods by which it is attempted in the House of Commons to render legislation impossible. We are dealing

here with facts, and it must be recorded that the country as a whole in quiet times sees with very considerable equanimity the repeated loss of useful legislation. Time will open its eyes, and then it will be the fate of some strong minister to assert again the supremacy of a Parliamentary majority, and its title to act as it may deem wisely on behalf of the British people. It is not to be endured that Parliament should only be capable of far-reaching legislation at times when popular passion has reached a height which enables a majority summarily to sweep away all opposition to its will; for, after all, it is in cool blood, not in feverish excitement, that the best work of the Legislature is to be accomplished.

We wish to consider the present and immediate future of British politics. The session which is to commence next month will be the last, or, if not the last, then the penultimate session of the existing Parliament; and, with the end of the present Parliament, it is more than probable that the peculiar party arrangements which Mr. Gladstone's new departure of 1886 necessitated, will come to an end also, or, at the least, that they will be subjected to great modification. The 'third party' position held by Liberal Unionists cannot, we are convinced, from its very nature be a permanent one. The action taken by Lord Hartington in standing aloof from the fight for office, and in putting himself at the head of Liberals who remained faithful to the traditions and principles of their party, has been rewarded by the most complete success. It is not only in the House of Commons that the influence of the Liberal Unionist party is now felt. A great organisation has grown up, with ramifications in almost every constituency, formed of Liberal electors pledged to their old faith of redressing grievances, of extending popular privileges, of carrying needful reforms, of maintaining law, in every part of the United Kingdom, by means of the old instrumentality—the Parliament of the United Kingdom; Parliament being, in their opinion, the only authority which can have the power, as it has the will, effectively to legislate wisely and justly for the whole people. If these views were not held by large numbers of Liberals, the present Government could not hold office for a day. Lord Hartington's action has, in the first place, secured the Union. In the second place it has been of immense service to the country, for it has enabled the Conservative Party to show its willingness to work heartily with Liberals in carrying out reforms, and to make themselves mainly re-

sponsible for advancing them even along democratic lines. A Conservative Party and ministry capable of passing the English and Scotch Local Government Bills can have little Toryism left in their composition. In the counties and rural districts of England were to be found, if anywhere, the high places of old-fashioned Toryism. Yet these were surrendered, without remonstrance, to the onward march of Democracy. The Reform Act of 1885, and the Liberal Unionist Alliance of 1886, have concurred in effacing from the Conservative Party such vestiges as still remained of the Toryism of a bygone age. There is, however, a third respect in which, to the regret of true Liberals, Lord Hartington's policy has failed. Many Liberal Unionists had hoped that amongst Mr. Gladstone's followers along the Home Rule path were some whose courage and conscience might rebel against the personal ascendency which had made them play so false for the moment to former principles and professions. It would appear that independence and self-respect together quitted the ranks of Mr. Gladstone when he hoisted the flag of Mr. Parnell. The Home Rule path has proved a muddy path, and the followers of Mr. Gladstone have suffered themselves to be dragged through the mud. Amongst them are undoubtedly to be found men of high character and high attainments. But, alas! every session of the House of Commons gives fresh evidence that Gladstonians who have most character have least influence, whilst some who wield most influence have politically no character at all! Thus it has come about that, for the present and the immediate future, we must abandon the hope of a reconstruction of the old Liberal Party upon a sound foundation.

The tendency of British politics to become divided into two great parties has been evident enough during recent years. It is doubtful whether, with a system of Parliamentary groups, our constitution could for any length of time be satisfactorily worked, and assuredly in Continental politics the group system seems to reduce Parliamentary institutions to contempt. With us the rupture of party has always been succeeded sooner or later by fresh consolidation into two opposing hosts.

The Peelites were in truth not so much a party in the country as a number of individuals in Parliament of the highest reputation and abilities, who first assisted, next coalesced with, and ultimately merged into, their old political opponents. Their strength consisted in the per-

sonal weight belonging to them as men of talent and influence. A much nearer parallel to the present rupture of the Liberal Party is to be found in the famous division of the Whigs consequent on the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Parliamentary dissentient Whigs of those days represented a great mass of external public opinion. The hope and object of the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, Lord Fitzwilliam, and their friends, was to form an independent party, strong enough to assist and influence the Government of the day without joining it. As one of them put it at the end of 1792, 'Our wish is not to 'join *ministry*, but to support *Government* in a separate 'body.' For a time this went on, the views of the 'Dis-'sentients' being unofficially ascertained by the Cabinet, just as at the present time no very important ministerial action is taken without previous consultation with Lord Hartington. In July 1794 the Dissentients joined the ministry of Mr. Pitt, and it was not for many years afterwards that what can be called a distinct Whig and Liberal Party, founded on sound principles, again became a great power in the State.

Since 1886 the differences between Conservatives and Liberal Unionists have been steadily diminishing, and those between Liberal Unionists and Gladstonians have continually been widening. Unless the existing third-party position of Lord Hartington's followers is to be a permanent one, which is hardly desirable even if it were possible, one of two things must necessarily happen. They must coalesce with one or other of the great parties of the State upon a common principle; that is to say, they and the Conservatives must combine together in a common cause, or they must abandon the political principles they have held through life, and for which in the last few years they have fought with so much constancy and success. It is impossible to doubt the choice that the Liberal Unionist Party will ultimately make. The sole question which divides parties is the question of the Irish Union. Upon other subjects politicians of course differ, but not as members of one or another political party. Thus we have arrived at a period when the old party division between Liberal and Tory has ceased to be a living reality. Old Liberal watchwords have lost their party meaning, because of the general acceptance of old Liberal principles. Old Tory battle-cries no longer serve a political party, because the principles or prejudices of old Toryism have ceased to influence any powerful section of the public. As

a matter of fact, the political action and political connexions of public men are at present determined solely by the views they hold on Unionism and Home Rule, and party divisions and party arrangements will in time square with the facts.

If we remember right, Lord Rosebery not long ago declared his belief that the differences upon Irish policy which divided Liberals were not differences of principle. They were differences merely as to the manner of effecting objects which all men desired. Nothing can be further from the truth. The difference which divides Liberal Unionists as a party from Home Rule Liberals as a party is as fundamental and far-reaching a difference of principle as has ever divided British parties. We think it probable enough that within the ranks, and perhaps even in high places amongst the latter party, are to be found Gladstonians whose Home Rule aspirations are of an extremely limited nature. We must look, however, not so much to the private sentiment of individual statesmen, which only, as it were, by accident, and here and there, lets itself be seen in public, as to the views which give working power and effect to the party as a whole.

It seems a truism to state that it is to the so-called Irish Party itself that we must go to ascertain the real end for which Home Rulers are working. It is the Irish Party that originated the question; it is the Irish Party that gives it vitality. It often happens that Englishmen, occasionally also that Irishmen in England, so water down their Home Rule demands that British electors may well have been deceived as to the end for which Mr. Parnell has never ceased to struggle. 'Why should we refuse to Irishmen the 'right of managing their own affairs? No sane man can 'suppose that Irishmen dream of constituting themselves a 'separate nation!' Sir Charles Russell, for instance, Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule ex-Attorney-General, who should surely by this time be acquainted with the objects and aims of the Parnellite Party, only last month insulted the intelligence of a Scottish audience by telling them 'that he had 'always declined to argue this question of separation, as if 'his countrymen—for he was an Irishman, as they knew—'were a nation of fools. . . . Why should Ireland desire 'separation from England?'* and so forth.

According to Sir Charles Russell, no one but a fool can

* Sir C. Russell at Leith, September 15, 1890.

desire separation. Irishmen are not fools, therefore Irishmen do not desire separation. Coming from the counsel for the Parnellites before the Commission of English judges, surely this is a little strong. Sir Charles must, at all events, have heard of the unanimous finding of that Commission, findings which the Parnellites claimed as a glorious verdict in their favour. 'We find that Mr. Davitt, Mr. M. Harris, Mr. 'Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. J. O'Connor, 'Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly established and 'joined in the Land League organisation with the intention, 'by its means, to bring about the absolute independence of 'Ireland as a separate nation.' Does Sir Charles Russell mean to declare that these gentlemen are 'fools,' and that no one in Ireland attaches importance to their political ends and objects? Does he venture to say that these gentlemen have recanted, and are now loyal and patriotic citizens? Has he forgotten that only last year, when Mr. Davitt was questioned in the witness-box, 'he avowed that the principle 'on which he had always acted was to make the land 'question a stepping-stone to complete national indepen-'dence, and that he concluded, "I wish to God I could get '"it to-morrow"'?

It is not six months since Mr. Parnell himself, in a public speech at the Westminster Palace Hotel, declared that Ireland was to be 'a nation,' and 'was to take her place 'amongst the nations of the earth.' An intelligent public will turn from the voice of the Parnellites' counsel to the judgement of an impartial tribunal and to the voice of the Parnellites themselves. Whether these gentlemen are or are not 'fools' is a fair matter of opinion. For our own part we should certainly not so describe them; but that they do desire the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation is *a fact*, and, moreover, one of the most important facts of modern British politics.

These are the avowed objects, we admit, not of English Gladstonians, but of Irish Home Rulers. How should the former act? It was once said by Mr. Burke 'there are times 'and circumstances, in which not to speak out is at least to 'connive.' But we must apologise for directing the attention of gentlemen whose recollection hardly extends to last year to the antiquated literature and exploded ideas of the end of last century.

Gladstonian Home Rule, as distinguished from the ends for which Irish agitators are working, Gladstonian states-

men, in the exercise perhaps of a wise discretion, have determined is still to remain a mystery. If there is anything in it at all, it involves the Government of Great Britain and Ireland as two nations. But it is exactly with this that Unionists join issue. They declare that Great Britain and Ireland must remain one nation, subject to the same supreme Government and legislative authority. No negotiations, round-table conferences, attempted compromises, can possibly bridge over the gulf which separates the Unionist from the Home Ruler. The latter claims for Ireland the position of a nation; the Unionist declares that Irishmen form part only of a nation, of which Englishmen and Scotchmen form other portions. The actual supreme governing authority for all parts of the kingdom must be the same. The retention of 'the last link' of the Crown has been declared to be incompatible with Irish ideas of 'nationhood.' Assuredly Unionists intend to retain in their supreme national authority much more than a mere nominal sovereignty. History shows us that the Home Rule system in the past broke down in the direst confusion. England, Scotland, Ireland, were once united under a single sovereign. Each had its own legislature. The system broke down either under the actual stress or impending outburst of civil war. The constitution of the United Kingdom has been founded on the ruins of Home Rule. And the conditions of life and civilisation at the end of the nineteenth century absolutely forbid a return to methods of government which the experience of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries taught the nation that it had already outgrown.

It deserves to be noticed that Mr. Parnell shows a great deal of consistency in maintaining the separate party position of himself and his friends. The leaders of the Irish Party largely direct the course of the Opposition; but they do not allow the two forces to amalgamate. Mr. Parnell, in the speech to which we have already referred, has lately declared the inability of himself and his friends to take a share in the expected Gladstonian administration. They will not make themselves responsible for Gladstonian Home Rule! What they claim, they claim as a right of national independence. It would be to derogate from this were they to admit limitations to their 'nationhood,' or to make common cause for general British purposes with a British party. The Parliament of the United Kingdom is towards Ireland a usurper. Ireland will take from the usurper what it can

induce him to give, and it will look for more. As practical men the Parnellites, for the time being, recognise the power, whilst they deny the right, of Parliament to govern Ireland. There has been much in the speeches of Mr. Gladstone that almost seems to support such a contention. But it is, of course, impossible that he, an ex-minister of the Crown, can really hold doctrines subversive of the constitution, and incompatible with loyal citizenship.

People are apt to forget to what a very small number of members of Parliament the Gladstonian following is now reduced. Without the assistance of Mr. Parnell, Gladstonian Liberals form an almost ridiculously small party in the House of Commons; that is, if they are to be considered as forming one of the great parties of the State. And Mr. Parnell, we have seen, has no intention of making common cause with Gladstonians and sharing their responsibilities in the government of the whole kingdom; as allies in opposition eighty Irish members may be of invaluable assistance. Opposition is the kind of business for which nature has given them great capacity, and ten years of incessant practice has largely developed the natural bent of their genius. Shall we ever see Parnellite members sitting on the right hand of the Chair? A Government, by the very first law of its being, *must* support the law; it must even pay judges, and at least recognise the necessity for policemen and other wretched menials of authority. At work of this kind the high soul of an Irish patriot may well sicken. The strain on the deepest feelings of his nature may prove greater than he can bear. Messrs. O'Brien and Healy, Messrs. Tanner and Redmond can hardly be expected, out of mere complaisance to politicians with whom they refuse to combine in one party, to metamorphose their political principles, conduct, and habits. Yet, unless they do this, where will be the ministry of Mr. Gladstone?

It is, however, to the English and Scottish Home Rulers that we wish to call special attention.

Let us examine the character of the Gladstonian Liberal Party. To do them justice, it must be admitted that Gladstonian statesmen for the most part recognise the changed condition of the party they still choose to call by the old name of Liberal. Thus Sir George Trevelyan at Oban assures an audience, inclined apparently to attribute a Whiggish half-heartedness to his political friends, that there is no need to fear that the Radicalism of the next Liberal Government will at all resemble the milk-and-water Radical-

ism of previous Liberal Administrations. 'There had been,' he continues, 'a great deal that had been unpleasant in 'recent politics, but at any rate this had happened: that the 'Liberal Party had been remade and reconstituted. He had 'been in Parliament five-and-twenty years, and it was 'only during the last two or three years that he had sat in 'the front of a party that was Liberal in the sense in which 'the Conservative party—to do them justice—had always 'been Conservative. If there was unanimity of Liberalism 'inside the House of Commons, they might be sure there 'was unanimity of Liberalism outside.'* How one party or individual can be Liberal in the sense in which another party or individual is Conservative we need not stop to enquire! Perhaps Sir George Trevelyan may consider that a snowball is white in the sense in which a lump of coal, 'to do 'it justice,' is black. The observation in either case does not directly convey much meaning, yet incidentally, in the former case, it indicates very accurately the habit of mind with which a certain class of politicians contemplates party differences. If Lord Salisbury's Government, for instance, thinks 'coercion' or 'Land Purchase Reform' necessary or desirable in Ireland, an ex-Minister who, when himself on the Government benches, is a 'coercionist' and a 'Land Pur-'chase Reformer' must show that he is 'Liberal,' in the sense 'in which Lord Salisbury is Conservative,' by denouncing everything now proposed by the latter and hitherto supported by himself! Liberalism is simply the opposite of the ministerial policy of the day. The whole duty of an Opposition is to oppose. There is strong reason for thinking that Sir George Trevelyan's implied estimate of the principle of his party is not far from the truth.

Again, we heartily agree with Sir George Trevelyan's statement that the Liberal Party in the last few years has been remade and reconstituted, and that it is quite unlike the Liberal Party of the last quarter of a century, or, for that matter, unlike any Liberal Party that this country has ever seen. So different, indeed, is it from the party to which hitherto all Liberals have been proud to belong, that with large numbers of the public it already receives new names—'Gladstonianism,' 'New Liberalism,' 'Modern Radicalism,' or what not, phrases which are more likely to prove temporarily descriptive of the condition in which a numerous yet

* Sir George Trevelyan at Oban, September 22, 1890.

scattered host of politicians find themselves than to remain permanent titles of a great party.

Sir George Trevelyan tells us—and once more we agree with him—that from the unanimity of the gentlemen whom he calls Liberals within the House of Commons we may judge of the unanimity of the 'Liberals' outside it. In the name of wonder, on what political subject are Gladstonian members of Parliament unanimous? Upon what political principle are they united? They all wish to turn out the Government; but that, though possibly a noble aspiration, is hardly a political principle. A strange sight in the present Parliament is sometimes afforded to intelligent strangers in the Gallery by the condition of the Front Opposition Bench when a division on some subject to them most unwelcome is about to be forced upon the House of Commons by an active 'Liberal' below the Gangway. In the first place, the Leader of the Opposition is, in all probability, not there to take the command. His age fully entitles him to devolve upon others the everyday work and arduous drudgery of party leadership. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Campbell Bannerman, and Sir George Trevelyan sit upon the Front Bench; but what of *leadership* is there amongst them? Not so much how they shall direct their party to vote, as how they shall vote themselves, is a painful question that visibly disturbs their minds. They are probably 'unanimous' in not wanting to vote at all, and the Head Whip of the orthodox section of the party is probably despatched to Mr. Labouchere to explain the inconvenience to the Front Opposition Bench of a division. To make a protest by word of mouth from the Front Bench itself against the advice given to the House by the powers below the Gangway would be far too bold a course for 'Liberal leaders' to pursue. Mr. Labouchere, or Mr. Labouchere's follower, as likely as not proves quite inexorable to the gentle suasion of the ex-Comptroller of the Royal Household, who, discomfited, returns to his place with lengthy visage. If the division bell has not ceased ringing, it may be that one of the 'Liberal leaders'—perhaps even Sir George Trevelyan himself—by a rapid dash behind the Speaker's chair escapes from the House in time to avoid a division, leaving his friends to follow with reluctant footsteps the lead of men who, in 'a remade and reconstituted Liberal Party,' are more important personages than themselves. It cannot be too frankly recognised that the bulk of the Parliamentary

Gladstonian Party are of very different stuff from the gentlemen who are described, often very inaccurately, as its leaders. The latter are, after all, but survivals from that Liberalism which, we are told with exultation, has been swept away. This is one reason, amongst several, why power has left the Front Opposition Bench. Whatever the reason, the fact is so. The Benches below the Gangway know it, and the Front Opposition Bench knows it too.

It is difficult to understand how any wise and patriotic Liberal can rejoice in the thought that moderate men find it impossible any longer to act with one of the great parties in the State. Surely even a sagacious partisan must feel that the confidence of the country is not likely to be given for any length of time to men who have broken with the steadying element in their own ranks. Such symptoms have in the past preceded the fall of great parties. They have never been the heralds of enduring success. But, whatever they may indicate, let us again at least recognise the facts.

The truth of the matter is that, instead of being unanimous, an open breach in the ranks of the Opposition is only avoided by the humble part which the men of most position and experience in the Gladstonian Party are content to play. The new views, for instance, now apparently very generally entertained by the most powerful section of that party with reference to the ownership of land are frequently ventilated. They meet with no rebuke from Gladstonian 'leaders.' The language habitually used in Parliament by Parnellite members, by Scotch Crofter members, and by many English and Welsh Radicals indicates that in their opinion the rent of land is an unjust exaction—that it is money which an antiquated and landlord-made law enables a landlord wrongfully to extract from the pockets of tenants and occupiers who are morally entitled to keep it. That 'rent is robbery' is the modern and, for the moment, the limited rendering of the famous saying, 'La propriété c'est 'le vol.' The language in Parliament of Mr. Gladstone's recent recruits does not lack distinctness. It is, however, when these gentlemen appear as candidates, or address their constituents from the platform, that they are most outspoken. If we are not mistaken, a candidate for a county lately declared himself opposed to the institution of private property in land; and his success was hailed as a great victory for the Gladstonian cause. An attack on the ownership of land reaches, of course, far beyond the property of

the landowners; for it is upon the land that a large portion of the personal wealth of the nation is secured. You cannot strike the one without shaking the other. Moreover, doctrines of plunder cannot be confined to a single description of property. Indeed, another Gladstonian member has just been preaching the strange doctrine that poverty will justify the poor in stealing! If a man is starving from no fault of his own, it is right enough that he should rob the butchers' shops! Extravagances of this kind attract momentary attention, and then rapidly fade from the mind of the public. People think them the unmeaning utterances of foolish men, and hug themselves in the old belief that the Liberal Party is *led* by responsible statesmen, that it is a party desiring practical reforms, not dangerous revolution; that men like Lord Spencer and Lord Rosebery take a large share in directing its counsels, and afford a sufficient guarantee that the main institutions of the country are safe from attack. The public have yet to learn how small is the influence which statesmen such as these exercise with 'New 'Liberals.' They can float with, but they cannot direct, the stream.

A year or two ago several members of the 'New Liberal' Party were kind enough to sketch in the pages of a magazine the principal features of the 'New Liberalism.' They confessed that the Home Rule cry had little substantial hold on British electors, who were to be rallied only by a bold appeal to their immediate personal interests. What was required was class legislation; that is, of course, legislation for the supposed exclusive benefit of that class which can throw the heaviest vote at a general election. But the 'New Liberals' in this regard distrusted their leaders in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was old-fashioned in many of his ideas. Mr. Morley was the 'bond-slave of 'political economy.' He had had the courage to oppose a proposal for fixing by Act of Parliament the number of hours for which a full-grown man might work. These half-hearted statesmen were not the right stuff to lead 'New Liberals,' and 'New Liberals' were consequently bidden to look elsewhere. Can anyone suppose that when Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley are not strong enough to command the crew, safety for the vessel will be found in devolving the command on men of the stamp of the two Whig peers? The public should beware of the fallacy of supposing that the old Liberal Party still exists. Sir George Trevelyan recognises the change. There is a new

party, the bulk of it composed of new men, who hold different ideas from those held by former Liberals. There is left, still acting with this new party, a small remnant of those who occupied high place in the days of the effete Liberalism of the past. These men, however, do not *lead* the new party. They 'sit in front of it.' If New Liberals are really to form a party in the future, the men who are to lead them will be found neither on the present Front Bench of the House of Commons nor amongst the Whig peers. Most New Liberals are quite clear about this; and, indeed, it is hardly possible that doubt upon that subject should linger much longer except amongst the select few who occupy the coveted front places of the House of Commons, or belong to the still more select circle of Gladstonian peers.

This is the state of the Opposition at a time when questions are undoubtedly coming into prominence which will tax the highest powers of statesmanship. It is idle to suppose that the sweeping changes in the franchise of 1867 and 1885 have not greatly changed the character of our Government. What are called social questions will in all probability occupy much more of the attention of the Legislature than they did in the past. There has lately been a developement not merely of 'New Liberalism,' but also of a 'New Trades-Unionism,' which apparently will insist upon the nation in its political capacity deciding with a high hand questions between capital and labour in favour of the demands of the latter. Such matters as the importation of foreign labour, the regulation of wages, the restriction of importations from abroad, will probably agitate the public mind. The battle for free trade may have to be fought again. Even Lancashire workmen, dreading the competition of Indian cotton manufactures, may prove less sturdy free-traders than in the days of Cobden and Bright. A political party which is to obtain and retain power in such a country as this must not play fast and loose with principles of political economy. To sacrifice economic truth in order to propitiate a powerful interest or class would in the long run prove as shortsighted as it is unpatriotic; and a minor though important consequence of the Liberal Unionist alliance with Lord Salisbury is the steadiness acquired by his Administration against those Fair Trade fallacies which at one time tickled the fancy of not a few Conservatives.

Whatever men's individual wishes and hopes may have pointed to, the last four years have testified strongly to the continued existence in political life of the old tendency to

divide into two parties. Unionists of both sections are drawing nearer together. Amongst Separatists it is true that Mr. Parnell declares that he and his friends will never coalesce with, though they will continue to assist, their Gladstonian allies. Nevertheless, the differences between Gladstonians and Parnellites are diminishing, as, amongst the former, the influence of the more responsible and most respected members of the party diminishes. There is on the Opposition side of the House, in process of formation out of English and Irish elements, a much more extreme party than the country has yet seen. But that party is not yet formed, and before it is ready with a name of its own, and under its true colours to take the field, there will be large secessions of moderate men to the cause of order and constitutional progress. Still, an extreme party will be formed, which will aspire to govern the State. Ultimately the extremists may be expected to rally round some definite principle. At present they have neither principles which they can avow, nor men to lead them. In short, their day is not yet. Unionists, on the other hand, may look forward to the future with well-founded hopes. The country has become convinced by the experience of four years that whilst strictly enforcing law and order in every part of the kingdom, Unionists are willing, in no grudging spirit, to carry forward the work of practical reform. As 'Home Rulers' their opponents are doomed to failure, a failure which would only be rendered the more conspicuous by the temporary acquisition of power by a Home Rule majority. The day of their victory would be but the beginning of the end of their party. Home Rule apart, they themselves hardly profess to have any bond of union or common principle. A permanent party cannot be built up, though possibly a temporary victory may be achieved by partisan and reckless criticism of every act of administration. The injunction to 'remember Mitchelstown' stirs the momentary indignation of a public meeting, and then drifts into oblivion. In quiet times the hardships in gaol of Mr. O'Brien, or even a riot in peace-loving Tipperary, attract public attention. Opposition orators naturally make the most of their opportunities; but after all people require something more from would-be Ministers of the Crown than the captious criticism appropriate enough to the daily columns of Opposition newspapers. We are asked apparently to conclude that, with Home Rule once established in Ireland, rival politicians and hostile parties will keep the peace, that no excitable politicians will ever

resist the law, and that even in Tipperary itself broken heads will be no more.

It is a serious matter to contemplate the break-up of old party connexions and the formation of new political arrangements. It would, however, be disastrous to shut our eyes to what has, in fact, actually happened. The Liberal Party *has* broken up. As an Opposition its place has been taken by the Gladstone-Parnellite combination, which as yet has neither principles nor leaders to which to trust its future. There has of late been trouble and confusion in the House of Commons, largely due to the disorganisation prevailing amongst the crowd of members who sit behind Messrs. Gladstone and Labouchere. It concerns the credit of the House of Commons that the disorders prevailing amongst the latter should be neutralised by the steadiness and the union of all who support the unity of the United Kingdom, the cause of law, order, and practical reform. They, for the time being, and in the old sense of the word, alone constitute a party. The danger to be apprehended does not arise from the advance against them of a disciplined army. It is rather against a general irruption of barbarians that Unionists must guard. Tactics good in the one case may be bad in the other. The conditions of the time evidently demand that before long Unionists should close their ranks.

No one can attempt to forecast the future of parties without having present to his mind the changes of *personnel* which the passage of time must inevitably cause in the front rank of statesmen. Yet, unless we are much mistaken, parties are tending to become divided upon questions so deep and vital to the welfare of the State that men will take sides with more regard to the questions themselves, and less regard to the personality of leading men, than has been the case at some previous periods of our history. It is not on the ground of any personal preference for this or that statesman, but on account of the facts of the existing political situation, that men who have common political objects in view will find themselves forced to take measures in common to achieve them. The chief characteristic of the present House of Commons has been the independent action of Liberal Unionists; and admirably that action has served the State! The loyal co-operation of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist Parties will continue, we do not doubt, without any diminution of their friendship, throughout the existence of the present Parliament. There is no necessity, and it would be unwise, to depart in the present House of

Commons from a system which has worked so well. About two years hence, in all probability, a general election will take place; and it is obvious that then is the time when the whole Unionist Party should take its stand on a common platform, and when its leaders should appeal to the electors, on broad grounds, whether they are Conservatives or Liberals, for support. With a new Parliament new political arrangements will get a fair start. No one can suppose that in the new House a large amount of the disorderly element will not appear; and the question will have to be firmly answered as to how the business of the nation is to be carried on. With Lord Hartington and Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain, sitting side by side on the Ministerial front bench, the country would at least know that it was not wasting its material; that the House of Commons was under the guidance of men whose character and ability entitled them to lead it, and that there was amongst them that solidarity which nothing but membership of the same political party can impart.

Time will show. It is evident that the present condition of politics is a transitional one. To whom and to what section of politicians other than the Unionists can the country look for guidance with any sense of confidence or hope in the changes that are before us? That the Unionist Party should be strong, and that its leaders should act strongly and act together, we believe to be the earnest hope of a great majority of the thinking men of every portion of the United Kingdom.

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